Negro Progress Being Slowed

Post-Herald

In regards to the segregation issue down South, the courts can not be partisan and at the same time hold the honor, prestige and dignity that they have always been afforded by the people of our nation. P. 12

But why do such organizations as the NAACP mainly operated out of the North wish to alienate and slow down the progress of the Southern Negro? That is precisely what such organizations are doing. Wed. 2-8-56

The Southern Negro no more wishes to mix in schools of the South than the white people do. And regardless of any decisions of law whether it be from Washington, D. C. or Birmingham, Ala., or any other point, the people of the South will retain white schools for the whites and Negro schools for the Negroes.

We cannot lay blame to any one political party on these recent court rulings. The judges that ruled on this issue were appointees of Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower.

The Republican and national Democratic Party neither represents our Southern political views.

HOBSON GUTTERY,
Carbon Hill.

PROGRESS FOR THE NEGRO

Times Herald

The resistance in some Southern states to the Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling makes news that we often have to put on the front pages of our newspapers, but this is not the only kind of news that affects our Negro neighbors and fellow-citizens. The Census Bureau brings out some figures and conclusions that show that, in spite of some setbacks, we are moving toward equal opportunity.

The bureau reported on Wednesday that non-white residents of the United States were now holding better jobs than they did ten years ago at the end of the Second World War. The bureau finds a "steady improvement" in job opportunities for Negroes. It describes this evolution as one of "the most important social and economic developments of the past several decades."

The report still has to point to a time lag "in education, income and type and adequacy of employment" from which the Negro, because of historical circumstances, still suffers. Some day he will catch up and our children will probably wonder why it all took so much doing. Of course the white man finds it easier to be patient about the slow growth in the other man's opportunities. Yet for the Negro and the other colored races, and for all who love justice, there is no reason to despair.

ROLE OF NEGRO CHANGING FOR BETTER IN U. S.

Daily Pilot
Chicago, Ill.
Mon. 3-5-56

New York, March 4 [Special] —Conditions for Negroes in this country are improving, assistant Secretary of Labor J. Ernest Wilkins asserted here.

While Negroes still are subjected to inequality in employment, education, and housing, "the cloak of freedom is sitting much better on our collective shoulders these days," he said.

He added that "if there needs to be a little tailoring done here and there, I have no doubt that it will finally get done."

Wilkins spoke at a recent joint annual dinner of the National Urban league and the Urban League of Greater New York in the Waldorf-Astoria hotel.

The leagues presented awards to James Felt, chairman of the New York City planning commission, and Winthrop Rockefeller for their contributions toward "achievement of equal opportunity as a broadly accepted and respected component of the American democracy."

Felt is a director, former president and board chairman of the Urban League of Greater New York. Rockefeller is a trustee of the National Urban league.

Wilkins declared that "the image of the Negro as a poor downtrodden member of society, a victim of a mass inferiority complex, living in a vermin-infested slum, doesn't jibe either with the facts or with our ambitions and expectations."

Census Bureau Holds Negro Status Is Steadily Improved

Daily World Thurs. 3-15-56 P. 1
Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — One of the most important social and economic developments in the past several decades has been the steady improvement in the status of colored persons, the Census Bureau reported Friday.

("Colored persons" as used here includes Negroes, Indians, Japanese, Chinese, and other non-white groups).

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While colored people still lag behind whites in many respects, including education, income, and type and adequacy of employment, the report said, historical differences between them and whites have been narrowing.

Of the population of 102,946,000 whites not inmates of institutions, 58,793,000, or an average of 57 per cent of the whites 14 years old and over, were in the labor force in 1955, according to the report.

Of a colored population of 11,394,000, not counting inmates of institutions, 7,034,000, or an average of 62 per cent of colored persons 14 years old and over, were in the labor force.

The report pointed out that colored women have traditionally worked in larger proportions than whites. In 1955, 2,697,000 or about 44 per cent of all colored women were in the labor force, as compared with 18,110,000 or 34 per cent of the white women.

Colored persons quitting sharecropping and other small-scale farm work, said the report, has been a major factor in reducing the gap between the proportion of whites and colored people in the labor force. This gap has been as much as 8 percentage points in 1947.

Job differences are still quite large, the Census Bureau said, with colored people predominating in the relatively unskilled, low-paying fields, but there has been some improvement since World War II.

About 12 per cent of the colored people in the labor force are currently in professional, managerial, and other white-collar occupations, as compared with only 9 per cent shortly after World War II.

In the skilled and semi-skilled "blue collar" occupations, the report said, there has been no marked change in the past few years, but colored workers have generally held on to the gains made during World War II.

Unemployment rates have continued to be a good deal higher among colored workers than among whites, the report said. It added that statistics showed that colored workers in almost every industry group are more likely to be limited to part time jobs and less likely to get year-round employment.

To some extent, the report said, these differences are probably due to the concentration of colored workers in the less skilled occupations within each industry group.

The Census Bureau reported that there is saill a wide gap between the kinds of work typically open to colored and white workers. The proportions are reversed in the service and other unskilled nonfarm occupatious, which employ about 47 per cent of the colored workers but only 14 per cent of the whites.

Colored workers are relatively less numerous than whites in manufacturing industries, although the difference is mainly in the category of craftsmen rather than in the semiskilled or unskilled jobs.

Other industries in which the whites still hold a long lead are wholesale and retail trade and some of the higher paying service activities—finance, business services, etc.

Both colored and white workers show similar proportions in the public administration field, indicating a considerable improvement for colored workers in government.

Wilkins lauds progress in Texas; envisions new day

Afro-American P. 8
Sat. 4-14-56

HOUSTON, Texas (NNPA) — Generations now being born will not know the limitations of jim crow sections of buses, third rate theaters, fourth rate restaurants, fifth rate schools and sixth rate jobs, J. Ernest Wilkins, Assistant Secretary of Labor, declared Saturday.

Addressing the Houston branch of the National Alliance of Postal Employees, Mr. Wilkins said the children of today will have new horizons of social and economic achievement and it will be partly their chore to provide world leadership.

Mr. Wilkins recounted the advances made by colored employees in the postal service and in the Post Office Department since the Eisenhower administration took office three years ago.

Baltimore Md.

IN HOUSTON, he pointed out, colored employees in the main post office now serve at the money order and parcel post windows, and a newly named assistant to the regional transportation manager for the Dallas region has personnel responsibilities for the New Orleans, Fort Worth, and Memphis districts.

"The respect shown by cities such as San Antonio for the recent decisions of the United Supreme Court barring segregation," Mr. Wilkins said, "is another example of how Texans are law abiding and fair and just Americans, and do not, contrary to the popular opinion of young television viewers, settle their differences with a six-shooter."

He added that "The progress made in Texas is important and should be nourished and helped to grow. For, wherever one group builds a place of privilege by oppressing some other group, there develops a chasm between them so wide and so deep that it is almost impossible to bridge it."

Negroes Have Same Intellectual Capacities As Whites Says Expert

Negroes have the same innate abilities, but environmental and economic factors often hamper them from expressing their full potential, declared a noted university professor of psychiatry during a panel discussion Sunday on the "Racial Aspects of Human Intelligence" at St. Mary's Dominican College.

Dr. Benjamin Pasamanick of Ohio University, chairman of the committee on reasearch of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, stated that studies have proved conclusively that Negroes have the same intellectual capacities as whites.

Pointing out that the concept of Negroes as inferior beings grew hand in hand with exploitation of colored people, Dr. Pasamanick stated that an overwhelming majority of psychologists felt the evidence indicated Negroes were full the equal of whites in intellectual potential.

He explained that "intelligence tests" in reality tested the individual's past experience rather than his innate intelligence.

Emphasizing the importance of proper nutrition in bringing the child's capacities to full fruition, Dr. Pasamanick related that studies proved Negro babies often were smaller in weight and height than white babies, adding that where the babies apparently had received the same nutritional advantages with similar weight and height, they had very much the same mental apptitude.

In giving an example of the importance of environment, he said the northern Negro, in tests taken during World War I, did better than Southern whites. This, he added, was due to poor schooling prevalent in the South during that time.

Dr. William L. Kolb, professor of sociology at Tulane University, was chairman. Participants on the panel were Dr. Munro S. Edmonson; Dr. Irving Fosberg; Dr. Robert Lancaster; Dr. Harold Leif, and Dr. Joseph T. Taylor. The invocation and benediction were given by Dr. Henry Montecino, S. J., of Loyola University.

Race Relations In A Larger Picture

Editor Edward J. Meeman In The Memphis Press-Scimitar

RACIAL tension in the South which has resulted in some violence shows that things have been moving in a dangerous direction. The progress of the South was set back several generations by one great unnecessary conflict which clear thinking and right feeling, reason and patience on both sides could have avoided. We cannot afford another conflict, great or small.

It is time to stop and think where we are headed, and make sure we are headed in the right direction.

No race in human history has made such progress as the American Negro since 1865. That progress has been accelerated since 1933. The rate of progress was still increasing when came the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 and 1955. At first it was thought that these meant further progress for the Negro. But in the South, where most of the Negroes live, the effect has been different from what was intended and expected. Since these decisions, not only has a brake been applied to the progress of the Negro but there has been some movement backward. Race relations in the South have deteriorated.

In order that we may deal intelligently and effectively with the present situation, in order that good race relations may be restored in the South, and progress in improvement of race relations resumed, we need to put race relations in a larger picture.

LET both races look at the larger picture.

Today the biggest issue in the world is the struggle between communism, tyranny, slavery, atheistic materialism and militarism on the one hand and democracy, freedom, individualism and spiritual religion and peace on the other.

Those of us who want to win that great struggle cannot afford to lose our heads, be we white or Negro.

Put the questions now being debated between white Americans and Negro Americans against that background of danger which threatens to overwhelm both races, and there should be no difficulty in settling our differences peaceably and amicably.

We cannot win this struggle without the loyalty of our Negro people. Of our total population of 150,697,361 as shown by the 1950 census, 15,042,286 are Negro. That is a sizable and important minority. In the South the proportion of Negroes is much greater.

Thinking, patriotic white people will recognize that we cannot afford, by any lack of justice or goodwill on our part, to lose the loyalty of this minority.

Thinking, patriotic Negro people will recognize that the "equality" which communists offer them is only equality in slavery, poverty and torture. It is strong evidence of the good sense of the Negro people that only a few have failed to see through the deceitful temptations the Reds offer them.

All over the world colonialism is coming to an end and colored races, yellow, brown and black, are being lifted to a position of equality. American Negroes, too, are asking for equality. Modern science tells us that all races have equal potentiality for development.

NEVERTHELESS, in the United States, and especially in the South, while right-thinking white people want the Negro to have every opportunity for equal development, most of them do not believe too intimate association of the races is a good thing. There is resistance to forced desegregation of schools and swimming pools, and the like. Such resistance should be only by legal means, should never be in spirit of hatred.

We believe the Negroes themselves want to associate with their own people in school, church and social life more than some of their present leaders will admit. If Negroes do not prefer their own modes of life and entertainment, why does it profit white men to run all Negro radio stations?

We believe that once the Negro wins recognition of his equal dignity as a human being, once he is no longer treated with contempt but is treated with respect, instead of there being more mixing of the races, there will be less, because the Negro and the white equally will prefer association with his own kind.

Why should we withhold from the Negro the equal respect his heart craves? A man who belittles one of another race only belittles himself.

The problem we must solve is not easy. But there is no question that if the citizens who are men of good will and moderate views will take responsibility for what is to be done, we will do the right thing, and come through safely.

Progress For The Negro

(From The New York Times)

The resistance in some Southern states to the Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling makes news that we often have to put on the front pages of our newspapers, but this is not the only kind of news that affects our Negro neighbors and fellow-citizens. The Census Bureau brings out some figures and conclusions that show that, in spite of some setbacks, we are moving toward equal opportunity.

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DuBois Urges Negroes to Note Race Progress

Eagle P. 7
Thurs. 12-13-56
Julia Allen

Noted Author Says 1957 to Usher in Many Centenaries

NEW YORK, (ANP) — W. E. B. DuBois, noted Negro author and lecturer, has urged Negro organizations such as newspapers, colleges and organizations to take cognizance that the year 1957 will usher in a series of centenaries important to the history of the Negro.

DuBois pointed out that 1957 marks the 100th anniversary of the Dred Scott decision; 1959 brings the 100th anniversary of the death of John Brown; 1963, the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation; 1961-65, the 100th anniversary of the participation of American Negroes in the Civil War; 1968, the 100th anniversary of the death of Thaddeus Stevens, of the enfranchisement of the Freedmen and Freedmen's Bureau; 1927, the 100th anniversary of the birth of Paul Laurence Dunbar; and 1976, the 100th anniversary of the Bargain of 1876.

The noted Negro leader suggested that these dates should be marked and celebrated in history by Negroes, "but not as occasions for controversies or exacerbation of race hate."

Eagle P. 6

Said DuBois: "There are many other significant anniversaries which recall Negro history and the cultural tie of the black man with American history. If we neglect to mark this history, it may be distorted or forgotten. Already repeated efforts are being made to prove that slavery was not the cause of the Civil War; to minimize the part of Negroes in the slavery controversy and the war; to slander friends of the Negro, and to represent his enfranchisement as a serious mistake."

He said these occasions should be celebrated and dedicated to calm and scientific inquiry into the past, participated in by persons of authority, white and black, northern and southern.

"I suggest that these celebrations be varied in character, place and sponsorship; we have only to be sure that no important event or person is forgotten in these centenaries of the first participation in the first civilization of the U.S. of the Negro masses as free citizens," Dubois said.

He advised that colleges might celebrate jointly or singularly the birthdays of distinguished men; newspapers might issue special editions to recall great events; organizations might hold special meetings or alert their branches and fraternities to offer prize s for essays or even books on certain subjects.

36 19 6

Panorama Of Progress

Defender P.5

Detroit Site Of Big Event

Sat. 5-12-56

Chicago, Ill.

DETROIT — Charles C. Diggs, sr., head of Diggs Enterprises, has made public partial list of leaders who will receive awards for outstanding achievement during Diggs Enterprises' big "Panorama of Progress," slated for June 30 through July 4 at the Michigan State Fair Grounds in Detroit.

Several of the selected personalities, according to Diggs, are expected to accept their Panorama of Progress citations in person. The group includes men and women who have excelled in their efforts in several fields.

The personalities and organzations and their categories are: Sports: Jackie Robinson and Willie Mays, baseball; Charles Sifford, golf; Althea Gibson, tennis; Harrison Dillard, track; Bill Russell, basketball; Joe Louis and Ray Robinson, boxing.

Heath: Vincent E. Saunders, jr., Chief Health Educator of Chicago Board of Health; Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Dr. Percy L. Julian and Dr. Theodore K. Lawless. Aviation: Neal Loving, American Airlines and the Aerial Club of Michigan.

Religion: Rev. Martin Luther King, Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, Mahalia Jackson and Rev. Howard Thurman. Agriculture: Roland Kercheval, South Dakota Rancher.

Science: Dr. A. W. Curtis and Dr. E. Ernest Wilkins.

Business: John H. Johnson, president of Johnson Publishing company, Paul Williams, Architect; S. B. Fuller, president of Fuller Products co. and Dr. A. Maceo Walker, president of National Insurance Association.

Industry: Henry Ford, II, and the International Harvester company.

Labor: A Philip Randolph, Willard Townsend, Walter Reuther and Emil Mazey.

Civics, Military and Education: Ralph Bunche, Thurgood Marshall, Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, President Dwight Eisenhower, Circuit Judge Ira W. Jayne of Michigan, Michigan State Representative Louis C. Cramton, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, jr., Congressman Charles C. Diggs, jr. and Congressman Dawson.

Also General Benjamin O. Davis, sr. and General B. O. Davis, jr.; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. Alain Locke, Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, Dr. M. Just Butcher, Gloria B. Lockerman and Autherine Lucy Foster.

Entertainment, Art and Drama: Nat "King" Cole, Ed Sullivan, Steve Allen, Frank Sinatra, Sammie Davis, jr., W. C. Handy, Louis Armstrong, Eartha Kitt, Katherine Dunham, Count Basie, Lena Horne and Ella Fitzgerald.

Also Phillips Schuyler, Marian Anderson, Andy Razaf, Sara Lou Harris, Frank Silvera and Sidney Poitier.

Posthumous Awards will go to C. C. Spaulding, Walter White, Dr. Charles Drew and Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune.

"Panorama of Progress" an exposition saluting the contribution of Negroes to America's growth, is expected to attract over 100,000 visitors during its five day schedule.

Responsibility For Racial Progress Job Of All People

World Tues. 3-27-56

Birm, Ala.

BY KENNETH B. CLARK

(Editor's note: The speech made by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark at the annual forum of the Periclean Club, Feb. 17 has been broken up into seven installments to appear every Tuesday and Friday in the Birmingham World. Dr. Clark is an eminent psychologist and professor at City College, New York City.)

Installment 2

"This is a time of hope, of challenge, and of excitement. We are on the threshold of substantial progress in human relations and full and equal rights. responsibilities and obligations as American citizens No force or combination of forces can stop this for the Negroes. If it is denied the Negro, it will be denied to all. This is the irresistable logic of the contemporary world."

"Yet there are those, many of them reasonable men of good-will and good intentions, who have counselled caution, timidity, or retreat. They are afraid that race relations are worsening and that if the Negro pushes too hard and insists now upon his full rights as an American citizen, he will lose more than he will gain. They preach a gospel of respect for the status quo and urge the Negro to be patient. They rationalize their willingness to have the Negro continue to suffer the stigma of segregation and bear the brunt of flagrant racial injustices by standing in reasonable language and soothing tones that progress in race relations takes time and must come about gradually; that it can not be forced by law, legalism or judicial decisions; and that one must change the hearts and minds of whites before the Negro can be granted his constitutional rights guaranteed other American citizens.'

"Some of those who express this point of view contradict themselves by pointing to the tremendous recent progress in the status of the Negro in America. They forget that this progress came about because impatient. The Negro started to move toward freedom, justice, and equality only when he became righteously impatient."

"Progress in race relation in America has resulted primarily from the clarity and firmness of the judicial branch of our Federal government . Since the early 1930's, the Federal courts have handed down decisions which have strengthened the constitutional rights and equality of citizenship of Negroes. These decisions have affirmed the right of equality of Negroes in voting, public accommodations, interstate transportation, public recreational facilities, teacher salaries, graduate and professional education the role of the judiciary in the enforcement of restrictive covenants, and in state supported elemenary and secondary schools. These decisions were made possible by the impatience of Negroes like you. Not one of these cases was initiated by a white person who was conscience stricken by the injustice being perpetrated against his Negro fellow citizens."

"The effective, and I believe complete, integration of the Negro in the armed services is the only recent, major, governmental accomplishment in America race relations that did not result from judicial action,. This was due to strong executive action, probably reflecting the imperatives for military efficiency in the modern world."

"Progress in race relations does not reflect any prior change in the "heart and minds" of the masses of prejudiced white citizens. Certainly nearly 100 years since emancipation is long enough for such ethical and moral changes to manifest themselves if they are of practical social significance."

"Those who argue against the power of law as an influence in race relations should read Professor Van Woodward's excellent book this distinguished white historian of John Hopkins' University shows convincingly that the pattern of racial segregation found in southern and some border states was imposed by laws passed during the latter part of the 19th Century and did not reflect "generations of tradition."

To Be Continued

Portland Race Progress Told

Defender P. 2 Sat. 5-26-56

Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Norval Unthank, Portland, Ore., physician and surgeon, stopped in Chicago Tuesday enroute to Boston to attend a meeting of the National Council of the YMCA.

During his short stay, he visited the Chicago Defender and the Urban League where he saw his friend, Edwin Berry, who came here several months ago from Portland where he had headed the Urban League for several years.

According to Dr. Unthank, it was the Urban league in Portland along with the NAACP and a couple of other agencies, which led the way toward improved race relations in the city.

Before World War II, race relations in the city were horrible he said, and then with a huge influx of Negroes during the war, it became worse. At that time, the Negro population increased from 2,000 to approximately 20,000.

With the cooperation of industrials and some municipal officials, the Urban league tackled the problem; a study of the Negro was made and the improvement process began.

Today, Dr. Unthank says, all hotels in the city accept Negroes and the same is true in most restaurants, theatres and other public places. There is an improvement in housing and in job opportunities. Schools have always been interracial, he added.

The three Negro doctors in Portland serve on the staffs of white hospitals and Dr. Unthank is on the medical committee of one of the hospitals.

A practicing physician in Portland for the past 25 years, Dr. Unthank is a graduate of the University of Michigan, University of Kansas and Howard university.

On this trip East, he will attend the meeting of the National Tuberculosis association in New York city, May 20-25 and then go to Washington, D C., where he will attend the 30th reunion of his Howard class.

The YMCA council meeting in Boston is set for May 18-20. Dr. Unthank has been a member for the past five years. Before the regular meeting opens, an interracial meeting will be held May 17th.

Fortune Story Deals with Negro Economy

Eagle Tulsa, Okla.

NEW YORK — (ANP) — One of America's leading national magazines said in a recent article that the United States economy has been the chief source behind the gains of the American Negro.

Fortune Magazine editor Emmett Hughes said "during the past 25 years the gains of Negroes have not come through preachment, political action or Supreme Court decisions, but rather through the U.S. economy itself."

Hughes said: "the Negro has advanced farther during this time than in the 70 odd years since emancipation and he will "not be satisfied indefinitely with a second class economic life."

Thurs. 9-13-56

The magazine also reports that Negro leaders, fresh from legal victories on the school front, are now working toward a breakthrough in the arena of greatest resistance—housing.

Facts Are Revealed

Some of the facts of the Negro's economic life as revealed by Fortune is as follows:

The Negro population's total cash income after taxes is $15,250,000,000 and represents today a purchasing power almost matching the value of all merchandise annualy exported from the U. S. It denotes a market almost as great as Canada, and twice the size of Australia.

One in every three urban Negro families own their own homes, and recently Negro home ownership in cities has been rising much faster, proportionately, than white.

In no area of the Negro's life has his economic future been more harshly handicapped than in his education. A census study in 1952 revealed that while 33.3 per cent of Negroes above the age of 65 were unable to read or write, among youths (ages 14-24) the illiteracy rate had fallen to 3.9 per cent.

Thurs 9-13-56

Negroes in Colleges

There are more than half again as many Negroes in U.S. colleges and universities as there are subjects of Great Britain attending British universities.

But Fortune points out, there are still many dismal evidences of forces standing in the way of Negro progress.

Discrimination is still the norm in industry; "the dirtier the job, the more readily it is available to the Negro."

There is still much discrimination in unions, which, by and large, have not been the great champion of Negro rights that many liberals have been led to believe.

Quotes NAACP Leader

Fortune quoted one NAACP leader as saying "the CIO has "sold quite a bill of goods to the American liberal about its racial record."

The magazine added that in the South, labor unions more than any other institution (with the possible exception of the Roman Catholic Church) have effectively assisted Negro organizations in putting pressure on the barriers of segregation.

Of some 9 million privately financed housing units erected between 1935 and 1950, only slightly over one per cent have been open to Negroes. In the most crowded Negro block in Harlem, the population density is equivalent to crowding everyone in the U.S. into two-thirds of New York City.

The bleakest area of Negro life, Fortune says, is the Negro farm. The plight of the Negro farmer has been getting worse and worse for more than 30 years.

Cites Farmer's Problems

According to the magazine:

"The Negro farmer lacks, in the best of times, even enough knowledge of the law to acquire sound title to his land; oral leases are legally permissable in every Southern state.

"In a revolutionary time of mechanization, the Negro farmer is economically crippled. He lacks capital. He lacks credit. He lacks enough acreage to support mechanization. He lacks the technical skill to mechanize."

Editor Hughes draws these conclusions in his report:

"In this mid-20th century, the American Negro is, in effect, acquiring his freedom in a most ancient way. He is buying it. His progress is due, not exclusively, but essentially, to conomic forces heeding no moral command but simply creating jobs where none previously existed."

However, Fortune says, that any faltering of the American economy will probably hurt the Negro far more deeply than the white worker.

"During the 1949 and 1954 recessions, unemployment rates were higher among Negroes than among whites in every industry and occupation group, the magazine observed.

The Negro holds "an especially high stake in the life span of the current boom," the article says, "for each year of prosperity means another year of job seniority, another year to strive for the skills that no machine can displace and above all—another year to force labor unions into still deeper commitments to defend the rights of Negroes as zealously as the rights of white workers."

Dr. Clement Tells Britishers Of Race Progress In America

Black Dispatch Okla. City Okla. 8-31-56

ATLANTA — (ANP) — Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta university, has given the British people the other side of the story so frequently told abroad regarding America's treatment of its minority group.

Speaking over the British Broadcasting Company's network, Dr. Clement told a luncheon audience of the English-Speaking Union in London recently that the United States was making constan progress in its efforts to give full citizenship to its minority groups.

Concerning the treatment accorded Negro Americans, Dr. Clement deplored such developments as the Nat King Cole incident, the Autherine Lucy case, and the rise of Citizens Councils in the South. He said, however, that these were only one side of the picture and that there was another and more positive side which he would attempt to show.

He cited the elimniation of segregation in the armed forces, the extension of the franchise to Negroes in the South, the election of Negroes to political office, their admission to 12 southern state universities, and the acceptance of the Supreme Court decision by prominent southern leaders and organizations as being legally and morally right.

In the audience were several members of Parliament, as well as representatives of the press and labor.

His appearance before the English-Speaking club culminated a six-week visit of Europe.

In London, he and Mrs. Clement were guests at numerous social functions given by members of the government and private parties.

Dr. Clement has just returned to America.

Responsibility For Racial Progress

By KENNETH B. CLARK

(Editor's Note: The speech made by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark at the annual forum of the Periclean Club February 17 has been broken up into installments to appear every Tuesday and Friday in the Birmingham World. Dr. Clark, an eminent psychologist, is an assistant professor at City College, New York City.)

INSTALLMENT I

"In awed admiration, I salute the Negroes and those white citizens of Montgomery, Alabama, who have shown the world that the passionate yearning of the Negro for full equality is not merely a pious wish. It has become the very substance of our lives. We are no longer willing to sit back and expect others to throw us the crumbs of hypocritical equality. We no longer sit back and accept their condescension, contempt and cruelty. We now affirm and demand our rights as human beings and American citizens. What is more, if there are risks, we are now ready and willing to accept them."

"To the Negro citizens of the South—to the Negroes of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida; to those of you whose daily life is a monument to the imperishable dignity of the human soul; to those of you for whom courage and dignity are as necessary for life as are air and water; to those of you who have chosen to remain in your homes and on your land without retreating and handing a victory to bigotry by default; to all of you, I come, not bringing the all too cheap gifts of advice, admonition, and glittering over-simplification of the real and complex problems which you face.

"I come from the North where it is easy to have courage and I see your courage. And then I come humbly because by your intelligent struggles you have made me proud to be a Negro.

"You have made it possible for me, in the North, to hold my head erect and look any man in the face.

"You have made it possible for us to say to the peoples of Africa and Asia and Europe and South America that we, the American Negro, are also a part of the world-wide struggle for freedom. We also are making sacrifices in order to overthrow the yokes of tyranny and injustice.

"You have made it possible—and this is literally true—for me to tell my daughter and my son that they can be proud to be Negroes. They need not cringe and cower under the stigma of inferiority which the racists seek to maintain around them. They need no longer doubt whether their people are indeed worthy of no more respect than they have been given. The proof of our equality is found in the struggles of the past 1[illegible] years. It is found in the simple human dignity of the rural Negro in Clarendon County, South Carolina whose refusal to be intimidated led to the first case challenging the constitutionality of segregated schools. Our equality is seen in the incisive reasoning of the lawyers of the N. A. A. C. P. who fought these cases through our Federal courts, culminating in the historic May 17, 195[illegible] decision. This decision will stand as a landmark in the tortuous path of men as they move toward the ideals of a democratic society. The Negroes equality is seen in the recent event in Montgomery, in Tuscaloosa, and in more communities to come. In all history human beings who have not demanded, worked, or sacrificed for their rights have become inferior and have been treated as such. Human beings who have accepted their stigmatized status without protest have become inferior people. There is no social tension when the oppressed group accepts inferiority. Conflict comes only when a group that knows that it is noti nferior is being treated as if it were.

"You have ushered in a glorious period of American history and a golden era of progress for the Negro. Take notice of this fact. Since 1954, over 200,000 Negro children who were previously relegated to segregated schools are now attending non-segregated schools in which they are learning to be free, equal, and truly competent American citizens."

CITY COLLEGE Course

A twelve-week evening survey course on "The Negro in American Civilization" is being offered by the extension division of the City College School of General Studies. The course emphasizes the role of the Negro in American history and culture.

Racial Progress

(Editor's note: The speech made by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark at the annual forum of the Periclean Club, Feb. 17, has been broken up into seven installments to appear in the Birmingham World. Dr. Clark is an eminent psychologist and professor at City College, New York City.)

INSTALLMENT 5

"8. They threaten interposition and defiance of the United States Supreme Court and the whole system of Federal laws which govern the unity and cohesion of the United States."

"This will not work because they cannot have the advantages of being part of the United States while rejecting the obligations and responsibilities which this entails."

"They cannot interpose or nullify this decision without weakening the power and prestige of the Courts in decisions which are to their advantage. The Federal Courts have been vigilant in the protection of individual and property rights independent of race. Without these legal and judicial safeguards, a capitalist economy could not operate. They cannot be violated or flaunted in one important area and remain strong in others. If the Southern states are to continue its process of industrialization through attracting capital investments, it cannot become a region of lawlessness or legal capriciousness."

"9. Some of them appeal to the Negro for a reasonable accommodation to voluntary segregation. They offer to bribe him with the promises of brand-new schools and long overdue equality or physical facilities."

"If the Negro community is not vigilant, these appeals might work. If segregated schools continue, it will be because the Negro people permitted themselves to be bribed and hoodwinked by hollow promises."

"Such promises are now too late. Furthermore, they cannot be fulfilled. Negro schools—segregated by race—can never be equal. This is true not only because of important and complex psychological factors but also because of the more concrete economic factors. Those states in which there is the most intense resistance to the desegregation of the public schools are the least able to maintain economically a dual school system in which the Negro and white schools are equal in even physical facitities."

"Any Negro community that continues to accept segregated schools and segregation in other public accommodations will be saying to the world that the Negroes in that community have indeed been made inferior. The signs of their inferiority being their apathy, poor judgment, lack of courage and their willingness to doom their children to a life of hopelessness, stagnation and dehumanization. Such a community in 1957 would not have been worthy of our glorious history of ceaseless struggle of our ancestors for freedom; would not have been worthy of the unswerving dedication to truth and justice as such Federal Justices as J. Waties Waring and the nine Justices of the United States Supereme Coure; would not have been worthy of the example of an Autherine Lucy and the thousands of Negro citizens of Montgomery, Alabama."

"Such a community would have been an example of the degrading effects of past segregation—an example of the corroding apathy, indifference and moral emptiness spawned by enforced injustice. No matter what the cause, such a community would not have earned the respect and gratitude of its children or of human beings who love justice and democracy."

"What must now be the role of the Negro?

"Have no special qualification for wisdom."

"Can only summarize what I have observed in a study of human progress and constructive social change—in America, in Asia and in Africa."

"Constructive social change can come about in 20th century America—not through violence. The apostles of racial violence are self-defeating. The Negro cannot permit himself to even flirt with the idea of retaliatory violence. Violence creates more problems that it solves."

"Constructive social change cannot be brought about by wishful thinking, pious resolutions and empty generalizations by Negroes or whites. The very real contemporary racial problems must be met and solved in the real world. They will not disappear merely because they are iritating or because it would be convenient for some candidates for presidential nomination if they could be ignored. Problems of justice, morality and equality of citizenship are the problems of government and without them there would be little need for governments, politicians or presidential candidates. Progress in race relations in the South cannot be made by mass migration of Negroes from the South. This is socially, economically and practically impossible. Even if it were possible, social problems are not basically solved by escape. They are merely transplanted and postponed."

"Racial progress has been made and will continue in America to the extent that the Negro continues his firm, calm, courageous insistence upon full and uncompromised rights as an American citizen. He cannot retreat. He cannot voluntarily postpone these rights. The time is now. If he does not obtain these rights after 100 years since his emancipation from slavery, then he might not ever attain them. This is the propitious moment in American and world history. To temporize now is not "gradualism" but "backwardism," seen in the light of the relativity of social events and social progress."

Canada's 18,000 Negroes Fare Well In Boom Era

(World Tues. 4-17-56 B'ham, Ala.)

TORONTO—(ANP)—Gains made by Canada's 18,000 Negroes during the last decade are standing them in good stead in the economic boom which the country now enjoys.

A recent survey of the Negro in Canada shows that in the economic field he has broken down many of the barriers which, until recent years, barred him from rising above low-paying, unskilled jobs.

These advances have been attributed in some measure to a new attitude on the part of business, industry and the professions.

The entry of Negroes into professional fields, particularly white collar jobs, is considered a significant development. The sons and daughters of men and women who only a few years ago were restricted in their search of employment, today are able to take advantage of higher jobs and educational opportunities.

There is nothing in Canada that remotely parrells the Jim Crow laws in the southern United States. Racial barriers have not been broken down completely in this country, but the growing acceptance of colored persons in the main stream of the Canadian economy is regarded by authorities as heralding the day when no phase of business or industry will refuse to accept Negroes simply because of their color.

The fact that there are only 18,000 Negroes in all of Canada out of a total of close to 16,000,000 is said to be the main reason for the diminishing tide of racial prejudice

Neva Scotia has about 9,000 Negro citzens, who are descendants of the ports of Halifax and St. John from the British West Indies about 70 years ago.

Ontario has an estimated 7,000 colored citizens, 5,000 of whom live in metropolitan Toronto. The remaining 2,000-odd Negroes in Canada are scattered in the other provinces, chiefly Manitoba, British Columbia and Saskatchewan.

A growing volume of legislative enactment speaks eloquently of the Canadian public's desire to have Negro citizens treated fairly.

Responsibility For Racial Progress

BY KENNETH CLARK

(World P. 8 Fri. 4-13-56 B'ham, Ala.)

Editor's Note: The speech made by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark at the Feb. 17 annual forum of Periclean Club concludes today. Dr. Clark is an eminent psychologist and professor at City College, New York City.

7th and Final Installment

"The Southern Negro needs allies. Now is the time for respectable decent white Southerners to show this courage. It is probably unrealistic to have hoped that he would have taken the initiative in the fight for racial justice before the Negro has awakened. it is time that truly liberal whites in the South and the North stand up and be counted among those who are willing to be involved in effective, intelligent and democratic action toward desegregation. This is not the time for platitudes, empty generalizations or pious equivocation. Nor is it the time where the cloak of respectability can be used to hide silence in the face of racial violence that is stridently eloquent when it comes from the pulpits of their churches or the platforms of their institutions of learning."

"The issues are now clearly drawn. The friends and the allies of the Negro must keep pace with the swiftly moving events. If I read the meaning of the present struggles of the Negro correctly he will not be content with his white friends merely interceding for him and certainly he will not be content with their continued friendship, he will be forced, reluctantly, to reject friendships offered on these terms.

"What of our Negro brother in the North. What can he do to help? I ask this question not in rhetoric but with an urgent desire for an answer. Already the NAACP has provided legal and other types of leadership. The NAACP need not apologize for the fact that its national headquarters is in New York City. The fact is that it could not operate in any community in the South unless individual Negroes in that community invited it to come to that community. In addition, it is dependent upon local leadership, legal talent, and support. Furthermore, the problem of racial justice in America is not regional--it is an important national and international problem.

"Some Northern Negroes are organizing programs to provide economic relief for Southern Negroes who are victims of economic reprisals. I know that A. Phillip Randolph is devoting almost all of his time to this problem. The National Committee for Rural Schools has been doing a monumental job of supplying clothing, shoes, books and pencils for children in rural areas of the South.

"What more needs to be done? How can we be more effective in this area? We want to help. We want to show how deeply we appreciate the sacrifices which you are making daily not only for your children and yourselves--but for our children and for us. We are grateful for the fact that through your sacrifices you will strengthen democracy for all Americans -- white, black or brown, Jew, Protestant or Catholic and in so doing you will assure democracy to all peoples throughout the world."

Panorama of Progress Slated for Detroit

Call Fri. 6-1-56

DETROIT. — (ANP) — Plans are nearly complete for the five-day Panorama of Progress "saluting the contributions of Negroes to America's progress," scheduled June 30—July 4 at the Michigan State Fairgrounds. P.20

The project was conceived and is being sponsored by Diggs Enterprises, Inc., whose president is Charles E. Diggs Sr., and whose vice president is Charles E. Diggs Jr., Michigan's first Negro congressman and head of the House of Diggs, a Detroit undertaking establishment.

Kansas City, Mo.

Main features of the project will be a trade show in the Dairy Hall and a nightly show in the Coliseum. No outdoor midway attractions are planned.

The trade show is scheduled to have approximately 100 booths, and will be open to any type of business exhibiter. The only requirement is that the exhibits must show Negro contributions to America's progress.

The Coliseum show will feature many of the nation's top Negro entertainers. One night appearances by Sammy Davis Jr., and Frank Silvers and three nights by Phillipa Schuyler, concert pianist, are scheduled.

A 400-voice choir, plus leading Negro ministers, athletes and other celebrities also have been lined up for appearances.

Another entertainment feature is a pageant-type show with the title "This Is Our America," being written, directed and produced by Howard Lindsay, with music by Andy Razaf. Star of the show will be Sarah Lou Harris, former New York television artist.

All profits of the Panorama of Progress are to be donated to charity. It is expected that the show will be made an annual event.

Nation Eyes Detroit's Panorama Of Progress

Defender P.14 Sat. 6-2-56

Chicago, Ill.

DETROIT — Casting has begun on the greatest theatrical production in theater history, "Panorama of Progress" conceived and sponsored by the Diggs enterprises.

The giant spectacular, groomed for a possible state department tour of the free world, will salute the progress of American Negroes during the past ten years. The more than $100,000 production will run five days June 30 through July 4, in the Michigan State Fair Grounds. President Eisenhower, Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren, Henry Ford II, Dr. Ralph Bunche, ALF-CIO vice presidents Walter Ruether and A. Philip Randolph, Branch Rickey, Jackie Robinson and a host of others from all segments of American life will receive significant awards during the festivities.

Duke Ellington, Ella Fitzgerald, Dizzy Gillespie, Sarah Lou Harris and Buddy Bowser have inked contracts. A galaxy of other inkings are imminent. Nat "King Cole" in a Chicago recording session, waxed. "We Are Americans Too" with a speaking prologue honoring The Panorama Of Progress for replay here.

'Panorama of Progress' Open June 30 in Detroit

Call Kansas City, Mo.

Fri. 6-29-56 P.1

By MARC CRAWFORD

DETROIT.—Panorama of Progress, the $100,000 production saluting the past decade of American Negro Achievement, will establish a precedent when it opens here June 30 through July 4 at the Michigan State Fair Grounds.

For never in history has an extravaganza of this size and scope been undertaken.

The first body of Negroes elected to a major "Hall of Fame" will be characterized in display daily throughout the five day Panorama.

A committee operating under the direction of one of America's foremost authorities on Negro History, Irene Graves, will present pictures, historical documents and biographical sketches associated with those

A spokesman for Diggs Enterprises said plans are being discussed for permanent housing of the first major Negro Hall of Fame.

Call Mo. 6-29-56

"Little World's Fair."

Contained in six major parts, the Panorama will feature drama, entertainment, the first major Hall of Fame, Special Awards, a giant trade exposition, and a memorial to our honored dead.

This Is Our America

Powell Lindsy, Yale trained dramatist and dean of contemporary Negro theatricians, has written, will produce and direct "This Is Our America", the dramatic highlight of the Panorama

Produced in what Lindsay calls the "living newspaper or historical present style," the dramatization will host a cast of some five hundred, and relive American Negro History.

"This is our America" will be narrated by ABC Radio network personality and star of stage and screen Willie Bryant. Maurice King, former musical director of the International Sweethearts of Rhythm orchestra, has written "A Greater Tomorrow", an original musical score for the production.

King will direct a symphonic orchestra throughout the two and one half hour spectacle.

Topflight New York model Sara Lou Harris will star in the play. Miss Harris is well known in the East as a singer and disc jockey along with her famous husband, Bubby Bowser, a former comedian.

P.13

First Negro "Hall of Fame"

Candidates for fame include the late Walter White, Mrs. Mary McCleod Bethune, Col. Charles Young, Booker T. Washington, Dr. George Washington Carver, James Weldon Johnson, Frederick Douglass and many more personages of statuesque achievements.

Many Awards

Special Awards will be presented to those prolific Americans who have worked in behalf of American Negro progression. There will be four groups of Awards. Twenty-six persons will receive the primary "Honorable Merit Awards", 33 persons will receive the "Distinguished Service Award", 43 persons will receive the "Achievement Citation Awards" and five persons will posthumously receive the "Medals of Valor."

Honorable Merit Awards will be presented to the following named persons in their respective categories:

Sports: Jackie Robinson, Joe Louis and Branch Rickey.

Health: Vincent E. Saunders, King, Jr.

Religion: Rev. Martin Luther

Aviation: Neal V. Loving. Jr., and Dr. Percy L. Julian.

Science: Dr. Montague Cobb.

Business: Charles C. Diggs, Sr., John H. Johnson and A. Maceo Walker.

Labor: Walter P Reuther.

Civics: President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Former President Harry S. Truman and U. S. Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren.

Military: Brig. General B. O. Davis, Jr., USAF.

Education: Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois and Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson.

Entertainment: Nat "King" Cole and Sammy Davis, Jr

Arts: Phillippa Schuyler and Marian Anderson.

Dramatics: Frank Silvera.

Industry: Henry Ford II.

Distinguished Service Awards will be presented to the following categorized personages:

Sports: Willie Mays and Ray Robinson.

Health: Dr. Theodore R. Mason Howard, Dr. Theodore K. Lawless, and Dr. Albert Schweitzer.

Aviation: Aero Club of Michigan.

Religion: Rev. Henry Hitt Crane and Father John S. Coogan, S. J.

Science: Austin Curtis.

Business: James B. Webber, Jr., Jessie M. Vann and Max Osnos.

Industry: Clarence L. Robinson.

Labor: A. Phillip Randolph and Willard Townsend.

Civics: G. Mennon Williams, governor of Michigan; and Thurgood Marshall.

Military: Col. James H. Robinsson, USA.

Education: Gloria B. Lockerman and Dr. Lawrence Jones.

Entertainment: Ed Sullivan, Ella Fitzgerald, Gary Moore, Eartha Kitt, Steve Allen and Dave Garroway.

Arts: Andy Razaf, Sarah Lou Harris, Eubie Blake, Duke Ellington and Billy Shaw.

Dramatics: Ethel Waters and Sidney Poitier.

To the following named will go "Achievement Citation Awards:"

Sports: Charles Sifford, Althea Gibson, Harrison Dillard, Bill Russell, Jessie Owens and Eddie Tolan.

Aviation: American Air Lines

Religion: Mahalia Jackson, Rev. Howard Thurman, Most Rev. Joseph F. Rummel, Rt. Rev. Richard S. Emrich and Nona B. Locke.

Science: J. Ernest Wilkins.

Business: S. B. Fuller, J. H. Parker and Lafayette Allen.

Labor: Lilian Hatcher, William Oliver, Alex Fuller, Emil Mazey and James C. Petrillo.

Civic: Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., William L. Dawson, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Judge Ira Jayne and the Honorable Louis C. Cramton.

Military: Brig. Gen B. O. Davis, Sr., USA (ret.).

Education: Dr. M. Just Butcher, Autherine Lucy Foster, and Nellie Watts.

Entertainment: W. C. Handy, Frank Sinatra, Louis Armstrong, Katherine Dunham, Dizzy Gillespie, Count Basie, Lena Horne, Noble Sissle, Arthur Godfrey, and Lionel Hampton

Arts: Paul Williams.

Dramatics: Jauno Hernandez

Posthumously, the "Medals of Valor" will be presented to the following named persons:

Education: Mary McLeod Bethune.

Health: Dr. Charles Drew.

Civics: Walter White.

Business: C. C. Spaulding.

Science: Dr. George Washington Carver.

Nearly seventy-five cent of the persons to be awarded have indicated they will be here in person to receive their honors.

Talent Unlimited

The greatest assemblage of talent ever presented in Michigan will handle the continuous entertainment phase of the Panorama. Forty named attractions headed by Duke Ellington, Dizzy Gillespie, Mahalia Jackson, Phillippa Schuyler, Frank Silvera and Sarah Lou Harris, have inked contracts for

the king-size production.

A trade exposition of unprecedented size will exhibit some two hundred displays at the Michigan State Fair Grounds illustrating the Negroes contribution to Industry.

The supreme sacrifices of the dead American Negro Warriors of seven wars and more campaigns will not be forgotten in the "Panorama of Progress."

They will be heralded in this $100,000 production in an Avenue of Flags lining the way to the "Panorama" stretching some 1,000 yards in depth.

Singer Nat "King" Cole waxed a special recording "We Are Americans Too" with a speaking prologue honoring the "Panorama of Progress."

There will be prizes galore and a new current model station wagon will serve as a door prize.

A Queen For Panorama-Land

The Queen of the "Panorama of Progress" chosen in a state-wide competition from among some fifty Michigan Belles, was the unanimous choice of Judges, E. Simms Campbell, Cartoonist, Esquire Magazine, New York City; Mrs. Marva Louis Spaulding, Fashion Entrepreneur, Chicago, Illinois; Mrs. Freda DeKnight, Home Economist, Johnson's Publications, Chicago, Illinois; Mrs. Evelyn Cunningham, Syndicated New York Columnist, City Editor, New York Edition, Pittsburgh Courier, New York City; Frederick L. Lights, Theatrician and Production Manager of the Dave Garroway Shows, New York City; Frank A. Dee, National Public Relations Representative for Schenley Distillers, New York City.

She is Miss Amy Davis, 19 year old Michigan State University co-ed. In New York on June 27, Miss Panorama will appear on the Dave Garroway Show, the Steve Allen and Gary Moore Shows. The 28th, the young lady who upon coronation was presented a $500 cash prize, will be the guest of Congressman Charles C. Diggs, in Washington, D. C.

The producers of the Panorama of Progress are grooming the unequalled giant for a possible tour of the free world community of nations under the auspices of the U. S. State Department.

Charles C. Diggs, Sr., President of the multi-million dollar Diggs Enterprises and father of U. S. Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., said "it is the duty of any big business to promote good will and foster brotherhood." "Panorama of Progress" he added, "will do both."

"Panorama of Progress" is a non-profit making venture.

Panorama Of Progress Set Precedent

World
Tulsa, Okla.
Sat. 9-7-56

DETROIT (ANP) — Panorama of Progress, the $100,000 production saluting the Achievement of American Negro, established a precedent during its run here June 30 through July 4 at the Michigan State Fair Grounds.

Never in history had an extravaganza of this size and scope been undertaken by Negroes.

The Exposition, conceived and sponsored by Diggs Enterprises, Inc., attracted more than 150,000 tourists and Detroiters.

Contained in six major parts, the Panorama featured drama, entertainment, the first major Negro Hall of Fame, Special Achievement Awards, a giant trade exposition, and a memorial Avenue of Flags to our honored military dead.

Powell Lindsay, Yale trained dramatist and dean of contemporary Negro theatricians, wrote, produced and directed "This Is Our America," the dramatic highlight of the Panorama.

NEGRO GAINING ECONOMICALLY, LEAGUE IS TOLD

Daily Tribune
Thurs. 9-6-56
Chicago, Ill.

Now a Political Force, Dr. Douglass Says

BY ROI OTTLEY
[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Cincinnati, O., Sept. 5—The economic and political progress of the Negro family in the United States was appraised today for the delegates to the annual National Urban league conference, by Dr. Joseph H. Douglass, program analyst in department of health, education, and welfare.

Douglass' report was received with interest by the 600 delegates because he is the great-grandson of Frederick Douglass, Negro leader of Lincoln's day who received high appointments under Presidents Grant, Hayes, Arthur, Cleveland, and Benjamin Harrison.

Dr. Douglass, holder of a Harvard Ph. d., declared that "Negro families have exceeded in most instances the rate of progress made by white families toward economic security, largely because of high employment and output levels, and a declien in racially discriminating employments policies."

Reach New Income Levels

This development, he said, was reflected in improved health and educational opportunities, full participation in the country's labor force, and new levels of income, savings, and consumption. However, he added, the Negro family still lags behind the white family.

The most recent and important long-run factor in the Negro family's search for economic security, he said, was the Supreme court's decision in 1954 declaring segregation in public schools was unlawful.

"This decision will surely have an increasing impact on future generations," Dr. Douglass said.

The pronounced trend of Negro migration to the northern urban areas, while improving the group's employment and income, is nevertheless subjecting the families to such social hazards as overcrowding, disease, and demoralization, Dr. Douglass said.

Feel Pioneer Spirit

But, he added, the Negro migrants are infused with a pioneer spirit and determination in facing unknown frontiers. The hope of a brighter future probably more than compensates for the difficulties and risks.

Dr. Douglass pointed out that "on farms, the Negro group has experienced a declining income position in recent years." In the south, he said, "the nonwhite family income position in recent years has not only failed to improve, but has actually declined in terms of its percentage of the income of the white family."

Future progress, he said, "is dependent upon continued high levels of national employment and output. Any serious decline in economic activity will result in a potentially greater economic setback for Negro families than for white families, because of the Negro's greater degree of marginal employment."

"Despite concentration in slum areas, the Negro family is rapidly improving its housing patterns thru increased home ownership and movement into more desirable neighborhoods," Dr. Douglass said.

More Homes Needed

"If the housing needs of the Negro population are to be met, probably 2,500,000 homes will have to be made available by 1960, thru new construction, conversions, and rehabilitation."

"But, the large concentration of Negroes in the industrial centers, is improving the group's effectiveness as a political force.

"To the extent that the group becomes organized, vocal, and acclimated to urban life ,its new-found political potential should result in improved social status.

"Educationally, gaps in status between young Negroes and whites," appear to be closing rapidly, and Negro workers are now found in wider distributions thruout the range of employment opportunities."

Tells of Labor's Help

Stanley H. Ruttenbergen, research director for the AFL-CIO, told the conference that "the American labor movement is leading the way in the integrating of the Negro into the labor force."

"We in the trade union movement point with pride to our accomplishments in bringing a measure of equal rights and opportunities to our Negro citizens," he said. "Labor, by its persistent efforts in the big mass production industries, has broken down discrimination against the colored worker.

"Equal status for Negro workers, the right to promotion, the right to equal job opportunities, while not completely won, is well on the way being broken down.

"The merger of the American labor movement has resulted in a united drive to attain equal rights and opportunities for all citizens. The constitution of AFL-CIO is clear-cut in its pronouncement that there shall be no discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Fought for Court Ruling

"We were out in the forefront with other groups in fighting the white citizens councils' attempts to offset the Supreme court decision on desegregation in our public schools.

"The AFL-CIO will continue to fight for the improvement of the economic, social, and welfare status of all Americans as we strive for the goal of equal opportunity for all."

PROPERTY AND WEALTH

Woman, 112 Petitions to Break Will

Courier p. 4
Sat. 3-17-56
Pittsburgh, Pa.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Mrs. Mittie Warren, 112-year-old former slave of Route 1, Union Springs, Ala., has filed a suit through her attorneys to break a will.

She claims that she is the only surviving relative of Dave W. Warren, who died last August in the sanitarium here. He was 38.

In legal papers filed Feb. 29, Attys. J. Edmund Odum and Thomas Seay, charges that Mrs. Eloise Williams of 2518 Ninth Avenue, South, executrix, filed a petition in Jefferson County claiming that she was the daughter of Mr. Warren, and therefore, laid claim to property at Airport Hills which is estimated to be worth several thousands of dollars.

138,000 Increase In Automobiles Forecast For Alabama By 1965

News Thurs. 6-14-56
Tuskegee, Ala.
P. 2

Special To The News

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Alabama's population of registered passenger cars will increase by more than 138,000 and there will be a gain of 56,000 families in the state by 1965, according to a study by Universal C. I. T. Credit Corp.

Charles A. Smith, Jr., of Birmingham, vice president in this area for the corporation, said his company's analysis of the expected growth in the state's population and in family income—without considering other important economic trends at work—points convincingly to higher levels of prosperity in the future.

Passenger car registrations by 1965, he said, should total more than 847,000, a 20 per cent increase over the 709,000 now registered.

The finance company official also forecast a population gain of about 7 per cent, or more than 218,000 persons, by 1965. This would bring the state's population to more than 3,362,000. As for families, he foresaw a gain of 7 per cent, raising the total to more than 877,000 as compared with about 821,000 families now.

Other encouraging factors in the automobile outlook, he said, are the rapid growth in two-car families, accelerated by the trend to suburban living; the sound record for credit repayment established by families purchasing cars; continued high levels of employmen, income and savings, and more aggressive selng by automobile manufacturers and dealers.

Modernization of highways and streets, including relief of city congestion and provision for more parking facilities, the finance company official added, are vital considerations in view of the expected growth in auto registrations.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY'S FOURTH

Advertiser Sun. 8-26-56
Montgomery, Ala.

Biggest Percentage Of State Tax Load Paid By Less Than Seven Per Cent Of Breadwinners

Less than seven per cent of Alabama's individual wager earners paid more than half of the $12,712,000 collected from the state income tax in 1955.

A detailed survey of state income tax collections during 1955, compiled by Russell L. Hungerford of the State Revenue Department, indicates that of the 197,449 individuals who paid the tax last year only 13,553 were in the top bracket of five per cent, having earned $5,000 or more in taxable income.

Yet this group, representing only 6.86 per cent of the total, paid 54.02 per cent of the tax collected.

COUNTY LOW

One of the interesting features of the report was evidence that Montgomery County, on a percentage basis, had fewer individuals in the high income bracket than any other county in the state except Chambers.

A total of 13,329 individuals in Montgomery County paid state income taxes in 1955, yet only 248 of them reported a taxable income of $5,000 or more, for a percentage of 1.86.

Chambers County, which reflects the big but relatively low textile payrolls, reported 3,437 taxpayers including only 59 in the top bracket. The Chambers' percentage was 1.72.

Meanwhile, Choctaw County took top honors for the most wage earners in the top bracket. Of the 181 taxpayers in the county, 27 of them (14.9 per cent) reported taxable incomes of $5,000 or more.

78 AT TOP

Close behind was Monroe County which reported 78 taxpayers in the top bracket out of a total of 547 individuals. Percentage - wise, this amounted to 14.2 per cent.

Only 11 other counties could claim the distinction of having 10 per cent or more of their taxpayers in the top high income bracket. They were Lowndes 12.7 per cent; Geneva 12.6; Greene 11.8; Wilcox 11.7; Barbour 11.4; Washington 11.1; Pike 10.9; Hale 10.9; Lamar 10.4; Dallas 10.1 and Houston 10.

As far as total taxes paid was concerned, Jefferson County quite naturally was far out front. Residents of that county paid $4,573,000 in state income taxes on a total income of $435,942,000.

In fact, the combined total of Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery counties exceeded the total of the remaining 64 counties of the state.

RECORD EARNINGS

Mobile's record was $166,568,000 earnings and $1,921,000 taxes paid; Montgomery individuals paid $1,065,000 in taxes on earnings of $88,108,000.

On the other extreme, Choctaw County, which lay claim to the highest percentage of big taxpayers, neverthless had the lowest total earnings of any county in the state—$1,330,000.

Choctaw's closest competitor for this unenviable position was Lamar County with total earnings of $1,412,000. Close behind was Cleburne with $1,460,000 and Bullock with $1,532,000.

BIRMINGHAM NEGRO BARRICADES STREET WITH OWNERSHIP CLAIM

Advertiser 7-25-56
Montgomery, Ala.

BIRMINGHAM, July 19 (AP)—The City of Birmingham doesn't think Mrs. Lizzie Blocker has any right to barricade a city street. But the 73-year-old Negro, who first barricaded Kappa Avenue last June, claims this is part of her property she bought more than 25 years ago.

Fri. 7-20-56

The city has filed a bill of enjoinder in circuit court, contending the property belongs to the municipality by "right of prescription."

7-20-56

It had been used as a street for some years before the woman claimed it as hers.

The following is a county-by-county breakdown of total individual earnings during 1955, and the amount of state income tax paid.

	Earnings	Tax
Autauga	$3,532,000	$33,500
Baldwin	14,298,000	146,904
Barbour	4,008,000	47,700
Bibb	2,017,000	16,700
Blount	3,925,000	29,700
Bullock	1,523,000	15,000
Butler	4,755,000	52,000
Calhoun	38,655,000	319,000
Chambers	15,480,000	87,200
Cherokee	2,075,000	19,000
Chilton	4,300,000	29,500
Choctaw	1,330,000	21,000
Clarke	5,400,000	66,000
Clay	1,930,000	14,300
Cleburne	1,480,000	11,000
Coffee	5,290,000	51,000
Colbert	21,437,000	173,000
Conecuh	1,822,000	18,300
Coosa	1,740,000	14,000
Covington	8,843,000	89,500
Crenshaw	2,615,000	21,400
Cullman	8,941,000	84,400
Dale	3,365,000	34,200
Dallas	15,771,000	187,700
DeKalb	5,320,000	46,000
Elmore	6,948,000	52,300
Escambia	8,168,000	90,500
Etowah	49,688,000	379,600
Fayette	3,056,000	29,600
Franklin	3,919,000	32,700
Geneva	2,734,000	31,900
Greene	1,669,000	24,400
Hale	2,436,000	26,500
Henry	1,876,000	21,500
Houston	14,843,000	162,200
Jackson	4,779,000	52,165
Jefferson	435,942,000	4,573,000
Lamar	1,412,000	13,300
Lauderdale	229,494,000	214,800
Lawrence	2,765,000	22,600
Lee	14,526,000	130,600
Limestone	6,355,000	66,400
Lowndes	1,587,000	21,000
Macon	4,614,000	45,000
Madison	38,844,000	398,000
Maregno	4,819,000	60,800
Marion	3,339,000	27,000
Marshall	10,753,000	104,500
Mobile	166,568,000	1,921,000
Monroe	4,071,000	54,700
Montgomery	88,108,000	1,065,000
Morgan	21,203,000	199,100
Perry	2,067,000	21,700
Pickens	3,304,000	30,900
Pike	5,259,000	60,300
Randolph	3,672,000	22,000
Russell	7,300,000	52,400
St. Clair	7,755,000	64,700
Shelby	5,487,000	33,700
Sumter	2,656,000	31,300
Talladega	24,050,000	176,300
Tallapoosa	12,042,000	88,900
Tuscaloosa	43,973,000	430,000
Walker	13,849,000	119,000
Washington	1,974,000	27,200
Wilcox	1,811,000	25,000
Winston	2,397,00	23,300
Out-of-state	5,212,000	53,200
TOTAL	$1,250,349,000	$12,712,000
TOTAL	$1,250,349,000	$12,712,000

37 1956

COLORADO

St Louis Group Discovers $10,000,000 Uranium

Informer 1.13

Washington

ST LOUIS — A man and wife team and a local Baptist minister have discovered and filed claims on uranium deposits worth anesti mated $10,000,000.

Sat. 10-13-56

The Rev Mr W E W Brown, pastor of the Leonard Avenue Baptist Church, has been named presi dent and manager of the newly formed St Lue Uranium Mines, Inc, with Mrs Louise Smith as secretary-treasurer. Mrs Smith's husband, James R. Smith is vice-president of the company.

Credit for the original discovery goes to Mrs Smith who went to Colorado in June 1955 following a uranium prospecting urged. She roughed it alone in the mountains with her Geiger counter and stake out the frst claims.

Returning to St Louis in October of '55, Mrs Smith consulted with the Rev Mr Brown, her pastor since childhood. As a result of this consultation, the three formed the present company and Mrs Smith returned to the site in June of this year.

The area now being prospected is in Rio Blanco county, just outside of Maeker, Colorado. The project consists of 65 claims filed of 20 acres each. The company was formed and incorporated under the laws of the State of Colorado September 1.

The Rev Mr Brown, who just returned from the area, said Mrs Smith had done "yeoman's work" at the site. He said she is still in Colorado "working lke a beaver."

Offices of the company are at the offices of the church, 1220 N. Grand Ave.

Housewife Claims Rich Uranium Hit

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va.

Sat. 10-13-56

Husband, Church And Pastor Aid In Mining Operations

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—(INS) — A 34-year-old St. Louis housewife was said this week to have discovered uranium sites in Colorado with a potential yield of an estimated $10 million.

37

Mrs. James R. Smith, wife of a post office clerk, is presently working the project in Rio Blanco County, Colorado, along with four or five members of the congregation of the Leonard Baptist Church of St. Louis.

The Rev. W. E. W. Brown, pastor of the church, who announced the find, was instrumental in obtaining some $4,000 to back Mrs. Smith in making preparations to mine the ore.

* * *

MRS. SMITH first went uranium hunting in Colorado in 1955. Since then she has staked out 65 claims of 20 acres each, all near Meeker, Colorado.

Rev. Mr. Brown said geologists have given him estimates upon the wealth of two of the claims at more than $10 million. The preacher showed this reporter three samples of what he said were uranium ore which he said were assayed at $15, $30 and $60 thousand a ton respectively.

AFTER MRS. Smith was assured that she had located potentially rich ore deposits, Rev. Mr. Brown and several members of the congregation of the Baptist church raised some $4,000 to purchase mining equipment. Because of a lack of available labor, four unemployed members of the church went to Colorado along with Rev. Mr. Brown to begin operations.

* * *

SO FAR the small group has mined some seven tons of ore which they understand is worth a total of $175,000.

A company known as the St. Lue Uranium Mines, Inc., is soon to be incorporated, according to Rev. Mr. Smith. The preacher is listed as president and general manager of the company with James Smith as vice president and his wife as secretary treasurer.

* * *

CREDIT FOR the original discovery goes to Mrs Smith who went to Colorado in June 1955 following a uranium prospecting urge. She roughed it alone in the mountains with her Geiger counter and staked out the first claims.

37 1956 D.C.

$15 Million Shopping Center Built On Site Owned By Former Slave

Black Dispatch Oklahoma City, Okla.

Feb. 10-19-56

WASHINGTON.—(ANP)—The history of the new $15 million Seven Corners shopping center here dates back to slavery days, centers around a slave, and tells a richer story than modern day fables of fairyland.

The 25-acre site where the magnificent new shopping center now stands was once a farm belonging to Frederick Foote sr., who was born a slave in 1800 on the Fitzhugh family farm in Ravensworth, located in a section of Fairfax county now known as Annandale.

Foote was an industrious worker with lofty ambitions and was often leased by neighboring farmers when they needed extra help.

Once while working on the Miner farm just outside of Falls church, Fred Foote saw a parcel of land that looked good to him. He dreamed of having some land like that for his own some day.

When the Civil War broke out, Foote worked as a blacksmith for Union troops. The Federal government built Fort Buffalo overlooking the slope of land Fred wanted. He worked all the harder and saved enough money to talk business with Farmer Miner. He bought about 28 acres from Miner for $500, and set up housekeeping with his new bride, Margaret Foote. They had three sons and two daughters. Their farm prospered, producing peaches, apples, gooseberries, cherries, quinces, and all kinds of vegetables. His peach trees were so fine, the white folks in the area used to talk about "that big peach orchard on the hill."

The Alexandria-Leesburg turnpike and another narrow road known now as Wilson boulevard, were the only roads in that area.

Foote saw to it that his five children went to the free school in Falls Church every day. He wanted them to have a good education.

He was over 60 when he bought the farm, but it meant a new way of life for the ex-slave—and he wanted to preserve it for his children.

When he died in 1895, he left a will deeding the property to his five children, but forbidding them to sell or lease it. His widow and most of the children stayed on at home for years after his death. Black Dispatch

Mrs. Margaret Foote Jackson died in 1928, the children came and went from time to time thereafter.

The new destiny of Seven Corners was shaped when Arlington boulevard—then known as Lee boulevard—cut through the area in the 1930's. It ran right along the Foote farm, nicking off a few acres at the western end.

Development followed rapidly as the new boulevard brought flooods of traffic into northern Virginia. The neighborhood grew.

Mrs. Virginia Foote Jackson and Frank Foote still lived in the home place amid all the surrounding development. Mrs. Margaret Foote Jackson lived in Washington and worked at the census bureau. Forrest Foote had deeded his share of the original home place to his sister, Margaret, and started a farm at Linglestown, Pa. Joseph S. Foote had disappeared in 1912 and was declared legally dead in 1938.

The Foote brothers and sisters began to get countless offers for their land, but their father's will kept them from selling until taxes began to get too high to pay.

Finally, in 1952, Mrs. Margaret Foote Jackson went to court to see if the land could be sold. An order was entered in Fairfax Circuit Court authorizing the sale, and the land was sold to Kass-Berger, Inc., for $750,000 for the shopping center.

Feb. 10-19-56

Stories of the big sale were carried in papers all over the country, and Joseph Foote, who wasn't dead at all, showed up to get his share of the money. Virginia and Frank Foote got their share, but didn't live very long thereafter.

Their part of the money was passed on to their children. Joseph Foote returned to Chicago and bought a home.

Mrs. Margaret Foote Jackson, only one of the original five heirs still living in the area, has been able to retire from her job and is living in Accokock, Md., with her daughter, Mrs. Arnetta Foote Phillips.

She doesn't think her father would be displeased if he came back now and saw that the farm has passed from his family's hands.

She said, "He just wanted to make sure we always had a home, and he certainly did that for us."

Today the Foote farm is known as "Seven Corners" shopping center and compares with any shopping center in the country.

37 1956

FLORIDA

Fla. vet's $51,000 estate to be given to VA fund

Afro-American Baltimore, Md
Sat. 2-18-56

BRADENTON, Fla. (ANP)—Manatee County Judge Robert Hensley Thursday signed an order giving the $51,868.47 estate of George W. Puseley to the Federal Government and bringing the strange case to a close.

Puesley died on Feb. 21, 1954 in the VA hospital at Augusta, Ga. The estate was composed of veteran's pay, allowances, insurance and other benefits.

He enlisted in the army in World War I from Manatee County, which is the reason the estate was settled here. He enlisted as a white man and, after the war was found to be insane and was confined to the hospital.

* * *

AT THE TIME of his death, a search was instituted for heirs, and it was learned that Puesley was actually a colored man, having "passed" as a white man to enlist in the army and having been thought one up to the time of his death.

The estate would go to the general post fund of the U.S., a Veterans Administration fund—a trust used to purchase recreational and athletic equipment for various VA centers.

Millionaires Getting Short Report Says

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
7-4-56

By HUGH MORRIS

WASHINGTON,—(INS)— A government report indicated that the U. S. could be running short of millionaires.

The Internal Revenue Service reported there were only 148 of them in 1952, compared with 171 in 1951 and an all-time high of 219 in 1950.

At least, that was the number of Americans who filed returns listing income of more than one million dollars for those years.

However, the Nation's supply of millionaires was still more adequate in 1952 than it was a decade ago. In 1944, there were only 62 of them; 71 in '45; 94 in '46; 114 in '47; 149 in '48; and 120 in '49.

Who were they? The Revenue Service won't say, although one official narrowed the field by telling a reporter: "not me."

The Service's statistical review of 1952 income also showed that nearly 18,000 returns that year reported taxable earnings of more than $100,000.

That was out of a total of 56 million returns filed in 1952, of which only 44 millions required the filer to pay any taxes at all. Altogether, they shelled out 28 billion dolars an average of $649 each, which was an increase of $67 over 1951.

But getting back to the 148 millionaries, their aggregate income, after business deductions was 289 million dollars. They paid 180 million dollars of it in income taxes, for an average of $1,217,541 each.

How did they get the dough? only five million dollars of their income was in the nature of wgaes and salaries. Dividends accounted for 132 millions. Little items like business profits and rents took care of the rest.

New York State boasted the largest number of millionaires with 43 Pennsylvania came next with 17, followed by Illinois with 13.

Texas had 11, California nine, Delaware eight, Florida, Michigan and Ohio six each. Connecticut five Indiana and Virginia three apiece, New Jersey, North Carolina, Oklahoma and Rhode Island two each and Arizona. Maryland. Minnesota. Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon. South Carolina. Tennessee, Wyoming and the District of Columbia one each.

Statistics In From 17 Companies

Journal + Guide P. 11
Sat. 7-7-56

Growth In Savings Accounts And Loans Shown In Reports

Norfolk, Va.

A report released recently on the activities of Negro building and loan associations disclosed that seventeen associations had assets totaling $59,405,331 at the close of 1954. This was an increase of $13,782,331 since 1949. By 1954 the aggregate savings in these associations had increased to $50,236,901.

The report was based on a survey undertaken last spring among 17 members of the American Savings and Loan League to get a general picture of these institutions as of Dec. 31 1954. At the convention of the league in Los Angeles last November, the body instructed the president to secure statistics on the operation of members of the league. Data secured had to be compared with statistics which these institutions provided to the U. S. Department of Commerce for the year 1949. This comparison reveals that notable growth took place in the five year period ending on Dec. 31, 1954.

* * *

TODAY there are about 30 Negro-owned and operated associations in the United States. Their aggregate standing can only be a matter for conjecture.

Until a few years ago consolidated reports on savings and loan associations were regularly issued by the Commerce Department, as were reports on Negro-owned banks and insurance companies. With the change of Administration in Washington the office which formerly compiled these reports was abolished and the studies discontinued. Negro business people have suffered other disadvantages at the hands of the new Administration also. The information which follows is an attempt to fill the gap.

* * *

PERHAPS the most striking change in the past five years was the roughly 430 per cent increase in aggregate assets for the 17 reporting associations going from $13,782,495 in 1949 to $59,405,331 in 1954.

This tremendous growth was reflected in the value of savings accounts which amounted to only $11,036,614 in 1949 but had risen to $50,236,901 five years later. These savings were held in 19.541 individual accounts in 1954. There is no figure available for comparison with 1949.

* * *

MORTGAGE loans kept the pace. In 1949 the institutions surveyed financed $11,728,813 in mortgages, whereas in 1954 their loan portfolios held $50,188,469 in mortgages.

With respect to monies laid aside for reserves, comparative figures reveal a tendency toward greater conservatism. For example, in 1949, some $589,775 were held in reserve, while in 1954 reserves were $2,933,339. This increase of about 500 per cent in reserves stands well above the average increase of about 430 per cent in other categories in this report.

* * *

THE 17 reporting associations are divided as follows: 10 chartered by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board; five are state mutual associations; and two are state stock associations. There were only five federally chartered associations in 1949. All institutions in 1954 were members of the Federal Savings and Loan Deposit Insurance Corporation.

The 1954 dividend rate for the reporting associations showed a varied pattern. Only one institution paid as high as 4 per cent, but eight returned 3½ per cent, and two paid 2 per cent.

THERE WERE 117 individuals employed by the reporting associations — 99 on a full-time basis and 18 as part-time employees. One association hired 14 full-time persons; another, 12 fulltime and 2 part-time; 2 institutions, 10 full-time each, one of them using a part-time employee also.

The oldest reporting institution was a state mutual founded in 1888. In 1889, a second state mutual was founded. Prior to 1921, six associations opened for business and in the decade ending 1930, three additional associations were set up. During the depression — 1931 to 1940 — only one new association began business, but from 1941 to 1952, seven new associations came on the scene.

37 1956

ILLINOIS

SWEEPSTAKES WINNER Wesley Bragg, 55, gets a happy, resounding, congratulatory kiss from his wife, Ernestine, after they received word that he was one of the $140,000 winners in the Irish Hospital Sweepstakes. A $65-a-week caller in the Baltimore and Ohio railroad freight house, Bragg, who lives at 6130 S. Parkway, Chicago, plans to take his first airplane ride and go to Hot Springs for a few baths.

Robert Cole's Will Is Found

BY JIM FOREE

Speculation on whether or not the late Robert A. Cole wrote a new will in 1953 came to a dramatic end last week when the document was filed in Chicago Probate court.

The will, dated Jan. 15, 1953, names as trustees of the Cole estate the widow, Mrs. Mary Cole, Theodore R. Hawes, secretary of the Metropolitan Funeral parlors, Inc., and Atty. Edward B. Toles.

The three-year-old document was found in a safety vault at the First National bank. The box was opened after a contempt petition was filed in Probate court against Mrs. Cole and her attorneys.

PLEADED ILLNESS

Mrs. Cole, who previously had been appointed to the temporary position of administratrix, twice had been ordered to open the vault but had pleaded illness for her failure to appear.

Hawes and Toles had contended since Cole's death on July 27 that a 1953 will did exist; however, prior to Tuesday's disclosure, only an unsigned copy of a will dated 1947 had been found.

The trust estate is composed of the funeral parlors, the building housing the funeral establishment, the business of the Metropolitan garage, the building housing the garage, a country home in Cassopolis, Mich., and a building in Chicago Heights.

The trust is to continue until the daughter, Roberta Cole, now 16, is 30 years old, or in case of her death, until the son, Robert A. Cole jr., is 35.

TO BE DIVIDED

Upon expiration of the trust, the estate is to be divided equally to the widow, the son and the daughter.

Besides naming the above trustees, the 1953 will includes the following provisions:

1. That the property at 915 Hyde Park blvd., Cole's personal wearing apparel and household effects, including household furnishings and all jewelry wherever located, go to Mrs. Cole.

ROBERT A. COLE

2. That the trustees pay from the net income of the trust estate, beginning one year from the date of his death, to the widow whatever sum they deem "fit and proper for the proper support and education of my two children, Robert A. Cole, jr., and my daughter, Roberta Cole."

3. That the trustees shall pay from the trust estate, "beginning immediately upon my death, the sum of $250 per week for the entire period of this trust to my wife. . ." (Provision was made for the temporary termination of this payment.)

4. That sums be spent for the training of his son to carry on the funeral business. The will also specified that Robert, jr., be employed "in the operation of said business and to manage the same when it appears consistent with the profitable and successful operation of said business."

Marshall Field Leaves $100,000 Each To Negro Grandchildren

Chicago, Dec. 5.—Bequests totaling $200,000 were left to two Negro grandchildren of the late Marshall Field, it was disclosed last week in the 60-page will of the great philanthropist, humanitarian and publisher.

Gregory Eldridge Bruce and Catherine Bruce, two of Field's 11 grandchildren, were granted $100,000 each under the will probated last Wednesday which totally bequested 30 million dollars to philanthropic purposes.

Mrs. Bettine Field Bruce, Marshall Field's daughter, is the wife of Eldridge Bruce, a Negro graduate of Howard university, who is studying child psychology in London under Anna Freud, daughter of Dr. Sigmund Freud.

Gregory Eldridge Bruce and Catherine Bruce are the children of Mr. and Mrs. Bruce. The Bruces reside in London.

37 1956

KANSAS

Supreme Court To Hear Case From Hutchinson

Call P.1

Sat. 1-27-56

Kansas City, Mo.

Washington, D. C. — (NNPA) — The United States Supreme Court Monday agreed to pass on the question of whether private property may be taken through condemnation proceedings by publishing one notice in the official city newspaper.

The case involves the property of Lee Walker, 80, who has a sixth grade education and has owned real estate in Hutchinson, Kas., for 49 years. He sought unsuccessfully in Kansas courts to enjoin the City of Hutchinson and its various officers from taking his property.

Mr. Walker claimed that the city of Hutchinson had never notified him of the action for condemnation of his property, but relied upon its purported power to bring such action by one publication in the official paper.

He contends that this "single notice" was insufficient to meet the requirements of the due process clauses of both the federal and state constitutions.

The American Civil Liberties Union is interested in the case. Attorneys for Mr. Walker contend that if the ruling of Kansas courts in this case is allowed to stand, any property owner in the United States—illiterate or educated, newspaper reader or non-reader, his address known or unknown—may be deprived of his property and compensation determined without notice and the right to be heard merely by publication in an official city newspaper.

Representing Mr. Lee are A. Lewis Oswald, a Hutchinson lawyer, and Herbert M. Levy of the ACLU.

$10,000 Awaits Unknown Heirs of Kentucky Woman

Call Kansas City, Mo. 8/
Jan. 9-7-56

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — A case of interest has come to light involving former residents of Kentucky and heirs probably residing somewhere in Tennessee, Missouri, Illinois, Kansas and the western part of Kentucky, involving $10,000.00 payable to valid heirs of the late Miss Sweete A. DeLoache, a former resident of the western part of Kentucky, near Paducah, who died at the age of 87 years in the city of New York in January, 1953, leaving an estate worth approximately $20,000.00.

Part of the $20,000.00 has been distributed to the NAACP, Salvation Army and other charitable organizations to which the eccentric spinster designated that part of her property should be turned over to these organizations after her death.

According to Charles W. Anderson, Jr., Louisville attorney, associated with Joseph L. McLemore, a New York attorney who is chief counsel in the case, it was the desire of Miss DeLoache, who was never married, that these organizations should benefit from her estate.

However, she made no disposition of the other $10,000.00, and Miss DeLoache, failed to name any residuary legatee or a person so named by her to receive the remainder of her possessions. Therefore, unless valid heirs come forth within the next few months, then the $10,000.00 will be turned over to the New York Comptroller as the surrogate may order.

After Mr. McLemore entered the case, he then had associated with him Charles W. Anderson, Jr., Louisville attorney, to endeavor to locate relatives of Miss DeLoache residing in the area embracing Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Kansas and Illinois.

Some months ago Mr. Anderson located Charles F. DeLoache, 159 Sherborne Drive, Columbus, Ohio, who could not remember any family connection to Sweete DeLoache, but who referred Mr. Anderson to an aged aunt, 80 years old, who resided at Lancaster, Ohio, named Mrs. Jennie DeLoache Thomas.

Mr. Anderson made several trips to the Ohio city trying to establish Mrs. Jennie DeLoache's kinship or heirship with Miss Sweete A. DeLoache, but without success. Mr. Anderson discovered that while the names are similar, he was unable to directly connect the Ohio DeLoache family which originally lived in western Kentucky and northern Tennessee, although he stated that he felt there was some remote kinship but it could not actually be proven.

From the history of the DeLoache family it appeared that Sweete A. DeLoache had a sister named Mattie DeLoache who later married a man named Harris, and that she moved to Kansas City, Mo., where she lived for approximately 25 years before her death; that she had another sister named Martha J. DeLoache, and that there was a relative by the name of Cornelius Keyes whose whereabouts have not been determined. From the investigation of the heirs of Sweete A. DeLoache, it appears that the family was of fair or light skin, and prior to and during the Civil War lived on plantations in western Kentucky and northwestern Tennessee.

Mrs. Jennie DeLoache Thomas, now 80 years of age, recalls that her branch of the DeLoache family separated shortly after the Civil War or during the Reconstruction period, and that her father was George W. DeLoache, a son of Josiah DeLoache, and that Josiah was a large plantation owner near Memphis and that there were approximately nine children by him.

At the close of the Civil War when the slaves were freed, her father, George DeLoache, then about 10 or 12 years of age, was brought by his mother to Lancaster, Ohio, where they have resided ever since, Mrs. Jennie DeLoache Thomas being the last of the nine children, did have a sister named Ruth ho once resided in Kansas City, Mo., but even though the connection apeared close, there has been no one up to this time who has established uncontradicted kinship to Sweete A. DeLoache.

There have been many trails of the missing heirs of Miss Sweete DeLoache, but Mr. Anderson feels that the closest trail was the one in Ohio.

Mr. McLemore stated that he encountered many amusing and embarrassing situations while trying to find heirs. He said "that most people we approached were cagy and convinced that we did not have $10,000.00 to give away. They all believed that we were kidding them. I could be pleased and happy to see this money presented to a proper heir."

Miss DeLoache accumulated her fortune over the years by making wise investments. Only three months remain for claimants for this money to come forward before the money is turned over to the New York courts. After New York State becomes executor, persons with legitimate claims may present them for the next ten years, but there will be more difficulty in presenting the claims to the state of New York than at the present time, to the executors.

If anyone has any information to any of the heirs of Sweete A. DeLoache, Cornelius Keyes, Martha J. DeLoache or Mattie DeLoache Harris, they might communicate with Charles W. Anderson, Jr., Attorney at Law, 608 Walnut Street, Room 403, Louisville, Ky.

$10,000 In Store For Woman's Kin

Informer
Sat. 9-15-56
Houston Texas

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — Louisville Attorney Charles Anderson disclosed last week, that he and a New York lawyer, Joseph L McLemore, are making a nation-wide search for the relatives of the late Miss Sweete O DeLoache, who died in New York in Jaunary leaving as estate of approximately $20,000.

If your name is DeLoache, you might come into money- $10,000 to be exact!

A former resident of West Kentucky, Miss DeLoache, 87 years old at the time of her death, left part of the $20,000 to be distributed between the NAACP, the Salvation Army and other charitable organizations. However, she made no disposition of the other $10,000 which will be turned over to the New York State Comptroller unless heirs are found within the next few months.

If you have any information relative to the whereabouts of kinsmen of Mrs Sweete A DeLoache, or Mattie DeLoache Harris, please communicate with Charles W Anderson Jr, 608 W Walnut Street, Louisville, Kentucky.

37 1956 LOUISIANA

La. Slave, Freed At 4, Dies Worth $340,000

Leefender

SHREVEPORT, La. — (ANP)— Last Tuesday closed the final chapter in the life of a 97-year-old Negro man who was born into slavery, never learned to read or write, but was worth more than $340,000 when he died.

Newton Smith was born on the McCain plantation here in 1859.

Last eek when Ansel Stroud, a white merchant, estimated Smith's land alone, he found that the 2,000 acres of top-grade cotton-producing earth is worth $340,000.

This doesn't include the mineral rights, pecan orchards or Smith's modest home.

FREED AT 4

Stroud said Smith was four years old when the Emancipation Proclamation gave him his freedom.

In 1895, Smith began farming after borrowing money from the late Frank McCain to buy two oxen. McCain was the son of the man who once owned Smith.

The next year, Smith bought two mules. Then, during his third year, he saved enough money to buy 40 acres of land.

Smith's farming operation grew rapidly and soon he realized he needed a bookkeeper. To meet this need, he sent his wife, Rosa, to school.

The ex-slave often did other kinds of farming work and at one time used 100 mules in his business, which included building levees clearing passages for highways and hauling jobs in oil fields.

ances said today, he was a wealthy man.

Ansel Stroud, a white planter and merchant from nearby Dixie, estimated that Smith's land alone, 2,000 acres of top-grade cotton producing soil, is worth $34,000.

MODEST HOME

And, Stroud said, that doesn't include the mineral rights, pecan orchards, cattle, farm equipment or Smith's home, a modest place that gave no indication of the owner's wealth.

Stroud said from personal experiences and from "old-timers" he had learned the following about Smith:

He was born on the McCain plantation near Greenwood, La., in 1859. Four years later, he was freed by the Emancipation Proclamation.

Smith began farming in 1885 after borrowing money from the late Frank McCain to buy two oxen. McCain was the son of the man who once owned Smith.

BOUGHT MULES

The next year, Stroud said, Smith bought a pair of mules. Then, during his third year, he saved enough money to buy 40 acres of land.

Smith's farming operation kept growing, and he soon realized he needed a bookkeeper. So, Smith, who never learned to write anything more than his name, sent his wife, Rosa, to school.

Throughout Smith's early years he went to McCain for loans.

Smith often ventured into fields other than farming. At one time he used 100 mules in his business which included building levees, clearing passages for highways and hauling jobs in oil fields.

Advertiser P.2-a

GET-RICH-QUICK

"Get rich quick schemes" were his main weaknesses, Stroud said. During the early days of oil development in this area Smith reportedly lost considerable money on worthless oil stock. But he soon learned, Stroud said.

One of his outstanding characteristics was his "knack or handling the colored people who worked on his plantation," Stroud said.

His survivors include his widow, Rosa, and an adopted son.

Ex-Slave Had Estate Valued At $340,000

Advertiser Fri. 11-23-56 Montgomery, Ala.

SHREVEPORT, La., Nov. 22 (AP) —Newton Smith was born a slave and he never learned to read and write. P. 1 37

But when the 97-year-old Negro died here Tuesday night, acquaint-

Ex-Slave Had Estate Valued At $340,000

SHREVEPORT, La., Nov. 22 (AP) —Newton Smith was born a slave and he never learned to read and write. Advertiser

But when the 97-year-old Negro died here Tuesday night, acquaintances said today, he was a wealthy man. P 1 37

Ansel Stroud, a white planter and merchant from nearby Dixie, estimated that Smith's land alone, 2,000 acres of top-grade cotton producing soil, is worth $34,000.

MODEST HOME

And, Stroud said, that doesn't include the mineral rights, pecan orchards, cattle, farm equipment or Smith's home, a modest place that gave no indication of the owner's wealth.

Stroud said from personal experiences and from "old-timers" he had learned the following about Smith: Montgomery

He was born on the McCain plantation near Greenwood, La., in 1859. Four years later, he was freed by the Emancipation Proclamation. Ala. Fri. 11-23-56

Smith began farming in 1885 after borrowing money from the late Frank McCain to buy two oxen. McCain was the son of the man who once owned Smith.

BOUGHT MULES

The next year, Stroud said, Smith bought a pair of mules. Then, during his third year, he saved enough money to buy 40 acres of land.

Smith's farming operation kept growing, and he soon realized he needed a bookkeeper. So, Smith, who never learned to write anything more than his name, sent his wife, Rosa, to school.

Throughout Smith's early years he went to McCain for loans.

Smith often ventured into fields other than farming. At one time he used 100 mules in his business which included building levees, clearing passages for highways and hauling jobs in oil fields.

Chronicle

'GET-RICH-QUICK'

"Get rich quick schemes" were his main weaknesses, Stroud said. During the early days of oil development in this area Smith reportedly lost considerable money on worthless oil stock. But he soon learned, Stroud said.

One of his outstanding characteristics was his "knack or handling the colored people who worked on his plantation," Stroud said. Fri. 11-23-56

His survivors include his widow, Rosa, and an adopted son.

Begins with 2 oxen, ends with $340,000

Ayer American Sat. 12-1-56 Baltimore, Md.

SHREVEPORT, La.—Newton Smith, who was too busy making money to learn how to read and write, died Wednesday at the age of 97. P1

His neighbors were surprised to learn that his estate is valued at more than $340,000.

Smith, who was four years old when emancipation came, began farming in 1885 after borrowing money to purchase two oxen from the son of the man on whose plantation he was born.

IN 1886, he bought a pair of mules and in his third year he had earned enough to buy 40 acres of land.

When he died Wednesday, a local banker estimated the 2,000 acres of top-grade cotton-producing soil is worth $340,000.

This figure might well be doubled, he said, by the mineral rights to the land which were also in Smith's name.

In addition he owned pecan orchards, cattle, the latest in farm machinery and equipment and his farm home, a modest place that gave no indication of Smith's financial standing.

* * *

FINDING HIMSELF handicapped by his inability to read and write, Smith sent his wife, Mrs. Rosa Smith to school.

She became his bookkeeper and treasurer of his far-flung enterprises and zealously protected his riches.

Branching out from farming, he at one time used 100 mules to build levees, clear passages for highways and heavy hauling jobs in oil fields.

He often took flyers on worthless oil stock, but was not long in learning how to spot a phony.

He is survived by his wife and an adopted son, to whom he willed his fortune.

Father and daughters in court over teacher's $35,000 estate

Afro-American P. 12 Sat. 9-21-56

Baltimore, Md.

BALTIMORE

For the second time since her death on December 28, 1954, relatives of Mrs. Estelle L. Arnold are in court to determine disposition of approximately $35,000 left by her.

William H. Langley, 2820 Ellicott Drive, brother of the late school teacher, has filed a suit against his daughter, Mrs. Ethel L. Williams, of Washington, for a share of a $10,253.11 savings bank account held jointly by the niece and aunt.

In his petition in Circuit Court No. 2, Mr. Langley says that prior to her death Mrs. Arnold caused the name of Mrs. Williams to be placed on the joint account.

He says that Mrs. Arnold took this action for two reasons: first, so that Mrs. Williams could draw funds for Mrs. Arnold in the event the latter became so incapacitated that she was unable to get to the bank; and second, that after her (Mrs. Arnold's) death, Mrs. Williams would have funds to provide for his (Mr. Langley's) needs.

* * *

MR. LANGLEY'S petition says that Mrs. Williams acknowledged these instructions from Mrs. Arnold, and from time to time has made certain distributions from the account in accordance with that agreement.

He charges, however, that the payments have been irregular and of varied amounts. He cannot, says his petition, depend with any degree of certainty upon receipt of the funds.

He asked the court to:—

Enjoin Mrs. Williams from making further withdrawals;

Restrain the Savings Bank of Baltimore, in which the funds were deposited, from disbursing to Mrs. Williams any of the funds; and,

Enjoin George W. F. McMechen, executor for the estate, from transfering or delivering to Mrs. Williams any property or funds due her from the estate.

Mr. Langley also asked the court to pass an order declaring Mrs. Williams trustee, instead of owner, of the funds, and that the trusteeship be for his benefit.

He also wishes the court to determine the amount of money to be paid to him and the time of payment.

* * *

RECORDS OF the Baltimore Savings Bank show that Mrs. Arnold opened an account on Oct. 7, 1953, in trust for herself and Mrs. Williams, joint owners and subject to the order of either.

The records also show that a month following Mrs. Arnold's death, Mrs. Williams withdrew the balance in the account, $7,533.

Mrs. Williams says that the document creating the trust contains none of the directions or authorizations claimed by Mr. Langley.

* * *

IN A WILL dated May 14, 1954, Mrs. Arnold left the major portions of her estate to Mrs. Williams and another niece, Mrs. Estelle Lindsay, of 1012 N. Eden St., this city.

The will included a bequest of $100 cash to Mr. Langley, and stated: "My reason for not being more liberal is his failure to extend such courtesies as I deserve."

Other bequests included $50 to a third niece, Mrs. Thelma Bantum of Penns Grove, N.J.; $100 to Madison Street Presbyterian Church; $100 to Provident Hospital; a diamond ring to Mrs. Lindsay and a Chinese vase and teakwood table to Mrs. Williams.

The will stipulated that all the rest and residue of the estate by shared by Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Lindsay.

The estate included properties at 1614 McCulloh Street and 832 N. Carey Street, and $6500 cash.

* * *

THE WILL also said "It is my desire that the two pieces of real estate be sold by my executor for the most money obtainable, and the proceeds be applied to any and all expenses incident to settlement of my estate and payment of such legacies as set forth."

However, when Mr. McMechen petitioned the court to sell the properties, Mesdames Williams and Lindsay filed a petition to prevent the sale.

* * *

IN SEPARATE petitions filed by them each said that they elected to take the property.

They said that they had agreed that Mrs. Williams have the Carey Street property and Mrs. Lindsay, the McCulloh Street property.

They pointed out that there was no need to sell the property to pay bequests and settlement fees because there was sufficient cash in the estate to meet all obligations.

* * *

THE COUSINS won this suit when the court ruled that the expression of Mrs. Arnold of a "desire" that a sale be made, was not a positive command or directive.

The court also ruled that the only duties entrusted to the executor under the will are to pay the expenses of administration, the debts of the deceased and the legacies bequeathed by her.

The Carey Street and McCulloh Street properties were each valued at $9,000.

$100,000 Rhetta Estate To Widow

37 Md

Afro American

Physician's will drawn up in 1947

P. 18

Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 12-1-56

BALTIMORE

A three - paragraph will, drawn on August 10, 1947, by the veteran physician, Dr. B M. Rhetta Sr., left his entire estate to his wife, Mrs. Clara Brown Rhetta.

While no estimate of Dr. Rhetta's worth is given in the will, in June of 1955 a legal report noted that the physician was worth over $100,000 at that time.

This report listed $50,000 in property holdings; $25,000 in bonds and savings; $20,000 in insurances and $20,000 in other assets and resources.

Under the will Mrs. Rhetta is given full power to sell, mortgage or in any other manner dispose of the whole or any part of the estate without court order.

* * *

THE WILL ALSO appointed Mrs. Rhetta executor without bond, but she has renounced the right to administer the estate in favor of their son, Dr. B. M. Rhetta Jr.

Letters of administration have been granted to the son, along with the probation of the will.

Dr. Rhetta Jr. posted only $10,000 bond, indicating that the bulk of the father's wealth may be held jointly with the widow or children.

The will also decreed:

"In the event my wife does not survive me, or surviving me, after her death. I hereby give, devise and bequeath to my three children, in cash or in kind, all of my estate of whatever kind to be divided 33⅓ percent each to C. Erovelle Brinkley, Dr. Helen L. Rhetta and Barnett Rhetta Jr."

* * *

MRS. BRINKLEY died 10 days before her father.

She, along with the son, was named to administer the estate in the event their mother predeceased Dr. Rhetta Sr.

The will was witnessed by their next door neighbors, Ossarew F. Gee and Mrs. Cassie E. Gee.

It was held in Dr. Rhetta's safe until his death on Oct. 2.

Dr. Rhetta, a practicing physician here for 47 years was 72 when he died in his sleep.

He and his wife were married in June, 1909

Grandma's Ticket Worth $140,000; Two More Win

Matron can now assist blind mate

Afro-American Sat. 6-16-56 Baltimore

A 40-year-old grandmother, a 55-year-old freight handler, and a matron whose 69-year-old husband is hopelessly blind won $140,000 pots of gold in the Irish Sweepstakes recently run at Upson Downs, Dublin, Ireland, it was learned this week.

"God bless our home!"

It may be sacrilegious to associate God in any way with gambling.

But—those words, "God bless our home," which are prominently displayed in thousands of households, were written on the back of an Irish Sweepstakes ticket that was worth $140,000 to a Newark, N.J., grandmother, last week.

* * *

"I STILL CAN'T believe it's true," cried the wife of a Chicagoan, who was interviewed after she had been informed that her husband had also won $140,000 in the derby on a ticket on the French horse, Lanvandin, which placed first in the derby.

"It's too bad this money couldn't have come to us before," a Cambridge, Mass., housewife, who was the third colored American to win the $140,000 first-place prize, told newsmen, Wednesday.

* * *

MRS. LAURA GEORGE, grandmother of 176 S. 11th St., told the AFRO that she earns $60 a week as a machine operator at the Chatham Electronics Corp. in Livingston, where she has been employed for five years.

Her husband is employed as a truck driver.

When she was informed that she held one of the tickets for the top prize, Mrs. George said: "I'm not in the least excited. I won't believe it until I see the money."

Afro-American

THE CHICAGO winner, Wesley Bragg of 6130 S. Parkway, when told by telephone by his wife, that he had won $140,000, quipped, "That's nothing, sweetheart, I've won that much throwing dice."

Employed at the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, at $65 per week, Bragg was said by his wife to have had two big desires for years that he can now satisfy—"to take a plane ride and go to Hot Springs for just one bath."

IN CAMBRIDGE, Mass., the one regret of Mrs. Katherine Moore, 54, is that the $140,000 came to her too late to be used in an effort to save her husband, James's sight.

Dr. Bourne leaves $60,000 to family

Afro-American P. 18 Baltimore Md. Sat. 8-11-56

FREDERICK, Md. — Dr. Ulysses G. Bourne Jr. has posted $1,000 bond, and will administer the estate of his father, Dr. Ulysses G. Bourne Sr., who died, here, July 17, at the age of 82.

The low bond does not indicate the value of the estate which is expected to approximate between $50,000 and $60,000.

The will, drawn on April 5, 1955, with the exception of bequests to his widow, Mrs. Laura Highly Bourne, divided the estate in equal shares among his three children.

In addition to Dr. Bourne, other children are Dr. Blanche Bourne Jordan of Washington and Mrs. Gladys B. Thornton of Baltimore. The will was probated in Orphans' Court here Monday.

* * *

THE WIDOW will inherit the home property at 235 W. South St. for life; the balance of an insurance policy after funeral expenses are paid, and one-fourth of the residue of the estate after bequests to the children are filled.

Dr. Bourne Jr. will receive property at 25-27 W. All Saint St.; one-third of the building and loan association shares owned by the father; all of his father's office furniture and medical equipment; a third of the personal household furniture and a fourth of the residue of the estate.

Mrs. Thornton will receive properties at 108, 110, and 112 Ice St., a third of the building and loan shares, a third of the furniture and a fourth of the residue.

Dr. Jordan will receive properties at 32 South Court St. and 115, and 117 Ice St., a third of the building and loan shares, a fourth of the residue, and a third of the furniture.

The three children will share the home upon the death of their step-mother.

The absence of any bequests to institutions and individuals who served him is explained by those close to the late physician who point out that his philanthropies during his lifetime were many, and in fact exceeded $70,000.

It is known for example, that a former household worker was given a house and substantial funds before his death, and a former minister of Asbury Methodist Church where Dr. Bourne was a longtime trustee, was gifted with land. Likewise, the physician's gifts to institutions and individuals were generous while he lived.

The will was drawn by Wilbur F. Sheffield Jr., attorney, and witnessed by his secretary, Miss Helen M. Waltz.

Dr. Bourne was this town's most prominent physician for most of the 50 years he practiced here.

Mrs. Whittington leaves $50,000

Afro-American P. 20 Sat. 9-22-56 Baltimore, Md.

NEWARK

"All we can say at this time is that the estate is 'quite' substantial. It will be a few more weeks before we can learn its true value."

This information was given Tuesday to the AFRO by an associate of Philip Mandelbaum, Newark lawyer, who with Mrs. Viola Taylor, 598 Jefferson Ave., Brooklyn were named executors of the estate of the late Mrs. Annie E. Whittington of 178 N. 10th St.

The successful pioneer real estate dealer, a native of Scotland Neck, N.C., died Sept. 1, at the age of 82.

SOME OF her relatives and prominent citizens who knew of her capacity for a shrewd business deal estimated that the estate, in cash, property and other investments may reach $50,000.

The beneficiaries, according to her will filed for probate in the Hall of Records this week, include:

Three nationally known civil rights, educational and youth organizations; two churches, a scholarship association, The Newark Evening News Fresh Air Fund, The Old Folks Home in Montclair and several relatives and friends in four states and Washington.

* * *

MRS. WHITTINGTON decreed that, after specific bequests have been fulfilled, "55 per cent of the rest of the estate be used to set up the A. E. Whittington Memorial for the United Negro College Fund."

This is "to be used as a scholarship fund, and the income given for needy colored children to help them in paying tuition fees in attending college.

"The fund is to be invested by the executors in sound investments only.

"In addition to the income, so much of the principal shall be used for this purpose as the trustees shall find necesary and proper in doing so."

* * *

THE SPECIFIC bequests follow.

The NAACP, $500; 13th Avenue Presbyterian Church, $500; Mrs. Reynold E. Burch, as trustee for scholarship fund for worthy colored children in my name (Junior Leaguers), to be paid out at her direction, $500.

Blanche Carolyn Lawrence, when she reaches 30, the sum of $1,000; Ann Elizabeth Lawrence, when she reaches 25, the sum of $200. (They are children of Rudolph Lawrence, a barber and grandnephew of the deceased, and his wife Elizabeth.)

James Dula, in trust for his daughter, Joan of Brooklyn, $200; Mrs. Carrie Lawrence, a niece of Franklin, Va.; $100; Mrs. Viola Taylor of Brooklyn, $300; Mrs. Mattie S. Boyne, a niece of Rocky Mount, N.C., $500.

* * *

QUEEN OF ANGELS Church, Roman Catholic, a house at 94 Wilsey St.; to all tenants at the deceased's home at 178 N. 10th St., two months' rent free.

Mrs. Frye, a friend of East Orange, $100 cash and a grandfather's clock; Mrs. Malloy, a friend of Montclair, $100 cash and a silver serving tray.

Mrs. Blaine, a secretary's desk, electric frying pan and electric rotesserie.

* * *

MRS. WHITTINGTON bequeathed "all the rest, residue and remainder of the estate, both personal and mixed of whatsoever nature and wheresoever located" as follows:

Irene S. Jones, Scotland Neck, N.C.,20 percent; the Home for the Aged, Montclair, 10 percent; The New Boys' Club Camp Fund, 10 percent; The Newark Evening News Fresh Air Fund, five percent.

37 1956 MICHIGAN

Medic Wills $10,000 to Meharry

Courier

Leaves $85,000 Estate

P. 28

DETROIT — Meharry Medical College will receive $10,000, to be used by the president and dean of the dental department, for post graduate students, and to finance scholarships in the dental college under terms of the will of the late Dr. Winfred H. Orr, dentist.

Sat. 2-23-56

The Probate Court will hear the petition of Laselve Howell to be named the administrator of the estate of his late uncle on April 9.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Court records disclose the estate has been valued at upwards of $80,000 in real estate and about $5,000 in cash.

* * *

RELATIVES AND friends of the doctor who died Jan. 31, will share in the estate, living both in the United States and Jamaica British West Indies where Orr was born.

The will, written in 1954 and witnessed by Leo Charles Williams of 2646 Pingree, and James Gregory, 519 E. Forest, makes the following bequests under provision that all debts and expenses incurred by burial, funeral and sickness are first liquidated.

1. That the rents from housing units at 156 Westminster, 276 E. Warren, and Twenty-fifth Street, Vinewood, be used to pay debts and tax assessments.

2. That 1/20 of the Westminster property net income be given his sister-in-law, Mrs. Orr of New York City, to provide for the support of her son, Robert, to include his education.

3. To pay to Rudy Bass or his parents the sum of $1,000 in whole or when convenient.

4. To pay to Marilyn Bradshaw, his god-child, the sum of $500.

5. To pay to his sisters, Mrs. Mureil Brown and Mrs. Lucille Crowder Orr, both of New York City, and his brother, Albert Orr, and his niece, Jean Orr, each $500.

6. To pay to Meharry Medical College $1,000 per year for ten years for post graduate studies and scholarships in the dental department.

7. All personal belongings and property to be given his brother Ivan.

8. To pay his cousin, Cynthia Heary of Jamaica, British West Indies, the cost of transportation and education up until she becomes a nurse, and if graduated a nurse in the United States, to pay her $500.

9. His Cadillac automobile to be given to either his brother Ivan or his nephew Howell, providing one of them has a Cadillac and the other hasn't, or if neither one has a Cadillac or if both have a Cadillac, that it be sold with the proceeds going to the general estate.

10. In ten years after all bequests have been satisfied the following disposition will be made of the real estate:

To nephew Robert Orr the Westminster Street property.

To his brother and sisters and niece the Twenty-fifth Street and the Vinewood Street property.

To his brother Ivan the Palmer Avenue property.

To his nephew Lasvele Howell the 144 Boston Boulevard property with an option from its present resident, Mrs. Beatrice Baker, to buy the property.

To Norman, Howard and Jerry Brown of New York City the Warren Avenue property. The equity in the Forest Avenue property is to be added to the general estate.

The office is left to Dr. Orr's associate, Dr. James Gregory, until such time as Norman Orr is a practicing dentist in Detroit. He may join Dr. Gregory or rent to the doctor for a nominal fee. He may also sell out to Dr. Gregory.

Dr. Orr died two weeks ago following a heart attack.

4-year battle for $750,000 estate lost

Afro-American Sat. 5-26-56 Baltimore, Md.

JACKSON, Miss. — A four-year legal battle between colored and white alleged heirs to the estate of Sim Burnside was decided last week in favor of the whites by the Mississippi State Supreme Court. P. 3

The court upheld a lower court decision giving the estate to W. A. Burnside and other white relatives who claimed the estate after executors filed a will shortly after Sim's death leaving the bulk of it for a game and fish preserve.

* * *

LATER, TENNESSEE BURNSIDE and other colored members of the Burnside clan contested the court's action, claiming to be illigitimate children and rightful descendants of the wealthy bachelor.

They filed a petition asking the court for adjudication of the property as theirs, but the Chancery Court ruled that the white Burnsides were the lawful heirs. That decision has now been upheld by the Supreme Court.

Negroes Lose In Plea For Estate

Birmingham, Ala.

JACKSON, Miss., May 14 (U.P.) —A Group of Negroes claiming kin to a Neshoba County white man are not entitled to share in his $250,000 estate, the State Supreme Court ruled today.

Sim Burnside willed that his vast land holdings be turned into a wildlife refuge and left nothing to his relatives. A group of white cousins, however, succeeded in having his will ruled invalid on ground he was not of sound mind when he made it.

Tennessee Burnside and several other Negroes filed suit, claiming they were first cousins and closer kin than the 25 white cousins. Tues. 5-15-56

They said they were descendants of a former slave whom they said was the wife of Sim Burnside's father.

The Neshoba County Circuit Court denied the claim and the Supreme Court in a brief decision said the chancellor's decision in favor of the descendants of Joseph Burnside "is abundantly supported by the record."

The Supreme Court affirmed a life sentence given Negro Theldor Lang for the criminal asault of a Laurel white woman in her home on Aug. 4, 1954. Lang, a college graduate who taught for several years, was arrested one year after the crime when the victim told officers she saw her attacker on the street.

The court said the fact that fingerprints taken from a window ledge did not match Lang's was no ground for reversal because the victim testified her assaliant told her he had a "buddy' with him.

Negro Clan Loses Fight For Estate

Defender P. 10 Sat. 6-9-56 Chicago, Ill.

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) —A legal battle between white and Negro groups for the $750,000 estate of the late Slim Burnside, wealthy white lumberman and landowner, has been won by the white heirs.

The Mississippi Supreme Court upheld a lower court's decision giving the estate to the white Burnsides.

Following the lumberman's death in 1952, executors of the estate filed a will which left the majority of the estate for a game and fish preserve.

UPHELD CLAIM

The will was contested by W. A. Burnside and other relatives and a court order upheld their claim.

Later, Tennessee Burnside and other Negroes of the Burnside name claimed to be illegitimate children and rightful descendants of the wealthy bachelor and filed a petition for adjudication of the property as theirs.

The chancery court ruled the white Burnsides were the lawful heirs. The Supreme Court upheld that decision.

CHANCELLOR FAVORS COLUMBUS NEGROES

Commercial Appeal Fri. 10-12-56 Memphis, Tenn.

They Can Keep Home—Paper Signed Was In Error

Special to The Commercial Appeal

COLUMBUS, Miss., Oct. 11. — John C. Phillips, 86-year-old Negro, and his 75-year-old wife can keep the old homestead. P. 31

The ruling was handed down by Chancellor R. P. Sugg in a lawsuit brought by the couple against Modern Home Improvement Co. of Jackson, Miss.

The Negroes claimed they thought they were signing a deed for four acres to their son, Edward Phillips, when a representative of the company got them to sign a paper, which actually was a trust deed for their 40 acres and home, plus a promisory note for $2,702.50.

The mistake was brought to light when the company sought to sell the property at a trustee's sale on Sept. 25. Chancellor Sugg issued a temporary injunction against the sale at that time, and said Friday morning he had made the injunction permanent. But they must deed to their son the four acres they thought they had already given him.

37 1956 MISSOURI

Reuben Street Estate Appraised at $143,120

The Reuben S. Street estate was appraised at a total value of $143,120.46 in an inventory filed in the probate court last week by the executor of the estate.

Of the total amount, $21,500 is in real estate and $121,620.46 in personal property.

Appraisers for the estate were Attorneys Leona H. Pouncey and James H. Herbert. The City National Bank and Trust company is the executor.

Two pieces of real property were listed in the inventory, a house at 2630 E. 29th St., valued at $12,500 and a house at 2628 E. 29th St. valued at $9,000.

Personal property included bank accounts, totalling $46,900.33; corporation stock valued at $6,350; mort-[illegible]es, bonds and notes totalling [illegible]38.63; furniture and household [illegible] valued at $1,911.10.

[illegible] Street, founder of Street's hotel, died on Aug. 16, 1946.

In his will, dated May 2, 1956, he left the bulk of his estate to a trust fund to be used to pay monthly sums to his two sisters and two brothers and to provide college educations for his nieces and nephews. Bequests of $500 and $1,000 were left to various relatives.

The inventory states that Mr. Street owned 35 shares of capital stock in the Tri-State bank of Memphis, valued at $3,850 and 25 shares of Universal Life Insurance company stock valued at $2,500.

He had a checking account in the Grand Avenue bank for $22,407.52 and a savings account at the same bank for $23,932.59.

M[illegible] held a promissory note [illegible] Robert and Ella Wil[illegible] amount of $80,000 for [illegible] on March 29, 1954, of $[illegible]l. The unpaid balan[illegible], which is included in [illegible]ssets, is $65,839.19.

C[illegible]son and Lee Vertis Swi[illegible] attorneys for the Stre[illegible]

Paul Crawford Left $3,000 By Employer

Call Pa. Sat. 4-27-56

Kansas City, Mo.

Paul Crawford, 2450 Chestnut St., was bequeathed $3,000 in the will of Mrs. Effie E. Speas who died on April 3 and whose will was probated last week. Mr. Crawford worked as chauffeur for the Speas family for 34 years, beginning his long service on Sept. 8, 1921.

Mrs. Speas was the widow of John W. Speas, founder of the Speas Co., which makes vinegar.

Mr. Crawford came to Kansas City in 1918 from Texas and three years later went to work for the Speas family. He said that he answered an ad placed by the family intending to hold the job just two weeks as he had other employment. After the first two weeks, Mrs. Speas urged him to stay on so he agreed to stay for another two weeks. He remainded 34 years.

He will continue to work for Mrs. Speas' son, Victor E. Speas, 3728 Holmes.

Mr. Crawford is a native of Texarkana, Texas. He is a deacon at the St. Stephen Baptist church. His wife is Mrs. Maggie Crawford. They have two children, a son, Jesse Crawford of the city and a daughter, Mrs. Essie Lee Jones of Shreveport, La.

Since his home on Chestnut is already paid for, Mr. Crawford said this week that he would invest his bequest.

$10 million in uranium discovered

Afro-American Baltimore, Md

Sat. 10-13-56

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—A man and wife team and a local Baptist minister have discovered and filed claims on uranium deposits worth an estimated $10,000,000, it was reported here last week.

The Rev. W. E. W. Brown, pastor of Leonard Avenue Baptist Church, has been named president and manager of the newly formed St. Lue Uranium Mines, Inc., with Mrs. Louise Smith as secretary-treasurer.

Mrs. Smith's husband, James R. Smith, is vice-president of the company.

Credit for the original discovery goes to Mrs. Smith who went to Colorado in June 1955 following a uranium prospecting urge. She roughed it alone in the mountains with her geiger counter and staked out the first claims.

* * *

RETURNING TO ST. LOUIS in October of '55, Mrs. Smith consulted with the Rev. Mr. Brown, her pastor since childhood. As a result of this consulation, the three formed the present company and Mrs. Smith returned to the site in June of this year.

The area now being prospected is in Rio Blanco County, just outside of Meeker, Colo. The project consists of 65 claims filed of 20 acres each. The company was formed and incorporated under the laws of the State of Colorado Sep. 1.

The Rev. Mr. Brown, who just returned from the area, said Mrs. Smith had done "yeoman's work" at the site. He said she is still in Colorado "working like a beaver."

Offices of the company are at the church, 1220 N. Grand Ave.

$106,000 AWARDED IN OFFICERS' SHOOTINGS

NEW YORK (ANP) — A total of $106,000 in damages was awarded in two separate damage suits against the City of New York growing out of shootings of persons by officers of the law.

Mrs. Olga Ramirez, 34, of 606 E. 13th St., won $66,000 in her $100,000 suit for the death of her husband, Jose, who was slain by an off-duty patrolman five years ago. The shooting occurred during an argument over a traffic accident.

Arthur Middleton, 48, truck-driver of 146-13 105th Ave., Jamaica, Queens, settled his $150,000 suit in Supreme Court for $40,000. He was shot in the back by a city detective outside a Harlem tavern four months ago.

Say Deposits In Colorado

Defender Sat. 11-13-56

Chicago Ill.

ST. LOUIS — A man and wife team and a local Baptist minister say they have discovered and filed claim on what they consider unranium deposits worth an estimated 10 million in Colorado.

The Rev. W. E. W. Brown, pastor of the Leonard Avenue Baptist Church, has been named president and manager of the newly-formed St. Lue Uranium Mines, Inc., with Mrs. Louise Smith as secretary - treasurer. Vice President of the company is Mrs. Smith's husband, James R.

Credit for the supposed original discovery is given to Mrs. Smith who went to Colorado in June, 1955, following a unranium prospecting urge. She roughed it alone in the mountains with her Geiger counter and reportedly staked out the first claims.

Returning to St. Louis in Oct. of 1955, Mrs. Smith consulted with Rev. Brown, her pastor since childhood. As a result of this consultation, the three formed the present company and Mrs. Smith returned to the site in June of this year.

The area now being prospected is in Rio Blanco county, just outsile of Meeker, Colo. The project includes 65 alleged claims filed of 20 acres each. The company was formed and incorporated under the laws of the State of Colorado Sept. 1

Rev. Brown, who just returned from the area, said Mrs. Smith had done "yeoman's work" at the site. He said she is still in Colorado "working like a beaver."

Offices of the company are at the offices of the church, 1220 N. Grand Avenue.

Uranium finders win 1st round in $57 million suit

Afro-American p. 1
Baltimore Md
Sat. Apr 28 1956

By SAMUEL HAYNES
Editor, N.J. AFRO

TRENTON, N J.—If their luck holds, two enterprising brothers whose recent announcement that they had discovered a rich uranium deposit at Raven Rock was debunked by state geologists, may strike it rich.

This possibility arose Friday when Vernon and Alvin Gatling of South River won an important decision in superior court in their $57,800,000 suit against Mr. and Mrs. Anton Schuck, owners of the land in Hunterdon County.

* * *

AN AGREEMENT between the Gatlings and the Schucks hammered out in the chambers of Superior Court Judge C. Thomas Schettino provided:

1. That plaintiffs and defendants would permit an expert to appraise the land to determine if uranium mining would be profitable.

The expert must be acceptable to both sides, but, should a disagreement occur over the expert, the court would appoint one.

* * *

2. **THAT SHOULD** the expert decide that the mining would be profitable, the Gatlings would be permitted to mine the uranium, with the Schucks receiving a royalty of between five and 10 per cent.

Judge Schettino set April 27 as the deadline for the expert's report on the value of the mine to be filed.

The Gatlings are asking $28,900,000 in damages for themselves, and a similar amount for the Gatling mining and development.

Afro-American p. 2
Sat. Apr 28 1956

THEIR COUNSEL is Walter Gray, former Assistant U.S. Attorney in Philadelphia.

The brothers began prospecting for uranium in March, 1953, in Raven Rock Quarry.

They live at Bassett Pl. in South River which is also the office of their company.

Bruce Children Share In Fortune Of Marshall Field

Defender P. 1 Chicago, Ill. Sat. 12-1-56

Will Gives Them $100,000 Each

Defender P. 1 Chicago, Ill.

NEW YORK — Three of Marshall Field's grandchildren involved in the celebrated interracial marriage of the late multi-millionaire's daughter, Bettine, to Eldridge Bruce, 33, Howard university graduate, will share with eight other grandchildren in a fortune estimated to exceed $32,000,000, it was disclosed last week.

Sat. 12-1-56

The three are Bettine Marshall Goodall, Mrs. Bruce's daughter by her first marriage, to Dr. McChesney Goodall, jr., a Yale university professor, and Gergory Eldridge Bruce and Catherine Bruce who were fathered by Bettine's second husband.

It was not made clear to what extent Mrs. Bruce herself shares in her father's huge fortune. Her brother, Marshall Field, jr., editor and publisher of the Sun-Times, is chief recipient in the will which was filed for probate in the Suffolk County Surrogate's court, Riverhead, N. Y., last week.

$100,000 EACH

However, each of the 11 grandchildren is bequeathed $100,000.

Mrs. Bruce's marriage to the Negro student was revealed in 1953 when she engaged in a court fight with her former husband Dr. Goodall, to keep her family together.

At that time Mrs. Bruce asked court permission to take her daughter, Bettine, 9, to England where she and Bruce planned to live in Bromley Kent, a suburk of London. She revealed that she was expecting another child; and wanted her whole family to live in a non-segregated community.

She also disclosed that she had been married to Bruce for two years having married in the Virgin Islands, in December, 1952. However, they lived apart for the sake of her daughter, Bettine.

Bruce, the son of Roger Bruce of Washington, went to England to do work in child psychology in Hampstead.

Defender

Dr. Goodall opposed his former wife's taking their child to England on the ground that the interracial couple would not provide a "happy" home for the child.

Field, who was president of Field Enterprises, Inc., which publishes Parade Magazine, Chicago Sun-Times, Pocket Books and other publications, died at his Lloyd's Neck, N. Y., estate recently after a six-week illness.

A brief summary of the will states:

Sat. 12-1-56

"After providing for payment of debts and taxes, pecuniary legacies are given to all personal employees except those covered by a retirement plan. Ruth Pruyn Field, Field's widow, is given the homes in Long Island, New York City and South Carolina, the personal effects, and cash legacies of $1,100,000.

"Stocks, bonds, notes and similar assets with a face value of over $30,000,000 and certain real estate, are bequeathed to the Field Foundation, Inc.

"Included in the $30,000, going to the Field Foundation, Inc., are certain senior securities of successful corporation which Mr. Field founded in 1944 to consolidate his publishing ventures; — Chicago Sun-Times, World Book, Childcraft, Parade, Pocket Books, Little Golden Books, Simon and Schuster.

MUSEUM BENEFITS

"Daumier's famous painting, "L' Amateur D'Estampes,' is bequeathed to the Chicago Art Institute.

"If Mrs. Field disclaims any of the real property, the disclaimed property goes to the Field Foundation, Inc. The residuary estate is given to Mr. Field's son, Marshall Field, jr. Mr. Field, jr., George Richardson, Carl J. Weitzel and John F. Wharton are name as executors.

"No estimate of the net value of the residuary estate can be given at this time. It can be stated that a substantial part of Field's inheritance from his grandfather's estate was given to his family and to charity during his lifetime.

CONTROLLING STOCK

"Included in the gifts to his famely was the controlling stock of Field Enterprises, Inc. the value of the charitable gifts is indicated by the fact that two real estate properties in Chicago given to charitable organiations have a value today of upwards of $4,000,000.

Chicago, Ill.

BETTINE GOODALL

"A list of the names of the 11 grandchildren, and a further statement with respect to legacies to personal employees follows:

"Marshall Field, 3rd, Joanne Field, Frederick Woodruff Field, Katherine Woodruff Field, Barbara Bliss, Robert Boggs, jr., Sarah Lenox Boggs, Evelyn Boggs, Bettine Marshall Goodall, Gregory Eldridge Bruce and Catherine Bruce.

EMPLOYEES' SUMS

"Personal employees to whom Mr. Field left legacies, and the amounts of such legacies are:

"Edward Hort, $10,000; James Haslam, $10,000; Gesine W. Heller, $20,000; Charlotte Hagemann, $1,000.

"To the approximately 60 other employees at Mr. Field's New York office, his New York apartment and his home at Lloyd's Neck, N. Y., who had been in Mr. Field's employ for at least one-year prior to his death:

"One month's salary for each year of employment, with a maximum of one year's salary for those so employed ~~for ten years~~ or more."

ELDRIDGE BRUCE

Defender P. 1 12-1-56

MRS. BETTINE BRUCE

CHILDREN GET $100,000 EACH — Mr. and Mrs. Eldridge Bruce, whose two children, Gregory Eldridge and Catherine Bruce were left $100,000 each by their grandfather, Marshall Field, multi-millionaire publisher and investment banker.

Children of H.U. man in Field will

(Photo on page three)

NEW YORK — Bequests of $100,000 each have been made to the three children of Mrs. Bettine Fields Bruce, daughter of the late Marshall Fields, multi-millionaire publisher and investment banker.

Named as beneficiaries were Gregory Eldridge Bruce, Catherine Bruce and Bettine Marshall Goodall.

Gregory and Catherine were born to Mrs. Bruce as the result of her interracial marriage to Eldridge Bruce, a Howard University graduate.

* * *

BETTINE GOODALL was born of Mrs. Bruce's first marriage to Dr. McChesney Goodall Jr., a Yale University professor.

Her marriage to Eldridge Bruce was made public in 1953 during a custody fight over her first child, Bettine.

The mother had asked court permission to take her daughter, then 9 years old, to England where she and Bruce had required a home in the Bromley Kent suburb of London.

* * *

DISCLOSING that she was expecting another child, Mrs Bruce explained to the court that it was her desire that t' child be born and reared non-segregated commun'

Her husband had also to do advance study psychology at Hamps

Their marriage too ace in the Virgin Islands in cember, 1951, but the coupl remained apart for two years before leaving for England.

The Marshall Field will is to be filed for probate in the Suffolk County Surrogate's Court at Riverhead, N.Y.

His value of his estate has been estimated at $32 millions.

* * *

Whether the daughter Mrs. Bruce, will share in the bequests, will not be known until the will has been probated, lawyers said.

The bulk of the estate will go to the widow, Mrs. Ruth Pruyn Field and Mrs. Bruce's brother, Marshall Field Jr., editor and publisher of the Chicago Sun-Times.

Four of Mr. Field's most trusted servants were left legacies of varying amounts.

They were listed as: Edward Horton $10,000; James Haslam $10,000; Gesine W Heller, $20,000; and Charlotte Hageman, $10,000.

37 1956

OHIO

Lawyer leaves $70,000 to son

Afro-American P.3

Bal. 3-31-56

TOLEDO, O. (ANP)—The estate of Emmett L. Wheaton Sr., attorney, has been appraised at $70,000, according to an inventory filed last week in Probate Court.

The bulk of the estate will go to his son and only heir, Emmett L. Swanton, who was named administrator. Clarence G. Smith is attorney for the estate.

The attorney died Jan. 21. He was the first colored man to run for federal office in Georgia since Reconstruction. He was an unsuccessful candidate for Congress in 1920. He was born in Atlanta.

Brothers Insist Uranium Strike Real

Prospectors Rip Unfair Publicity

Sat. 2-25-56 Chicago, Ill.

Defenseless

By MALCOLM POINDEXTER

PHILADELPHIA (ANP) — Two brother geologists, who may have struck a million or more in uranium in Stockton, N. J., have meanwhile had their progress checked by several daily newspapers here which have done everything in their power to discredit the "find."

The brothers, Alvin and Vernon Gatling, plan "some action" as a result of the unfair publicity which sarcastilly sums up their potential wealth as a "pipe dream." One publication went so far as to say that the two Negroes are the "only ones" convinced that there is sufficient uranium near Stockton to work.

Another quoted a New Jersey state geologist, Meredith E. Johnson, as saying that there wasn't sufficient uranium ore at the site to be of any great value. Johnson, it turns out, is a political appointee whom most geologists report "makes decisions with the wind."

One, of local prominence said Johnson would say what he did without hesitation if he had not "been consulted first." Not knowing this, the Gatlings went ahead with their project unaided.

Despite the unfair publicity and sarcasm, the two think they have something. So does the U. S. Government which is making tests of pitch-blend dug fro mthe site. If there is much uranium located there, the Gatlings stand to earn about $1,000 a ton for ore testing 5 per cent. They have already run tests on their own that show the mine varies in uranium content from 0.9 to 7 per cent.

Alvin told this correspondent that the venture is "not a stock promotion" as reported by one paper.

"We have made a tentative diagnosis," he said, "after three years of study and research. We are certain that we have something, but just how much we won't know until further tests are made."

The brothers are graduates of Wilberforce college, Ohio. They came to New York in 1952 to study chemistry and law.

They first came in contact with uranium while reading geology books in the New York City Public Library. To further their knowledge, they went West, working mines and mills in Colorado and Utah.

As "free-lancers," they returned east. The Atomic Energy Commission gave them survey maps of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and aboard a small Piper Cub plane they conducted aerial reconnaisance.

The most gratifying thing about their find, says Alvin, is the fact that experts seven years ago flatly stated that there was "no abundance of uranium in this country."

"I once read in a dictionary dated 1900," he recalled "that described uranium as a white metal not found in the U. S. It's a grand feeling to explore these things on your own and find out differently."

Whether or not their find turns into a real bonanza, the Gatlings plan to continue their work.

"You never know how much there is to be gained from these mines until you've worked them awhile," recalled Alvin, "so we plan to do just that."

Although Johnson reported "less radio-activity in a sample than there is on the face of a wrist watch," the Gatlings and the U. S. Government are convinced there's a great deal more. And most important, they're willing to find out.

37 Pa

Left $300,000?— Shirley Robinson, 80-year-old retired Pullman porter, died in Pittsburgh amid rumors that he left a fortune estimated at being somewhere in the neighborhood of $300,000 to a brother in Boston. The brother is Hilliard Himes.

37 1956

Love Estate Beneficiaries Interracial

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Oct. 27-28-56

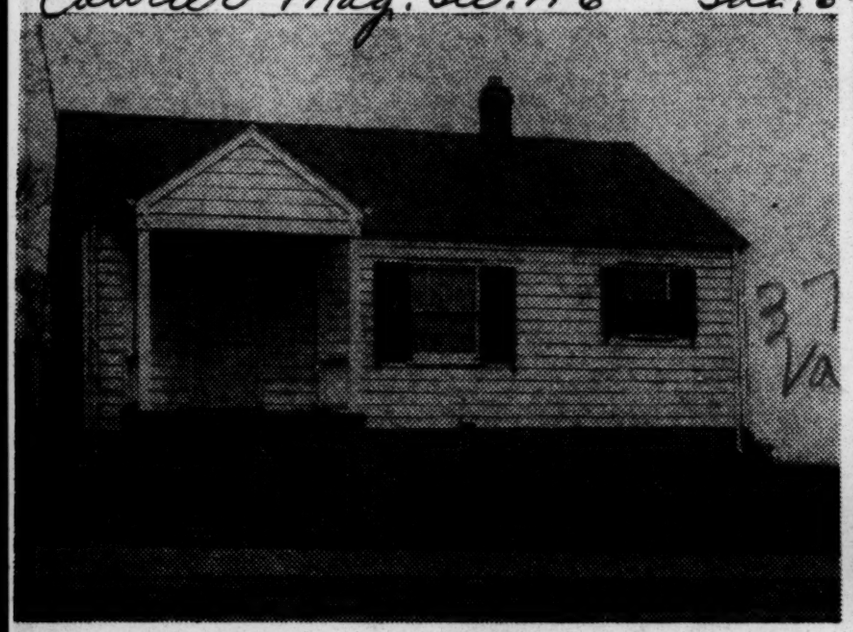
MEMPHIS, Tenn. — Mrs. Annie B. Love, pioneer resident of Memphis, named six groups (two of which are white) to share her remaining estate, estimated to total between $30,000 and $36,000.

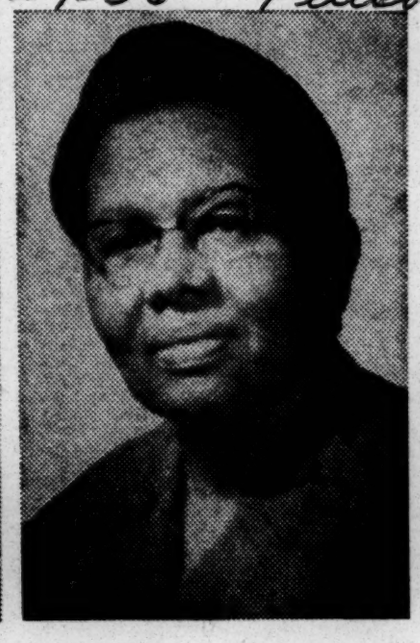
Beneficiaries are Second Congregational Church, LeMoyne College, the Abe Scharff YMCA, Vance Avenue YWCA, Crippled Children's Hospital and Cancer Control Headquarters, at 787 Jefferson. Minor bequests, totaling $900 and property in Chicago and Langston City, Okla., were left to friends in those cities.

Mrs. Love was the widow of Postman John R. Love.

'It Is More Blessed to Give Than to Receive'

Courier Mag. Sec. P. 6 Sat. 6-9-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.





Christian Gifts—The late Bertha Anderson (center) of Richmond, Va., willed all of her earthly possessions, including the two houses shown above, to the Fourth Baptist Church. At the time of her death, she was secretary of the Evans Payne Memorial Bible Class and affiliated with numerous other church groups including the Lott Carey Convention to which she was a generous donor. The late Miss Anderson lived in New York for many years before returning to Richmond.

RACE PROBLEM AND RACE RELATIONS, UNITED STATES

Minister Acquitted for Refusal To Ride on 'Colored' Elevator

Herald Wed. 10-17-56 Miami, Fla. P. 11A

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. —(AP)— A Negro minister was acquitted Tuesday of disorderly conduct charges preferred when he refused to get on an office building elevator reserved for Negroes.

"I'll enforce the law," said Judge Ralph E. Parker, "but there's no law that says whites and Negroes must ride separate elevators." He dismissed the charges against the Rev. T. N. Nelson, 50.

The incident occurred in the Massey building, which has three elevators — two unmarked and one with the designation "Colored."

Tom Bentley Jr., head porter, testified that Nelson got aboard one of the unmarked elevators on the seventh floor.

Bentley said that when building employes tried to get Nelson to move to the "Colored" elevator, he kept repeating, "main floor."

Police were called and arrested Nelson, carrying him to the ground floor on the "Colored" elevator that he had refused to ride. Bentley testified that white persons ride all three elevators.

Negro Wins, Store Drops J. C. Elevator

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(ANP) —A report says that a downtown office building has abandoned its previous "racial segregation practices" on elevators since a Police Court acquitted a local Baptist church minister of disorderly conduct charges after he defied the jim-crow practices.

The Rev. Theodore N. Nelson, 50, was found not guilty of disorderly conduct in City Recorder's Judge Ralph E. Parker's court two weks ago. He was arrested Oct. 13 when he refused to ride an elevator "reserved for Negroes" at a place identified as the Massey Building.

NEGROES AWAIT CITY'S MOVE

Leaders of Bus Boycott Adopt 'Sit Tight' Policy

Journal Tues. 10-30-56 Montgomery, Ala.

Negro bus boycotters are "going to sit tight" and wait to see what the city of Montgomery does on threats to stop their car pool, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. said today. P. 2-A

The president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn. that coordinates the 11-month-old boycott said the car pool will continue to operate as usual. "We feel that we're within our legal rights" in running it, Dr. King said.

Last Friday the city commission said it has "plans of bringing action for an injunction to stop all activities which the city considers illegal at this time," referring to the car pool.

The statement was made after a pro-segregation, independent labor group demanded action to stop the car pool.

The next morning the backbone of the car pool, about a dozen new station wagons, were not in operation but yesterday morning they were back on city streets along with older private cars.

MASS MEETINGS HELD

King said two mass meetings were held last night for about 2,000 MIA supporters. "We felt we had to let the people know, to explain what was happening," the young minister said. No changes in car pool operations or general MIA activities were announced at the closed meetings, he said.

"We're just going to sit tight and wait to see what the city does," King declared.

The boycott in protest to segregated city buses began last Dec. 5. Last June four Negro women won a federal court deision that city and state bus segregation laws are unconstitutional. The decision is on appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court and King said when the appeal was filed by the city and state that the boycott would continue until city bus segregation is ended.

Negro here seeks $100,000 damages

News P. 52 Thurs. 10-25-56 Birm. Ala.

A Negro who was arrested on disorderly conduct charges after demanding to ride on the white elevators at the Massey Building, has filed a $100,000 suit against the owners and operators of the building.

T. N. Nelson of 1504 23rd-st, sw, was cleared of the charges in Birmingham's Recorder's Court, when Judge Ralph Parker ruled there is no city ordinance prohibiting mixed elevators.

Nelson seeks damages against Richard W. Massey Jr., Katherine Massey Carper, Eleanor Massey Bridges, Richarline Massey Dowlen, C. Elliott Carper, George Thomas and Tom Bentley Jr., and against the Carper Co.

THE SUIT, filed in Circuit Court by Negro Atty. Orzelle Billingsley, charges that George Thomas and Tom Bentley, as agents for the other defendants, caused Nelson to be arrested on disorderly conduct charges, and imprisoned on Oct. 13.

He claimed that as a result of that imprisonment his nervous system was impaired, he was embarrassed, humiliated and his reputation suffered.

Judge frees cleric who refuses to ride jim crow elevator

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Refusal of the Rev. T. N. Nelson of 1504 23rd St. to ride a segregated elevator in the Frank Nelson Building did not constitute disorderly conduct, Judge Ralph Parker ruled last week.

In finding the minister not guilty, Judge Parker noted in Recorders Court that there is no law against colored and white persons riding the same elevators in Birmingham.

Police arrested the Rev. Mr. Nelson Saturday after he boarded one of two elevators reserved for white persons on the seventh floor of the building, refusing to ride the third marked "colored," used at times by both races.

Cleric kills elevator JC files suit for $100,000

Afro-American Sat. 11-10-56 Baltimore, Md.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (ANP) —A Baptist minister who was recently arrested for refusing to ride a "colored elevator" in the Massey building here has sued the building owners and operators for $100,000. P. 3

Seeking damages in the suit is the Rev. T. N. Nelson, who was acquitted of disorderly charges in Birmingham recorder's court when Judge Ralph Parker ruled that there is no city ordinance prohibiting mixing of the races on elevators.

* * *

MR. NELSON CONTENDS

that the imprisonment impaired this nervous system and embarrassed and humiliated his reputation.

The suit, filed in Circuit Court by Orzelle Billingsley, charges that George Thomas and Tom Bentley, as agents for the owners, caused Nelson to be arrested and imprisoned on Oct. 13.

Besides Bentley and Thomas, Richard W. Massey Jr.; Katherine Massey Carper; Eleanor Massey Bridges; Richarline Massey Dowlen and C. Elliot Carper were named in the suit.

REPRESENTS TALLADEGA

TALLADEGA, Ala. — Public Relations Director James O. Mullen represented Talladega College in Atlanta during the Atlanta public school system's observance of College Week, Oct. 29 - Nov. 2.

Booker T. Washington's View

Editor, The Advertiser:

Reading a few lines in the book *Up From Slavery*, by Booker T. Washington, might ease the tension. He said: (Chapter XV)

"In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

MARY L. PIATT,
2433-88 Av. Oakland 5, Calif.

Wilson Saved The Day

Editor, The Advertiser:

I dicagree with the White Citizens Councils or anybody else that it was the thing to do when they expelled Leonard Wilson from colege.

If it hadn't been for Mr. Wilson, that Negro woman would still be in the University of Alabama.

Ramer, Ala. A. T. BEASLEY.

Guardian Imposter

Editor, The Advertiser:

I am very sorry to hear from [The Manchester Guardian] correspondent in Washington of a regrettable incident in connection with the recent agitation over Miss Lucy. He tells me that a colored student from England appeared in the city and represented himself as our correspondent—or, at all events, purported to be gathering material for an article on our behalf.

I write to say that we have no knowledge of this man at all and that we have not commissioned him or any other person, (apart from our regular correspondents, Alistair Cooke and Mr. Freedman), to write for us on this difficult subject.

For your interest I am enclosing all the material which we have had on this subject from our correspondents and in our editorial columns. I am not enclosing news agencies' messages. I hope it will be clear from these cuttings that even if our attitude differs from your own, we are not unaware of the difficulties of the situation and of the disadvantage of trying to force changes prematurely.

[Name Illegible]
Acting Editor, *Manchester Guardian*.
Manchester, Eng.

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The Other

The Mobile Press

Many Northern white people — not necessarily those connected with NAACP —have seemed to enjoy immensely the spectacle of NAACP and its associate pressure groups ruthlessly striving to impose their will upon the South.

Perhaps word from Gloster B. Current, director of NAACP's organizational activity, that things are not as he thinks they should be in the North will cause these people to look at the racial picture in their own back yards.

It is easy for one to look across the fence into someone else's backyard and suggest changes. So often in such cases, we lose sight of what's going on in our own domains.

Manifesto

The Tuscaloosa News

Action of nearly 100 Southern members of Congress in signing a formal statement of principles on the segregation issue should remove all doubts as to the seriousness of our problems.

Many outside of the South have realized that the issue was not a simple question of legality and morality.

So, for the time it may gain to help us adjust to the inevitable changes and adjustments that will come, the action of the Southern lawmakers was excellent. But let's not misjudge it as a remedy that will completely remove this problem, and make it unnecessary for us to face up to it and all its painful adjustments.

Wilson's

The Monroe Journal

The University had no other alternative than to expel Student Leonard R. Wilson, who apparently was expecting and welcoming his dismissal.

His recent actions show not only an absence of good manners but a complete lack of common intelligence as well.

Conduct from people with the caliber of Wilson's apparent attitudes and ideas have and will continue to add more friction and stress to the increasingly alarming segregation issue.

Timely

The Lafayette Sun

This newspaper, like most of the other Southern newspapers, believes that the Supreme Court overstepped its authority in its recent ruling outlawing segregation. We further believe that the NAACP and the pious Yankees who practice segregation in reality while propounding integration in theory, are stirring up trouble here in the South that can never benefit the Negro.

We would, however, issue a timely warning to our readers. Watch out for the demagogue. He will probably come in the form of a politician who wants to use the issue to promote his candidacy for office, and he may come in the form of an unknown who loves to see his name in print one way or another.

Local Editor Gains Support In Race Issue

By AL LANIER
Associated Press Writer

A Southern editor and a northern Negro leader both charged here today that racial disharmony is prevalent in the north as well as the south.

Grover C. Hall Jr., editor-in-chief of the Montgomery Advertiser, said racial unrest in the north is even more significant because of relatively few Negroes "and they start out with equal equality and theoretical acceptance."

Gloster B. Current of New York, who directs the program and organizational activities of some 1,600 branches of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, had this to say:

"In the north we struggle with the subtleties and hidden aspects of discrimination and segregation. In no community in this nation where there is a sizable Negro population can you say the problem of race relations have been completely solved."

Hall made his comments in a letter to James A. Welchsler, editor of the New York Post, which was reprinted on the editorial page of the Sunday Advertiser. Current's remarks were included in an address today to bus boycott leaders at a Negro church.

MAP EXISTS

The Advertiser editor, whose late father won a Pulitzer prize for fighting the Ku Klux Klan, said a New York Post columnist told him an official map exists showing how school districts in New York "are gerrymandered to achieve segregation."

Noting that dozens of reporters from all over the world have covered the Montgomery Negro bus boycott story in recent weeks, Hall proposed that Welscher assign the columnist, Murray Kempton, to him for a week in New York "to get something of the New York story for Alabamians."

"Since all the New York reporters are down here doing the Alabama story, I propose to help fill their vacuum in New York," Hall added.

The Alabama editor said, with few exceptions, New York papers "merely peck" at stories of racial discrimination in the North.

"However, they are characteristically pietistical kibitzers or hell-mouth gluttons when it comes to race strife under the Dixie Magnolias," he said.

'JIM CROWISM'

Current, the NAACP leader, said recent racial unrest in the South has brought the "dirty aspects of Jim-Crowism" and mob violence "out into the open."

"The nation does not like what it sees," Current continued, but "this is all to the good for during the present conflict a lot of soul-searching is going on, and that ultimately means something constructive will be done."

In all the "exciting conflicts of recent months," Current said, "the real story" of continued desegregation in border states is being missed.

"Where integration has been tried the evidence clearly demonstrates that it is workable," he said, adding that opponents of desegregation are "fearful this positive evidence would destroy the myth of 'white supremacy'."

FIGHT OUTLINED

Outlining the fight against integration by state legislatures in the South, Current declared in an address prepared fo delivery at the Bethel Baptist Church here:

"They can legislate until doomsday. None of these bills are going to stop the freedom train as it moves toward the distant station of full integration."

He said opponents of racial integration are using economic pressure, intimidation, terrorism and violence, but White Citizens Councils have learned that "Negroes don't beg anymore. They have been working and saving their money. They learned discipline, not to trade with a merchant who was a member of the council."

Current also noted "a disturbing tendency on the part of our liberal friends and others to speak of the extremists on both sides. They equate the NAACP and the White Citizens Councils.

LOVE PEACE

"The NAACP does not consider itself an extremist group," Current continued. "The program we are following a loyal American one. We abhor violence and always work within the democratic framework. That is more than can be said about the White Citizens Councils in their present activities.

Current said attempts to label the NAACP as a Communist group or a northern organization are ridiculous.

He said both former President Truman and President Eisenhower have spoken at NAACP gatherings, and that 45 per cent of the NAACP's 300,000 membership lives in the 17 Southern states and the District of Columbia.

The NAACP official said "the entire world applauds" the Montgomery bus boycott which has been in effect here since Dec. 5 in protest to racial segregation.

"The protest is a significant new device to be used elsewhere to obtain proper treatment and justice," Current predicted.

Commenting on the case of Negro Coed Autherine Lucy who was expelled from the University of Alabama, Current promised: "Negroes are going to attend the University of Alabama some day, and that day is not far away."

Noting that this is an election year, the Negro leader said the two major political parties will not be permitted to "avoid" the civil rights issue.

Current said the "split personality" brought on in the Democratic party by "its Southern wing and Northern liberals" renders it "im-

potent on civil rights."

On the other hand, he said, the Republican administration has "failed' to show firmness in their present civil rights crisis."

South Race Relations In Rapid Deterioration

CHAPEL HILL, N.C., March 11 (AP)—The upward trend in race relations has "turned downward" in the past year and a half and threatens southern economic progress, Charlotte Editor C. A. McKnight declared tonight.

McKnight stressed he was not implying there had been any measurable slowing of the dynamic economic forces at work in the south.

"Yet none but an incurable optimist," he added, "can fail to realize that the rapid deterioration of race relations in the wake of the Supreme Court decision is already a large cloud on your regional economic horizon, one which blown by the strong winds of emotionalism and group hatreds could well darken for a long time our bright material future."

McKnight was one of three speakers who discussed segregation issues at the opening session of the Carolina Symposium of public affairs.

Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta traced the historical and legal background in tonight's theme, "A Report on the Supreme Court's Challenge to the South."

Maj. L. P. McLendon, North Carolina educational and legal leader said the greatest present danger in southern race relations is that "good people in the South will lend their influence as a front for secret organizations and even punitive governmental action.

"By no process of reasoning can we arrive at the conclusion that the South can, by any plan of intervention, evasion or pure defiance, nullify the constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court," McLendon declared.

He said conduct of southern whites and Negroes in the next two years "will largely determine the 'deliberate speed' with which compulsory segregation is forever abandoned."

McLendon declared "it is unthinkable that we would maintain our traditional belief in compulsory segregation of the races at the cost of destroying our public school system."

McKnight, discussing the trends of readjustment in the south today, said that northern newspapers are showing increased signs, in editorials, of understanding the plight of the "southern moderate who finds the middle ground fast shrinking from beneath him."

It is time for the NAACP and its backers "to withdraw the pressure in highly sensitive areas" so that emotions may subside and some of the misunderstanding be cleared up, McKnight said. He said that NAACP should "turn its talents to improving human relations in areas where compliance is feasible."

At the same time McKnight said, "district federal judges should begin exercising more liberally the considerable latitude permitted them in the implementation decision"

Segregation Blame Placed On President

NEW YORK, March 11 (AP)—Charles Abrams, chairman of the New York State Commission against discrimination, today blamed President Eisenhower and Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell for the failure to enforce the Supreme Court's decisions outlawing segregation in public schools.

Speaking on a transcribed radio program ("Let's Find Out", CBS) Abrams said:

"The greatest problem facing the nation today is the restoration of morality and respect for the Supreme Court's opinion."

"When the Supreme Court rendered its opinion on segregation it caused a rattle throughout the nation and not an upset. I believe the failure of the segregation law, the Attorney General to aid the Supreme Court was a factor in the failure of the segregation law, as well as the (Autherine) Lucy case.

"The people don't seem to understand that a court cannot enforce a decree, it is the problem of the executive branch."

Abrams said he would like to see the President make clear to the nation that there would be federal intervention when civil rights were affected.

"The President must take the initiative," he said. "It is an unfortunate thing when civil rights are being made a political issue."

Abrams said he believed "The South as a whole is law-abiding" but that the "crackpot and the marginal mind are the ones responsible for the trouble in the South."

1 OFFICIAL COMMENDS HERSHEY

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Madison Draft Board Chairman Quits

Fri. 9-28-56

An unidentified North Alabama draft official has commended Gen. Lewis B. Hershey's action in the Fred Gray induction case while another draft board member announced his resignation yesterday.

State Selective Service Director James W. Jones revealed yesterday that "one board member from one North Alabama county told our field clerk he thought Gen. Hershey did the right thing in ordering Gray's case reopened."

Jones refused, however, to name the draft official. "The reports we get from the field are considered confidential," the draft director said, "and I don't feel it would be just to let that information out."

The resignation of a Madison County draft official was announced yesterday from Huntsville. Peyton Drake, chairman of the board, said he sent a telegram to Jones on Sept. 21 resigning in protest to handling of the Gray case. Drake's resignation raised the total resignations since Sept. 17 to 14.

Gray, a 25-year-old Negro attorney and bus boycott leader, was scheduled to report for military induction on Sept. 17. Hershey, national selective service director, postponed indefinitely the attorney's induction by ordering his case reopened. Hershey said he took his action based on "new evidence" that Gray is now a full-time preacher and a part-time lawyer.

When ordered to report for induction by Montgomery County Draft Board 51, Gray was preaching part-time at the Holt Street Church of Christ. He has been a leading figure in court cases involving de-segregation.

It was Hershey's order to reopen the case that prompted the 14 resignations. One member of Montgomery County Draft Board 151 resigned Aug. 15 when Gray was permitted a 30-day postponement of induction.

Jones said yesterday that a field clerk turned in reports of 17 Alabama county draft boards whose members stated they had no intention of resigning.

"Most of the counties were in North Alabama," Jones said. Two local draft boards in Montgomery—149 and 151—have reported they have no intention of resigning.

In addition to protest resignations, the three-man Bullock County draft board has ordered all inductions halted until Gray is drafted. They created a new draft classification—"FG"—into which they reclassified five Bullock County men scheduled for the October draft. "FG" stands for Fred Gray.

Alabama Board Asks Draft Probe

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Mon. 10-1-56

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept. 30 (AP)—A congressional investigation of the Selective Service System has been asked by an Alabama draft board as a result of the induction postponement for Fred D. Gray, a Negro.

The Autauga County board today made public letters sent Thursday to Alabama's two senators and U.S. Rep. Kenneth Roberts asking the investigation. The board also appealed to Alabama's other 82 draft boards to support the request.

At the same time the Autauga board notified the state Selective Service director it is holding up draft calls "until this matter is settled."

The letters to Sens. Lister Hill and John Sparkman and to Roberts said:

"Recent action by the Selective Service System resulting in the indefinite postponement of induction of a registrant . . . has greatly increased the difficulty of proper administration by all local boards in this state of their affairs."

H. M. Gipson of Prattville, Autauga board chairman, said the letters "did not name the case most prominent lately. We want to avoid any such issues as that.

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DRAFT BOARD UNREST SPREADS IN ALABAMA

Commercial Appeal Memphis Tenn.

Madison County Chairman Quits, Scores Folsom

Fri. 9-28-56

HUNTSVILLE, Ala., Sept. 27. —(UP)—The chairman of the Madison County Draft Board quit Thursday with a blast at intervention in the Fred Gray case and against Gov. James E. Folsom for purging assistant state Selective Service Director James T. Johnson.

Peyton Drake became the 14th official to quit, but the first in North Alabama, as tempers continued to wax hot in the Gray dispute.

As Drake announced his resignation, the Randolph County Draft Board notified national director Lewis B. Hershey it will quit as a group if he cannot assure draft boards he will go along with their decisions and rulings made by the appeals agents.

Gray, the controversial bus boycott leader at Montgomery, was reclassified by the Montgomery board and ordered into the Army this month. The NAACP immediately protested to Mr. Hershey and branded the Negro's draft as an attempt to "get even" with the boycott leaders.

General Hershey ordered Gray's induction postponed indefinitely for consideration of "new evidence." This precipitated a chain of resignations and drew a declaration from the Bullock County group it is through drafting local men until Gray is in uniform.

Mr. Drake, chairman of the three-man board here, said "I cannot go along with politics in the selective service system."

He said also he had been a good friend of Colonel Johnson, whom Governor Folsom booted from the state without explanation this week. Mr. Johnson is being transferred to Atlanta.

At Wedowee, the Randolph county board said General Hershey must back up the decisions of the local boards and appeals groups or "we see no need for existence of these boards."

The 25-year-old Gray claims he is an active minister but the Montgomery board said he spent all his time practicing law. He serves the boycott group as special counsel.

Cutoff draft board refuses to join fight

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 6—Draft board officials at Bessemer, Ala., have refused to support a move for a congressional investigation into Selective Service procedures, it was learned here.

News

And at Luverne, Ala., Alton L. Turner, draft appeals agent for Crenshaw County, declared, "There is not a local board in Alabama which can now conscientiously induct anyone into the armed forces."

These were developments in the controversy over the draft postponement of Montgomery Negro Atty. Fred Gray.

Turner made his statement in a letter to U. S. Selective Service Director Lewis B. Hershey. Turner told Hershey he won't be a part of a "forced draft system tainted with political favoritism."

Birmingham News

Hershey had ordered an indefinite postponement for Gray, who claimed deferment as a part-time minister. He was active in the Montgomery bus boycott.

Bessemer refuses

THE AUTAUGA COUNTY draft board started a move last Monday for a Congressional inquiry into draft procedures. Letters asking the probe were sent to U. S. Sens. Lister Hill and John Sparkman and U. S. Rep. Kenneth A. Roberts of the Fourth District. Letters also were sent to 83 Alabama boards.

Local Board No. 70 at Bessemer notified the Autauga board it would have no part in pushing for an investigation.

The Bessemer board replied, "This board is not familiar with the facts surrounding your charge of improper administration (in

ALTON L. TURNER . . . Assails Hershey

Alabama) of the Selective Service Act of 1948 as amended.

"This is to inform you that this board has no difficulties in what we believe the proper ad-

ministration of the act."

Cites pressure groups

THE LETTER was signed by Van D. Jones, a member of the Bessemer Board.

The Luverne official who charged "favoritism" replied to a letter from Hershey, who refused to accept Turner's resignation.

Turner says his resignation will stand whether Hershey accepts it or not.

As to a reference in the National Selective Service chief's letter about the absence of pressure from various organized groups during the 16 years he has held office, Turner observed:

"Your resistance to such pressure prior to the Fred Gray case accents the power of the NAACP block vote in Washington.

"Beginning of end"

"YOUR ACTION is the beginning of the end of our Selective Service System.

"There is not a local board in Alabama which can now conscientiously induct anyone into the armed forces.

"The responsibility for this situation rests squarely on your shoulders."

Turner said so long as any pressure organization "can dictate the policy of the Selective Service system, the people of Alabama cannot, and will not, participate therein."

Turner, a graduate of the University of Alabama law school in 1950, was soon after named Crenshaw County Solicitor. He took part in the 1954 Phenix City vice clean-up as a legal aid to Maj. Gen. Walter J. Hanna.

Folsom Gets Johnson Sent To New Post

Advertiser 9-27-56

Col. James T. Johnson received orders yesterday relieving him as deputy selective servile officer in Alabama and transferring hm to Atlanta, while rumors persisted that his transfer stemmed from the ice Director James W. Jones had the Gray case.

Johnson, who has been state or state deputy selective service director for the past 13 years, will be transferred to Atlanta on Oct. 1.

The transfer orders resulted

COL. J. T. JPHNSON
Transferred

from a request by Gov. James E. Folsom to move Johnson from Alabama as "surplus."

Rumors that the removal request stems from Johnson's activities in the Fred Gray draft case or from plain politics have been denied by Folsom.

Johnson will become the regional field officer for the Regional Selective Service Office in Atlanta. "I feel that the new position is a promotion," Johnson said, "but I would much prefer to stay here."

Folsom wrote to National Selective Service Headquarters on Aug. 7 asking for Johnson's removal. The contents of the letter or the reasons prompting the governor to ask for Johnson's removal have not been disclosed.

On Aug. 7, Fred D. Gray, 25-year-old Negro attorney and legal spokesman for the Montgomery bus boycott, had been ordered by his local draft board to report for military induction.

The Negro attorney had already appealed to the State and Presidential Draft Appeals boards without success. State Selective Service Director JAMES W. Jones had already refused to reopen Gray's case—with Johnson's acknowledged backing.

Then Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, national draft director, ordered a 30-day postponement of induction followed by an order to reopen the Gray case.

Advertiser 9-27-56

The order was protested by state and resulted in 13 resignations by draft officials.

Sources close to the governor admitted that Folsom was "upset" over Gray's induction. But the governor has denied vigorously that his request to have Johnson transferred stemmed in any way from tht Gray case.

POLITICS BLAMED

In some quarters, politics has been blamed for Johnson's transfer. Johnson joined the Alabama draft board in 1940 as chief of the manpower division. He held the rank of captain at that time.

In 1943, in Governor Sparks' administration, he was made state selective service director. When Folsom was elected to his first term, Johnson was demoted to deputy director.

Johnson, who is credited with building Alabama's record of never having missed an induction quota in peace or war, was raised agin to director in Governor Persons' administration. When Folsom was re-elected in 1954, Johnson was again demoted to deputy director.

Johnson has refused several requests from Gen. Hershey to return to Washington in a higher selective service post due to his wife's illness. A victim of rheumatic fever, Mrs. Johnson has been advised by physicians to remain in a warm climate.

"MERELY VOTED"

But Johnson said he "has never actively cupported or opposed any candidate for political office." He said he "merely voted as a citizen."

Johnson said he has never been called in by the governor and told the reason for Folsom's request Johnson be transferred.

Johnson was born in Faunsdale, Ala., on Oct. 12, 1900. He received a degree in electrical engineering from Georgia Tech. At the same time he was commissioned as a lieutenant in the U.S. Army.

Not called to active duty, Johnson worked as an engineer with the Alabama Power Co. in Birmingham from 1925 to 1936. From 1936 to 1940 he was assistant division superintendant of the Alabama Power Co. in Montgomery.

In 1940 he was called to active duty and assigned to the Alabama Selective Service Headquarters.

Johnson is the father of a 19-year-old girl and six-year-old twins. He said he will leave his family in Montgomery "until the end of the school year so as not to interrupt their education." Johnson's daughter is enrolled in Huntingdon College.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser 9-4-A

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it

Montgomery, Ala.

A Mother's Letter To Gen. Hershey

EDITOR, THE ADERTISER—Today I am writing Gen. Hershey a letter (copy enclosed) in protest to the action that he has found it so necessary to take. While I do not flatter myself that it will cause him to change his opinion, I do hope that other mothers, who have not done so, will so bombard him with their protests that he will wish that he was not a general, at least in the part of the service that he now fills.

I also wish to compliment both Bullock and Autauga boards for the stand that they have taken.

Chesson, Ala. MRS. J. J. JOLLEY.

Adv. 10-12-56

General Lewis B. Hershey,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir—

For some time I have followed the news of the personal interest that you have taken in the deferment of an Alabama draftee. This, the action that you have taken, and this action over the decision of the board, prompts me to write this letter.

Since Alabama shares equally with Russia the attention of all Washington I wish to bring to your kind attention the services of other citizens of our state.

¶My husband is a totally disabled veteran of World War I. He served overseas approximately two years. He also served on our Macon County draft board for many years. A thankless, unhappy and unpaid service. Incidentally, he draws no compensation.

¶ My only brother enlisted in the Army during World War II. He served in Europe throughout the war. He was then sent to Japan for two years. When the Korean war began he was sent there. He died in Korea, leaving a widow and two young children.

¶ Our oldest son, at eighteen, enlisted in the Air Force. He was killed in action when he was only 20.

¶Our second son, at eighteen, enlisted in the Navy. He served on Okinawa both through war and equally as bad a typhoon. Upon his discharge he entered college to study medicine. After three years of pre-med he was again called to active duty. This ended his medical career.

¶Our third son also upon finishing high school enlisted. He served in the Army two years. Fortunately he was not sent overseas.

Please do not get the impression that I feel sorry for myself. I am both happy and proud that we had no rabble rousers, no draft dodgers and not one either asked or expected deferment.

However . . . should the time come when another son of mine should be called, I shall expect you to see that he is deferred.

This is not to be considered a favor either given or received. I consider it only what is due. As for you, General, it will be only a matter of routine.

MRS. JAMES J. JOLLEY.
Chesson, Ala.

Negro Ministers Assert Segregation On Way Out

Montgomery, Ala.
Mar. 2-27-56

Negro ministers indicted last week in the bus boycott predicted from their pulpits yesterday that the protest against racial segregation would continue.

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, told his congregation that God is against it."

King said he recently visited Nashville, Tenn., and 90 per cent of the white students with whom he talked at Vanderbilt University said they were for integration.

He added: "We are in a great struggle and the consequences will be world-shaking."

Another indicted minister, the Rev. R. W. Hilson, declared from the pulpit that the bus boycott "has become a spiritual movement for us."

CITES PROTEST

He cited the protests made in Washington Saturday by bishops of his church and by other Negro church officials.

Hilson said his congregation at St. John's AME Church indicated the members strongly favor continuing the 12-week-old boycott.

King, preaching to a capacity crowd, urged Negroes to "just keep loving" the "enemies and don't lose faith in man."

"Our Christian faith says you can be changed," he said, declaring that "exploiting" and "prejudiced" men can be "lifted up to justice and fair play" by those who practice brotherly love.

NEW DUTY SENSE

During a visit to Vanderbilt University in Nashville last week, King said, 90 per cent of the students with whom he came in contact said they were "willing to accept integration."

He said some of the white students at Vanderbilt told him they were glad to see desegregation even though their communities and their parents are against it.

"Thank God there are people who can rise above their communities," King said.

The young Negro minister said Negroes through their boycott of city buses, have already won a victory that has given Negroes "segregation can't survive because everywhere "a new sense of duty."

The boycott began last Dec. 5 after Rosa Parks, a Negro seamstress, was fined $14 for refusing to move to the segregated section in the back of a bus. State and city laws require segregated seating facilities for whites and Negroes.

A two-car collision Sunday six miles east of Tuskegee claimed the life of Rosie Dukes, 53, of Grantsville, Ga.

Ohio Negroes Collect Funds For Boycotters

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Feb. 26 (AP)—More than 1,000 Columbus Negroes gathered today to raise funds for the defense of Negroes arrested in the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott.

A spokesman for the local chapter of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, which sponsored the rally, said $2,128.38 was collected.

The money came from persons attending the indoor rally and also from Sunday Service church congregations in Columbus, said Barbee William Durham, executive secretary of the chapter.

GRAETZ SPEAKER

Principal speaker at the rally was the Rev. Robert S. Graetz, 27-year-old white pastor of Montgomery's Trinity Lutheran Church. He said he was "pleasantly surprised" at the number of Southern white people who have come to the support of Montgomery's Negroes in protesting segregation on city buses.

Rev. Graetz, who graduated last June from Capital University seminary here, is the leader of an all-Negro congregation.

He said since the start of the boycott Dec. 5, there were 99 Negroes indicted. He has received nearly 100 letters, he said, "most of them from white people," commending him for his stand on the matter of racial segregation.

Some letters, he added, contained money totaling more than $200—some of it given in behalf of the boycott but mostly as donations to his church.

State Racial Trouble Laid To 'Reds, Devil'

MOBILE, Ala., Feb. 26 (AP)—Rep. Frank Boykin (D-Ala) said today that "Communists and the devil" are responsible for Alabama's current racial troubles, and that he will reveal the names of 56 Communists back of racial disturbances in the state.

The Mobile congressman spoke to an audience of 500 or more at the dedication of a church sanctuary in suburban Prichard, Ala.

He referred to the recent troubles at Tuscaloosa, where rioting broke out when a Negro student was enrolled at the University of Alabama, and the bus boycott by Negroes at Montgomery.

Boykin said he plans to turn over the names of the alleged Communists to the Mobile Press Register on Monday. He said he hopes the papers will publish them.

(Alabama law places the responsibility for proof of such charges on newspapers which publish such names at their own initiative.)

The congressman, who is seeking reelection mentioned no specific organization or group in connection with the troubles or the list of alleged Communists. He declared that "We believe in colored persons who believe in God," but added, "The devil is behind the things going on in Montgomery and Tuscaloosa."

P.T.A official quits over integration

News, Feb 27
Thurs 1-26-56

MONTGOMERY, Ala., July 2 —(AP)—A protest to support of integration by the National Congress of Parents and Teachers was submitted in the form of her resignation Tuesday by the president of the Montgomery PTA Council.

Mrs. Betty Baldwin McLaurine said, "I cannot be any part of an organization that has an integration statement or policy as its ultimate goal." The local executive committee will have to act on her resignation.

Mrs. McLaurine said the National Congress has never acknowledged a resolution by the Alabama Congress passed in April that favored segregation.

2 Hanged In Montgomery: Just Dummies

Jackson, Miss.
Aug. 8-12-56

Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 8—The Montgomery court square Saturday was the scene of the double hanging of two dummies—one representing a Negro, labeled "NAACP," and the other a white man tagged "I talked for integration."

Police and several hundred spectators milled around the gallows, which was brought to the scene by men in a blue and white late model station wagon. The automobile sped away as soon as the scaffold was put into place.

The gallows was first reported to be the work of the Citizens Council, an organization dedicated to the preservation of segregation, but council headquarters denied any knowledge of the prank.

Police made no effort to remove the double scaffold, and citizens attracted to the scene seemed amused by the figures and walked on laughing.

A large, fancy sign on the gallows, reading "built by union labor," was believed to be a stab at the AFL-CIO endorsement of integration.

Montgomery has long been a hotbed in the segregation-integration struggle. Last December Negroes began a violence-marked boycott of Montgomery buses in protest against the arrest of a Negro woman who refused to move to the Negro section on a bus.

Jackson, Miss.

Alabama Bar condemns race ruling of court

Birmingham, Ala.
Aug. 12-12-56

BY EDWIN STRICKLAND
News staff writer

The 79th annual convention of the Alabama State Bar Assn. adjourned Saturday after throwing itself officially into the fight against racial integration.

A strongly-worded resolution condemning the U. S. Supreme Court's racial decisions, was unanimously adopted by the more than 300 lawyers attending the final session at Tutwiler Hotel.

Meanwhile, the Bar Assn. elected John D. Higgins of Birmingham as president for the next year. He was elevated from the vice presidency by acclamation.

JOHN D. HIGGINS
. . . Heads state bar

Bernie Jones of Evergreen nosed out Walter P. Gewin of Tuscaloosa for vice president. By custom, the vice president becomes president the following year.

Next year's convention will be in Montgomery.

A resolution adopted by the association called upon the Legislature at its next regular session to give "substantial" salary increases to justices of the Alabama Supreme Court and Court of Appeals and to circuit judges throughout the state.

Fight is pledged

THE RESOLUTION putting the association squarely into the segregation fight condemned the U. S. Supreme Court's racial rulings, calling them in direct conflict with the Constitution and the many decisions previously rendered by the court itself.

The bar pledged itself to use "all honorable and legal means . . . to contest such recent decisions . . . to the end that our freedom as guaranteed and intended by our Constitution be maintained and that confidence in the stability of that great document be restored."

By separate resolution, the bar thanked Joseph F. Johnston, Birmingham attorney, for his speech Thursday on the racial rulings of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The talk, the resolution declared, revealed "extraordinary thought, study and preparation." There were suggestions that the Bar Assn. have the state for certain chancery and equity matters. The committee is to make its report to the bar commission, and its findings may be acted upon at next year's convention.

The bar also declared itself in favor of legislation allowing circuit judges, traveling on business of the Alabama Assn. of Circuit Judges to be paid expenses from public funds.

Pays judges' expenses

IN ITS LAST business session the bar appointed a five-member committee to make a study to see whether uniform bar rates should be established throughout the state.

Atty Jones, the new vice president of the bar, has long been a member of the bar commission, and one of the most active workers in affairs of the bar for the last 30 years.

Pres. Higgins is a major general in the Army Reserve, and the senior member of the Birmingham law firm of Taylor, Higgins, Windham and Perdue.

South and its schools

Court edict can't force integration, attorney tells Bar

The United States Supreme Court failed to consider many factors when it handed down its decision abolishing segregation in public schools, a Birmingham attorney told fellow lawyers here today.

Joseph F. Johnston, speaking to an annual meeting of Alabama State Bar Assn., said only one thing is certain today and in the foreseeable future:

"The federal courts have the power to destroy public education in the Southern states, but there is not enough power in the entire federal government to compel their people to send their children to integrated schools to any substantial extent."

ONE OF THE MAIN factors the Supreme Court did not take into consideration was the "social tension, ill-will and disorganization created, Johnston declared.

The attorney said the ruling placed a charge of "gunpowder" in the South. He said there is still "ample constitutional authority in the states to direct the removal of the gunpowder."

Johnston said "aggressive attempts to use the federal courts as instruments for social revolution contrary to the tradition of the Southern states can be resolved by constitutional and peaceful means."

FURTHER CITING the Supreme Court's "misunderstanding" of the segregation problem in the South, Johnston said:

"The sharpness of the public reaction and the measures which are being taken and responsibility proposed in the South with respect to schools clearly indicate the measure of the court's misunderstanding of the depth and intencity of the determination of the white people not to mix socially, whether in schools or homes, and the explosive peril inherent in any attempt to force integration."

He continued:

"It will be tragic if the court cannot be made to realize that it is here dealing not with a matter of mere inconvenience or passing prejudice, but with an organic social force that lies at the heart of the political organization of every Southern state and community."

STATE SEN. ALBERT BOUTwell, a member of the Birmingham Bar Assn., briefed the state attorneys on a study being made for a tax revision in Alabama.

Some things being considered in the study, he said, are how the tax burden is divided, if there is equal distribution of taxes in the divisions, if present statutes are designed to impose equal taxes for all and what can be done to see that everyone gets fair treatment.

He pointed out that the state relies heavily on consumer taxes, which is Alabama's main source of income. Consumer taxes currently are at higher maximum rates than in other states, Boutwell said.

It Depends on Who's The 'Rebel' In Alabama

By Tarleton Collier

MONTGOMERY, ALA.—It has been pointed out in this series how political competition forces all candidates to take the same line and level on racial issues. Any real talk of solutions is prevented. In fact the idea seems to be a need to show that no solutions are called for because no problems exist. Or perhaps, if there is a problem, it consists only of ways to rebuke and restrict the Supreme Court.

This shows up clearly in the Georgia contest between Herman Talmadge and M. E. Thompson for Walter F. George's seat in the U. S. Senate. But this kind of pressure does not have the same quality of bitterness that goes into the social pressures to keep intact the pattern of segregation.

In Alabama these social and economic persuasions have become efficient. They are designed to batter even the mild moderates into conformity through sheer weariness.

The case of Dr. C. M. Dannelly, superintendent of the Montgomery County school system (city and county) is a good example. Mr. Dannelly, a native Alabaman, is one of the most distinguished local school superintendents in the country. He was president of Kentucky Wesleyan College more than 20 years ago. He has been a vice-president of the National Education Association, a university professor of education. Besides his Ph.D. from Yale University, he has a string of honorary doctorates (in laws, letters and humanities).

Dr. Dannelly is also one of the outstanding laymen in the Methodist Church. He comes naturally by his zeal for Methodism. Dannellys for generations have stood out in the Alabama and General Conferences as ministers, presiding elders and lay leaders.

At the General Conference in Minneapolis this summer he won to a crown of practically a lifetime of devoted labors. He was named as vice-president of the Judicial Council, a nine-member board which is the highest level to which a layman may look. It is the court of appeals on church legislation, supreme over rulings even of bishops and church courts.

Methodist eminence was not new to Dr. Dannelly. He had been president of the General Sunday School Conference of the church. He first went on the Judicial Council in 1952, but his elevation to the vice-presidency was new. When he got home from Minneapolis, the felicitations were widespread.

Then it was suddenly discerned that the Judicial Council's president, J. Ernest Wilkins, U. S. Assistant Secretary of Labor, is a Negro. In view of the community attitudes in Montgomery and Alabama, citadels of the White Citizens Councils, it seems now only natural that the hue and cry should begin.

The Montgomery Board of Education heard a demand that Superintendent Dannelly be dismissed. There was an alternative demand that he resign either as superintendent or as a member of the Judicial Council.

The Montgomerian who told me about the Dannelly incident, and who himself has been the object of W.C.C. reprisals, said the Board of Education stood by its superintendent. He said the board was, in fact, the only public agency that has even slightly moved to dispute the White Councils' point of view. The Montgomery city administration has openly taken sides against Negroes in the bus boycott. Only Friday there came a dispatch saying that Montgomery police refused to take down the effigies of Negroes and a National Guardsman that appeared at three schools as they opened for the season.

The $100,000 fine levied by a local circuit court judge against the N.A.A.C.P. for refusal to turn over its membership list is another example of community attitudes, which make the stand of the school board in defense of Dr. Dannelly appear even more courageous. However, Dr. Dannelly lost little time sending to the Methodist authorities his resignation from the Judicial Council.

There is no point in speculating on his motives. He merely said in his letter of resignation (as reported in The Christian Herald) that "a climate of circumstances was created" when he accepted the post. But he is getting on in years, being near retirement age. His health is not the best. He could have been moved by a thought to divert the burden of pressures and irritations that almost certainly would have been turned upon his associates.

Those pressures, as my informant described them, amount to a terrifying and wearing experience for anybody who displays an idea that the segregationist view should be examined. In one form they consist of telephone calls that run on for hours, sometimes through the night.

"The organization seems to work in shifts," he said. "The agents are numerous and tireless. The messages run from the mild or even jocular to the viciously abusive. The exhausting thing is their endlessness.

"There is a saying around here that unless you are a federal judge or a retired Methodist minister you'd better keep your mouth shut on segregation. Younger members of the Methodist clergy who have shown a spark of interest in solutions of the problem have been shuffled around in new appointments, removing them from offended congregations."

Montgomery has been the scene of a number of dynamitings. One object of destruction was a Lutheran mission to Negroes which had been working helpfully and unobtrusively for years. Now, however, with incitements flaming, there is a pressure upon everybody, of whatever motive or calling, to conform to the pattern or take the consequences. Dr. Dannelly is not the only one, though he is perhaps the most notable.

NOTE: In a previous report on the Georgia senatorial race I wrote that before the announcement of Senator George that he would retire, Herman Talmadge made a statement critical of the veteran Senator and later recalled it. I had written that the statement "vanished."

The Talmadge campaign office informs me that this was an error as to both the criticism and suppression. It sends me a copy of the first statement. It differs from the subsequent statement by Mr. Talmadge announcing his candidacy principally in these excerpts as to Senator George:

"I had expected that he would comply with his oft-repeated statement that he would not seek reelection . . . and help Georgians send a young and vigorous representative to the Senate. Senator George . . . has earned the admiration, respect and gratitude of all Georgians. He deserves the right to spend his remaining years free from the demands, turmoil and tensions of the national scene. It is my hope that he will yet follow the wishes of his friends and accept his senatorial pension of $16,850 annually and enter into an honorable retirement."

Another paragraph of both Talmadge statements said identically: "I shall not seek office on the demerits of any individual or opponent."

In Querries On Stand—

Congressmen Point To Integration Fight

Post-Herald Mon. 7-16-56

BY GENE WORTSMAN
Post-Herald Correspondent

WASHINGTON, July 15.—Alabama's congressional delegation is sometimes not amused about efforts of Citiezns Councils to determine how the delegation stands in the integration dispute.

The councils apparently have been trying to put all public officials on record on the question.

One Alabama newspaper last week queried the congressmen on whether they belong to a council or would speak to a council group.

All the congressmen replied.

Two said they were members, and all said they haven't refused to speak to any Alabama group whenever their schedule would permit.

But what raises the ire of some of the congressmen is the fact that council members don't seem to know that the integration fight is an old matter.

Said one congressman, "We've been fighting it for years."

The councils began in Alabama only a year ago.

In 1951 when a civil rights bill came to the House, Southern congressmen say they weakened it with amendments.

It then was filibustered to death in the Senate.

"That's what the Southern people are trying to do this time," he explained.

Another civil rights bill comes up for debate in the House tomorrow.

Admittance will be by invitation only.

The 900 seats generally will go to VIPs of the party.

The idea seems to be that the Democrats are nominating Jenny Donke (for the Democratic donkey) for president.

Members of the Women's National Democratic Club are putting on the show.

White and black dummies 'strung up' in Montgomery

News Aug. 6-5-56 P.1-a
Birm. Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 4—(AP)—A blackface dummy and another figure made up to portray a white man who "talked integration" were hanged in downtown Montgomery Saturday while Confederate flags fluttered overhead.

One dummy bore a sign reading "NAACP"; the other sign read "I talked integration."

They were strung up on two scaffolds hauled to court square in the heart of the business district on a truck.

Police tore the gallows down on orders from Mayor W. A. Gayle and no arrests were made. The unidentified white men who participated in the demonstration drove off in the truck and a station wagon bearing the words "Alabama Labor News."

The labor paper, published in Montgomery, has been critical of racial policies of the AFL-CIO and has supported the formation of an independent Southern union. A sign on the gallows Saturday read "built by union labor."

A CONFEDERATE flag flew atop each scaffold and a trumpeter blew taps as the macabre ceremony ended. An officer in the pro-segregation Central Alabama Citizens Council said his organization has nothing to do with the incident.

Negroes in Montgomery have refused to ride segregated buses since last Dec. 5 and a three-judge Federal Court panel declared city and state segregation laws unconstitutional. The decision has been appealed to the Supreme Court and an injunction against further enforcement of the laws has been set aside pending the appeal.

Constitution change— Law is aimed at park seareaation

News P.17
Birm. Ala.

This is the second of three stories on the constitutional amendments to be voted on Aug. 28.

BY REX THOMAS

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 1—(AP)—A proposed constitutional amendment which slipped almost unnoticed through the Legislature may forestall racial integration in public recreation and housing in Alabama.

IF RATIFIED in the special amendment election Aug. 28, it will open the way for city and county governing bodies to sell or give away "public parks and playgrounds or other public recreational facilities and public housing projects."

Nothing in the amendment itself mentions segregation or integration. It merely adds a paragraph to section 94 of the state constitution which now says the Legislature cannot authorize a city or county to lend its credit or grant public money or property to private individuals or organizations.

THE PROPOSED change would add this stipulation:

"It is provided, however, that the Legislature may enact general, special or local laws authorizing political subdivisions and public bodies to alienate with or without a valuable consideration public parks and playgrounds or other public recreational facilities or public housing projects . . ."

BUT THE voters in each city or county would have to approve the transaction first.

For example, the Legislature could authorize, with approval of the voters, the sale or gift of a public swimming pool or golf course to an individual or club in an effort to get around court decisions prohibiting segregation.

The argument used by sponsors of the amendment is that the Supreme Court cannot regulate privately operated recreational facilities.

The same theory covers housing projects.

A SIMILAR law has been enacted in Mississippi and used in several cities where public parks have been sold to civic clubs and other organizations.

Each transaction under the Alabama amendment would **have to be authorized by a separate legislative act and approved by the voters in a called election.**

The amendment was passed by the Legislature on the closing day of the 1955 regular session, almost obscured by a Senate filibuster on another bill.

Crowd hangs two dummies in Montgomery

News P.1
Birm. Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 4—(AP)—With Confederate flags flying, a group of white men hanged two dummies in downtown Montgomery Saturday in protest against racial integration.

One black-faced figure dangling on a scaffold bore a sign reading "NAACP." The other, portraying a white man, had a sign which read "I talked integration."

MAYOR W. A. GAYLE ordered police to tear the two scaffolds down after the men who had taken them to Court Square in the heart of the business district drove off.

Accompanying the truck was a station wagon bearing the name "Alabama Labor News." The labor paper, published in Montgomery, has been critical of the integration stand of the AFL-CIO.

ON THE FRONT of the gallows was a sign reading "Built by Union Labor." A Confederate flag flew at the top of each scaffold. As the dummies were strung up, a trumpeter played taps and an onlooker gave a Rebel yell.

Downtown shoppers watched the 10-minute ceremony quietly and moved on.

AN OFFICER in the Central Alabama Citizens Council, which advocates segregation, denied the council had anything to do with the demonstration.

Montgomery Mayor Says He Holds No Grudge

Call Kansas City Mo.
Post. 8-17-56

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (ANP) — White segregationists who hanged two dummies in effigy on a double gallows in the courthouse square here were told last week by the city's mayor that he held "no grudge" toward persons who did [illegible]

[illegible] hanged by the segregationists represented the [illegible] white integrationists. [illegible] made the statement after a small group of men attempted to settle the racial situation with a mock hanging ceremony last week.

The mayor said: "Lest anyone hold any hard feelings toward me, I apologize for having the gallows torn down. No one will be arrested or prosecuted."

He explained there was an ordinance against the erection of signs in the courthouse square. He ordered police to tear down the double scaffold about an hour after it was put up last Saturday morning.

The gallows held a dummy in blackface labelled "NAACP," and a white dummy tagged "I talked for integration." A black crow stood atop each gallows and a large sign across the bottom read, "Built by union labor."

White Citizens Councils denied participating in the stunt, but Eugene F. Hall, director of the White Citizens Council, boastfully said: "It took us three weeks to prepare the two gallows."

He said the work was done by a new segregationist group who call themselves "The Committee on the Preservation of Segregation." He said the group has a membership of about 600.

Birmingham to be next scene

Afro-American
Baltimore Md.

BY SAMUEL HOSKINS

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — In all likelihood, Birmingham is next on the anti-segregation, time-table.

The offensive, when it is finally unleashed, will not be against jimcrow bus segregation alone.

It will also be aimed at housing and employment discrimination as well as segregation in schools.

The spearhead of the movement will be the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, according to the Rev. F. W. Shuttleworth, president.

In an exclusive interview with the AFRO on Saturday, the Rev. Mr. Shuttleworth said: "We're determined to hit racial segregation in the head. We do not intend to fool around with its tail."

* * *

THE MINISTER added that this observation is against the background of a recent conference with F. D. James, president of Birmingham Transit Company, regarding abolition of segregated seating on city buses.

Afro-American

The clergyman - civic leader quoted the bus company president as saying: "We're willing to grant your requests, but we dare not at this time."

The requests, he said, were for an end of segregated seating, employment of colored drivers and courteous treatment of all riders, irrespective of race or color.

Sat. 8-18-56

THE REV. SHUTTLEWORTH stated the bus official pointed out that the company could not change its seating policy until and unless the state laws requiring segregated seating are abolished.

"We need a court decree

before we can act," the minister said Mr. James declared.

"Get that for us and we will take down the bars and also hire colored drivers immediately."

CURRENTLY the ACMFHR s sponsonring regular weekly neetings where the possible anti-segregatiton moves are be- ng discussed in every detail, he Rev. Shuttleworth added..

"Within 30 days, we shall ave made some plan. We'll be eady to move."

He said the organization will upport any student who seeks) enroll in the University of .labama, adding: "We do not elieve colored students should iave to go out of the state in order to get an education."

* * *

STUDENTS are being encouraged to apply for admission to the Medical Center in Birminigham, he stated.

The conference with the transit company president, held the morning of Aug. 3, was also attended by the Revs. C. A. George, N. H. Smith, T. L. Lane and H. Stone.

The Revs. Smith and Stone were among the persons who issued the call for organization of ACMFHR.

THE ORGANIZATION was created last June after the State of Alabama outlawed the NAACP.

"We intend to go much farther than the NAACP," the Rev. Shuttleworth declared.

He defined the overall objective as: "Destruction of racial segregation in Birmingham and throughout Alabama."

The Rev. Shuttleworth is pastor of Bethel Baptist Church.

* * *

OTHER CO-FOUNDERS are the Revs. Smith, New Pilgrim Baptist; R. L. Alford, Sardis Baptist; G. E. Pruitt, Wilson Chapel Baptist, and Lane, Union Bethel Independent Methodist.

To date the organization has held nine public mass meetings, with an average attendance of 1,250. The official membership is placed at 3,000.

In addition to the Rev. Mr. Shuttleworth, other officers of the organization are:

The Rev. Alford, first vice president; Dr. F. Ellis Bell, second vice president; W. E. Shotridge, treasurer; the Rev. Smith, secretary, and Mrs. L. B. Robey, assistant secretary.

THE MEETING, held on Monday nights, rotate from church to church.

The meetings are opened with prayer services. Later there are "testimony periods," during which persons tell why they are supporting the movement.

"Testimony" usually relates some unpleasant experience with racial discrimination and/or segregation, it was pointed out.

The climax of the meetings are keynote addresses by ministers or outstanding community leaders.

IN ADDITION to its contact with the bus company, the organization has done the following:

1. On July 2 and July 10 wrote letters to the City Commission requesting its viewpoint on the bus segregation issue and whether or not it is opposed to the bus company's hiring colored drivers.

The letters have not been answered. But on each occasion news releases have appeared in the daily newspapers regarding contents of letters to city officials, it was pointed out.

2. On July 27 wrote letters to the Bruno Stores regarding hiring colored clerks, etc. in stores located in colored neighborhoods.

* * *

TO DATE no official answer has been received. The next likely move is to picket and boycott the stores.

On July 27 another letter went to the City Commission regarding the police department's putting on colored officers.

The City Commission has not answered.

WRECKED BY POLICE

Advertiser 8-5-56

Integration Opponents Hang 2 Effigies In Court Square

Ledger 8-5-56 Montgomery, Ala.

A small group of men attempted to stir the racial cauldron with a mock hanging ceremony at Court Square yesterday—but their efforts attracted little attention and police tore down the macabre gallows scene about an hour after it was erected.

A normal Saturday throng of shoppers and passersby expressed more curiosity than approval at the scaffolding from which hung two effigies—one painted black and adorned with the sign, "NAACP," and the other (representing a white man) wearing a sign, "I Talked Integration."

Among the onlookers was a small girl, apparently entertained by a rendering of "Reveille" on a trumpet by one of the demonstrators. "Mommy," she inquired, "is that all?" "I don't know honey," her mother replied. "I don't know what it's all about," she added.

A police officer commented "there was no unusual crowd at Court Square." There were plenty of people there," Lt. G. H. Owens said, "but there always is on Saturdays."

But the demonstrators—a group of about 12 men—apparently were serious about the ceremony. One of the group, when asked if was done as a joke or prank, replied, "Hell no. We did this to show how serious we feel about the segregation issue." He said the demonstrators were "union members and business men."

The men—most of whom were unidentified—took a mock gallows from a truck at 9:40 a.m. yesterday and placed it at the foot of the Court Square fountain while another man played "Reveille" on a trumpet. Two dummies were then taken from a tation wagon bearing the insignia "Alabama Labor News" and while the dummies were hung, one of the group sounded the Rebel yell and the trumpeter played "Taps."

Two of the participants were identified as Jack D. Brock, co-piblisher of the Alabama Labor News, and Eugene S. Hall, a director of the Montgomery White Citizens Council.

Brock said the ceremony had been planned for about a month. He said he received a telephone call from the Committee on the Preservation of Segregation (C.O.P.S) requesting his participation in the mock ceremony. "As we of the Alabama Labor News are among the leaders in the fight to preserve segregation," Brock said, "I offered my services to C.O.P.S."

Brock said C.O.P.S. is an organization of about 600 white persons pledged to preserve segregation in Montgomery.

The last issue of the Alabama Labor News, published by Brock and Homer Welch, carried on its first page an announcement for all Montgomerians to be present at Court Square at 9:30 a.m. on Saturday (yesterday). The publication, however, did not say what would take place at that time.

Hall who like Brock is a printer employed by the Advertiser-Journal, explained that "Reville" symbolized "the awakening of the South to its problem" and "taps" represented "the death blow we're going to deal the Sumpreme Court's integration ruling."

A sign beneath the mock scaffold bore the words, "Built By Union Labor." An informed source who refused to be named said this was in defiance of "Northern labor leaders who preach integration."

The source said the dummies and the materials for the scaffold were paid for by "local uniom members and business people." He said the mock hanging was rehearsed "several times" before it was carried out and added the scaffold was built "in a shed belonging to one of the unions involved."

The informant explained no union participated in the ceremony as such, but that representatives from several unions in Montgomery joined in as individuals. He described these as members of printer, carpenter and painter unions among others.

The source said the demonstration was not authorized by the city. At about 11 a.m., police tore down the scaffolding on the order of Mayor W. A. Gayle.

Hall, a local WCC leader, said the Citizens Council did not sponsor the program. "It would be correct to say members of the Council participated, but the program was sponsored by the Committee on the Preservation of Segregation."

Most of the crowd comments appeared to have been favorable toward the effigies, according to Hall. He said he heard one man say, "This should let everybody know how we feel about integration." He said another man, identified as a politician, said "I don't know if this (the hanging) is quite the right thing to do." Hall said a third man turned to the unidentified politician and retorted, "That's why you were defeated in the last election." Hall said the politician remarked he was in favor of segregation, despite his feelings toward the effigy hanging.

ALABAMA VOTES ON BIAS QUESTION

Times 7-20-C

Light Balloting Is Reported on Whether to Wage Stiff Fight for Segregation

Wed. 8-24-56

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Aug. 28 (AP)—Alabama voted today on whether to take drastic legal measures to preserve segregation in its schools, playgrounds and public housing.

Two proposed amendments to the State Constitution, frankly aimed at circumventing the Supreme Court's edicts ending legal segreation of whites and Negroes, drew the major attention in today's special election.

Early voting was light, despite considerable campaign oratory on both sides of the question.

The school amendment would provide "freedom of choice" for parents to send their children to schools serving only their own race.

It also would remove both the Constitutional provision for state-supported public education and the requirement for segregated schools. It would authorize the Legislature to abolish public schools in any of Alabama's sixty-seven counties and to finance private schools, presumably segregated, with public funds.

Protection for Board

School board members also would become judicial officers, protecting them from lawsuits.

The other amendment bearing on racial problems would permit cities and counties to sell, lease or give away public parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, golf courses or public housing projects. This was another effort to preserve segregation.

State Senator Albert Boutwell of Birmingham, one of the authors of the "freedom of choice" measure, said it would have the effect of keeping separate schools for Negroes and whites.

State education leaders split over the school amendment. Dr. Austin R. Meadows, State Superintendent of Education, opposed it as "weakening our stand against segregation" and ending the constitutional requirements for public schools and public school attendance.

The various White Citizens' Councils that sprang up in Alabama after the United States Supreme Court decision in 1954 outlawing segregated schools also were split on the "freedom of choice" amendment.

Some opposed it because it would eliminate the State Constitution's clause requiring separate schools for whites and Negroes. Others took the view that this state provision already had been ruled out by the Federal courts and that a new law was necessary.

Negroes took no public part in the "Freedom of Choice" campaign. The Negro vote in Alabama usually is less than 5 per cent of the total.

Governor's Plan Discussed

Special to The New York Times.

RICHMOND, Va., Aug. 28—A bill to plug a loophole in Gov. Thomas B. Stanley's segregated school program was among those introduced in the Legislature today.

On the second day of the special session to decide how to avoid integration legally, various measures were proposed.

The principal ones included those for the Governor's plan to withhold state funds from integrated school systems. A separate supplementary measure would tighten that program. It would prohibit localities from levying taxes to support integrated schools if they sought that alternative after losing state funds under the Governor's proposal.

38a 1956

A Service To The South

Advertiser P. 4-A

Dabney, The South's First Editor, Winds Up And Heaves Stove And Kitchen At The Pharisees

Fri. 3-23-56

Montgomery, Ala.

Editor Virginius Dabney In The Richmond-Times Dispatch

A SERVICE to the South has been performed by Editor Grover C. Hall Jr., of *The Montgomery Advertiser* in focusing nationwide attention on the manner in which Negroes have been grossly discriminated against in the North.

With the South under fire from panting sociologists roosting all over Yankeeland, it is good to have some belated emphasis on the fact that it ill behooves New York and Chicago and Detroit to be lecturing us about our "bigotry" and our "racism."

Editor Hall, who wields one of the most colorful of editorial pens, concluded that in view of the fact that reporters from all over the United States, and even from foreign lands, were barging into his office in Montgomery to write about the bus boycott, it might not be amiss for somebody in the North to say a word or two in the public prints about the far from "democratic" goings-on up there.

Since Murray Kempton, of the ultra-liberal *New York Post*, was one of those who had been chronicling the Montgomery boycott for his New York readers, Hall said to him:

"Murray, you birds are right to swoop down on this Alabama story. It is a big story for any American paper. But damned if it wouldn't be restful to me to go to New York and spend a week having you bird dog some unhappy race relations in the provinces."

HALL quotes Kempton as replying: "That's great. I'd love to work out with you in New York. I've been meaning to do a series on it myself."

Apparently the deal was closed. But James Wechsler, editor of *The Post*, got into the act at that point, and wrote Hall insisting that Ted Poston, Negro reporter for the New York paper, operate with Hall on the story instead of Kempton. When Hall protested that he knew and was friendly with Kempton, and wanted to explore New York's much covered up and camouflaged segregated areas and racial discriminations with Kempton, Wechsler retorted.

"I am sure you would not expect me to abide by Montgomery's segregation system in handing out assignments on *The Post*." In other words, he insisted that the Negro operate with Hall on the assignment. The latter has declined, terming Wechsler's proposal "an inadequate arrangement for obtaining this particular story."

Just why Wechsler objected to letting Kempton do the series that Kempton had planned already—and on which he could have collaborated to advantage with Hall—is unclear. It is unfortunate that the project fell through.

Ventilation of what the *New York Times* has called "the explosive issue of segregation in New York's own schools" certainly is overdue. It wouldn't prove anything as to the rightness or wrongness of what is happening in the South, but it would at least put the issue in perspective, and take the spotlight off the South as the only part of the nation which indulges in segregation.

AND while we're on the subject, there is that utterly appalling condition that has existed in Chicago for two and a half years because Negro families moved into a federal housing project. As Editor Hall points out, 100 policemen are on duty today to guard 24 Negro families at Trumbull Park, to keep them from being mobbed, but the story is played down in the Chicago press, and is not mentioned at all in most other Northern and Western newspapers.

One would suppose that Montgomery, Tuscaloosa and other Southern communities were the only places where race feeling exists, and that widespread segregation in New York City (the existence of which is hypocritically ignored), and years-long threats of mob action against Negroes in Chicago were unimportant phenomena.

The attention of the nation needs to be focused on the existence of festering sores in the North, no less than on those in the South. It is regrettable that the pungent pen of Grover Hall will not probe javelin-like into the far from ideal interracial situation beyond Mason and Dixon's Line. Somehow the facts should be brought out, so that the nation and the world can see that the South is far from being the only sinner in the field of race discrimination.

★ Tell It To Old Grandma ★

Advertiser P. 4-A

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Fri. 3-23-56

State Supported Racial Eyesore

ALABAMA

Montgomery, Ala.

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — I am not a native Alabamian, but I do come to Montgomery every other day as a trainman for the Western Railway of Alabama. I do not intend to be critical of anything or of anybody in Alabama but as a trainman on the Piedmont Ltd. and the Northbound Crescent Ltd., I am in position to see and hear comments of many eople. A lot of them in very high and influential positions, both in business and government.

During our trying times of racial controversy, whenever any solid citizen of the South sees anything that could be capitalized on by racial agitators, then I think that condition should be brought before some responsible citizen, who has either the power or position to do something about it.

So here is the condition and some of the things I have heard said about it, etc.

The regular meeting point of the Northbound Crescent and the Southbound Crescent is Cusseta, Ala., midway between Opelika and West Point, Ga.

The Northbound goes into the siding at this point for the Southbound. There is a little two-story wooden building, in very bad condition. It actually has a very definite lean, as if it would fall down in a very stiff breeze.

This building, with an awful muddy yard and road just in front of it, is used as a school for Negro grammar school children.

Practically every day we have some Northern peole and all the porters on the train making remarks about the disgrace of forcing children to enter such a building. Also they think that such conditions are typical of school facilities for colored children. Also they are taking many pictures of it.

It seems as if the two teachers are part of a conspiracy to gain sympathy from those travelers by letting the children out to stand in front of the school and the porters and travelers are always throwing off money, newspapers and probably other literature off to these teachers and children.

For the NAACP this school couldn't possibly be more strategically placed or be in a better condition for their propaganda purposes.

It is not my place to criticize the school policy of your good state, but I do believe it would be much better to remove this eyesore and political piece of dynamite if it cannot be corrected rather than let it be used as a typical method of Southern treatment of the Negro.

Also would like to tell you that I am an avid reader and supporter of you and your ideas. Every day I read your editorials and bring them back to Atlanta to let any and all of the people around me read about one solid Southern editor who edits a Southern paper for Southern people.

As you know we, in Atlanta, are not in that very fortunate position.

R. J. BROWN.

Flagman, W. of A. RR. No. 33 and 38
East Point, Ga.

Boiling Mad

Editor, The Advertiser:

Your proposal to *The New York Post* as reported in the *U.S. News* is quite pertinent, and I assume was not received with joy bells by *The Post*.

Doubless you remember *The Times* lofty assault on Jim Eastland and his committee Jan. 3. Perhaps I was overly emphatic, but when I realize that the bigots of radio, press, pulpit, television, et cetera, whose vituperations are channeled through New York are the mental and spiritual descendants of the fanatical abolitionists of a century ago who in 1831 actually urged more and bigger Nat Turner massacres, I boil over.

Shaw, Miss. FRANK HOUGH.

Special

High cost of sessions

News

MANY OF THE senators and representatives are smarting under more and more criticism from the people back in their home counties and districts about the high cost of the seemingly never-ending legislative sessions.

There's one thing the voters back home can grasp and understand exceedingly well — the fact that each week the Legislature meets costs them and other taxpayers close to $50,000.

And the legislators are paid (at the rate of $30 a day each) on a seven-day week basis. So are House an Senate clerical help and other attaches. Combined pay to legislators and to those who work with them to keep legislative machinery grinding totals more than $40,000 a week.

News P. 16-A

There're also travel allowances to the lawmakers. They are paid 10 cents a mile—to and from their homes—at the beginning and end of each session.

Sun. 4-1-56

When the present special session ends next Thursday, the total cost for all five extraordinary meetings, plus the regular session which lasted more than four months last year, will exceed $2 million.

Cost of the regular and three special sessions last year added up to $1,445,000.

B'ham

The two special sessions called by Gov. Folsom this year already have cost in excess of $480,000.

These costs are big reasons why the senators and representatives —at least most of them—want to get away from Goat Hill.

Ala.

Who are 'Nullicrats?'

DESPITE the fact that Gov. Folsom, as candidate for Democratic national committeeman from Alabama, is the central figure in the fast-heating primary races, he insists that his stumping tour is not a campaign foray.

He makes no reference to his candidacy in his "report-to-the-people" speeches and wants to leave the impression that any resemblance between these and political campaigning is purely coincidental.

Without making any direct reference to one of his opponents for national committeeman—Talladega Rep. Charles McKay Jr.—or to the White Citizens Councils, Gov. Folsom has been blasting away at both.

In his speech at Troy, Folsom said:

"The Nullicrats and Mobocrats want to tear up the Democratic Party in Alabama."

The governor was shooting at Rep. McKay, Sylacauga lawyer and head of the White Citizens Council there, as well as at many other members of the Legislature who voted for McKay's interposition resolution which had declared the U. S. Supreme Court integration decision "null, void and of no effect."

Incidentally, Houston Sen. Richmond Flowers and other administration leaders, including Sens. Broughton Lamberth, E. L. Roberts and Garet van Antwerp, introduced a resolution to rescind the McKay resolution. But the repealer, which was sent to the Senate rules committee (of which these four senators con-

stitute a majority) still rests there.

Gov. Folsom, who has waged unrelenting war on Dixiecrats since the 1948 Dixiecrat revolt against Truman and Barkley added in this Troy speech:

"Nullification means lawlessness, riots and disorder. Nullification means secession.

"The faces you see today in the 'Nullicrat Party' are the same faces you saw in the Dixiecrat Party in 1948. But we will not let them destroy the Democratic Party in Alabama again."

Folsom or Boutwell slate

QUESTION ASKED frequently in legislative halls and Montgomery hotel corridors during the week was:

"Are you going to vote for the 'Folsom' or 'Boutwell' slate?"

This stemmed from a bristling verbal exchange between Folsom legislative leaders and Jefferson Sen. Albert Boutwell, one of the governor's sharpest critics, on WAPI-WABT'S "Legislative Report" program a week ago.

Boutwell charged Folsom has a "slate of candidates" but has not announced it publicly "because the people would resent the governor publicly attempting to put over a slate."

Sens. Lamberth and Roberts slammed back at Boutwell, declaring "Gov. Folsom does not have a slate."

BOUTWELL SAID that Gov. Folsom "heads the slate" as candidate for Democratic national committeeman, with Rep. McKay and Gadsden Atty. Roy McCord, former legislator, as his opponents.

The Jefferson senator also said that Jasper Judge Roy Mayhall, who has stepped down temporarily as chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee is Folsom's pick over Supreme Court Justice Davis F. Stakely, seeking renomination to the court.

Boutwell asserted that Supreme Court Justice James J. Mayfield Jr., is being backed by Folsom over State Sen. James S. Coleman Jr. of Greene for another associate place on the high tribunal.

And he added that Judge Roy an Bone, appointed by Folsom to the Court of Appeals, is supported by the governor over Montgomery Atty. Aubrey Cates Jr. and Birmingham Atty. William Conway.

Furthermore, Boutwell said, Folsom is backing John E. Drinkard, Cullman auto dealer and brother of State Conservation Director Bill Drinkard, in his attempt to unseat Jack Owen as Public Service Commission president. Billy Tucker, Birmingham insurance man and former Auburn football player, is the third candidate in this race.

Deny alignments

TWO CANDIDATES Sen. Boutwell said were "slated" with Folsom denied any such alignments. They were Justice Mayfield and Judge Hayhall.

Judge Mayhall, who stepped down temporarily as state Democratic chairman during the campaign (Vice Chairman Charles Pinkston, Montgomery attorney, will handle primary election tabulations and other duties during the interim), said "my candidacy is linked to no one except the people of Alabama."

Mayhall asserted further that because he has been a leader of "loyal Democrats" he has "invoked the enmity of those who would destroy the Democratic Party in Alabama."

And he added "it appears to me that they will do well to declare their own slate, rather than try to place my candidacy on the slate of any other candidate."

Mayfield hits back

THUS, THE "Boutwell slate" as some have chosen to term it, Coleman and Stakely are the only candidates linked to it, since they are the only other candidates in the high court races.

Mayfield said he had withdrawn from politics, but was forced back into the political arena by "my opposition."

He did not call his opponent, Sen. Coleman, by name, but slapped indirectly at Coleman and conservative forces backing the Eutaw lawyer's candidacy.

Mayfield also referred to Coleman's speaking appearances before White Citizens Councils, in pointing out that "under the charter of the White Citizens Councils, judicial and law enforcement officers are prohibited from membership."

Boutwell for governor

FOR SOME TIME, Sen. Boutwell, a legislative veteran and one of the outstanding members of the State Senate, has been talked as a likely candidate for lieutenant governor two years from now. The lieutenant governor presides over the Senate.

But more recently, Boutwell has been proposed for governor. Latest among those advancing the Jefferson senator for the governorship is Ed Blair, editor of the St. Clair News-Aegis at Pell City.

Among other laudatory things Blair has to say in a page one column proposing "Albert Boutwell for governor," was:

"I believe I can say without fear of successful challenge that no man in Alabama has risen in stature as fast and as far as Albert Boutwell, state senator from Jefferson County."

Native of Jefferson

AND HE ADDS: "True, Boutwell lives in Jefferson County. For some years, there has been a saying that no man from Jefferson County could be elected governor.

"To borrow Gov. Folsom's expression, I think this is a lot of 'hogwash.'

"I don't believe the people of Alabama care where a man comes from, be it Birmingham, Chisel Switch or Ishkooda. If he shows the ability, integrity and leadership that Albert Boutwell has shown, I think the people of our state would elect him governor."

ALABAMA TO VOTE ON RACE ISSUE

News + Observer

Sun. 8-28-56

Measure Would Prevent Mixing In Schools, Recreation and Housing.

Raleigh N. C.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 27 (AP) — Segregation-conscious Alabama voters will decide tomorrow on two measures designed to prevent race mixing in the schools and public recreational and housing facilities.

One proposed constitutional amendment would give parents a "freedom of choice" in sending their children to segregated schools and empower the Legislature to abolish any grade or high school threatened with integration.

The other would permit cities and counties to sell or give away public parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, golf courses, or public housing projects if necessary to keep Negroes and whites from using them together.

A third amendment, also up for ratification or defeat tomorrow, would raise the corporation income tax ceiling in Alabama from 3 to 5 per cent to provide more revenue for the schools. Three other suggested changes in the state's organic law affect only local communities.

Racial And Religious Bigotry Can Only Increase Problems, Perils

News P. 22-A

People can have conflicting conceptions as to how difficult problems in the field of racial relations should be met and still keep themselves free from bitterness and hatred. P. 22-A

They also can have very different ideas as to religion and still be bound together in a devotion to great basic principles and by a common spirit of good will and tolerance. News

On the other hand, it should be very clear to responsible citizens, particularly in the light of recent developments in Alabama and other states in connection with racial relations, that racial and religious animosities could involve frightful stresses and dangers. Sun. 3-11-56

Recent serious difficulties in our own state have suggested terrible possibilities. Numbers of our people are striving to prevent the growth of bitter feelings and fears and to strengthen the friendly racial relations and the religious tolerance that have so long and so widely existed in Alabama. B'ham, Ala.

Certainly no great imagination is required to conceive of deep tragedies, undermining the solidarity and strength and the spirit of good will and tolerance in this country if either party, in the coming presidential campaign, should in its own interest exploit racial and religious feelings and differences of viewpoints.

We believe the good sense and the generous, human feelings of the great majority of Americans will predominate even amidst the conflicting efforts, the strains and competitions of coming months.

But relatively few people can stir up a lot of talk and trouble in racial and religious relations in a time of high tensions.

The great majority should be vigilant to uphold the kind of spirit that is fundamental to true democracy, to racial good will, and to religion in accordance with the principles of human brotherhood and tolerance.

In a recently distributed news letter, Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, president of the National Conference of Christian and Jews, urged political leaders to "reject all racial and religious bigotry" in the 1956 presidential campaign.

"Such appeals are contrary to American principles, to the American spirit of fair play and good sportsmanship, to God's moral imperative for brotherhood," Dr. Clinchy said.

He warned that "hatred and bigotry weakens our national unity at a time when we are engaged in a critical struggle with atheistic materialism throughout the world."

He called for traditionally full and free discussion, for the facts and for what each candidate thinks about issues. But our people, he said, don't want such information obscured by racial and religious bias.

"We know," he continued, "that most Americans are loyal citizens, seeking the best interests of the nation. They vote that way, too. We also know that this nation of ours is made up of many religious and ethnic groups—each of them as patriotic as the other, each as concerned with the welfare of all the people."

This appeal is a summons to a serious responsibility facing every American.

ALABAMA BARS INTEGRATION; TENSION GROWS

Daily Tribune Chicago, Ill. Fri 7-13-56

Races Drifting Apart Under Pressure

[This is the fifth article in a series by the chief of The Tribune's Washington bureau on the political situation in the south.]

BY WALTER TROHAN
[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Montgomery, Ala., July 12—If Alabama has any lesson to offer the nation, it is that integration of the white and Negro races is a long way off in the deep south.

A series of incidents has erected additional barriers between the races, and because no attempts are being made at understanding on either side, trouble could come. Neither side is looking for trouble, but agitators are inviting trouble.

Negroes are enlisting in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A petition has been filed in the state Circuit court by whites seeking to force the N. A. A. C. P. to supply detailed information on its operations in the state.

Whites are joining Citizens Councils. These were launched feebly in the fall of 1954, but have spurted in recent months to more than 75,000 members. The N. A. A. C. P. claims about 12,000 members.

Councils Given Impetus

What gave the councils impetus and even respectability, altho some preach hate, was the Montgomery bus boycott by Negroes; the attempt of a Negro woman to attend the University of Alabama, and the attack on a Negro singer in the Birmingham city auditorium.

Hill [left] and Sparkman

A state-wide association of councils has been formed with State Sen. Sam Englehardt, author of a state bill to balk desegregation, as executive secretary. But a rival group, the North Alabama White Citizens council, is blasting Englehardt as an integrationist. Ace Carter, editor of The Southerner, a white supremacy publication, heads the group.

King [left], Miss Lucy, and Cole

Fourteen followers of Carter invaded Montgomery over the week-end in an attempt to recruit members. They circulated mimeographed flyers declaring "The white man must again rule Montgomery."

Vow Boycott Victory

Carter's followers promised to end the bus boycott on white terms. They hit Englehardt's segregation bill as striking segregation from the state's constitution, because it would empower state school boards to assign pupils on the basis of 15 factors.

The bill, which was passed last August, would permit assignment of pupils to separate schools on such factors as "threat of friction" and "psychological effect."

Englehardt was astounded at being labeled an integrationist — sure political death in Alabama. He denounced Carter as "a rabble rouser" and said his stand against segregation is known to all.

The conflict between the citizens' groups inspired the Montgomery Advertiser to poll the state's congressional delegation to learn whether they would address meetings of the Citizens Councils, which staged the largest political rally in the state's history last February when 15,000 whites attended a gathering.

All Say They Would

All 11 members of the delegation said they would address such groups. Two congressmen, Frank Boykin and George Grant, said they are members of W. C. C. groups.

Those who signified they would address citizens groups included Sen. John Sparkman who was Adlai Stevenson's running mate in 1952, and Sen. Lister Hill, who is widely regarded as a southern liberal. In answer to a direct question whether they would speak before such groups, both said they stood ready to appear before any groups of their constituents.

Hill was recently renominated —tantamount to election here—for a six year term without opposition, but he knows how sentiment is running in his state. Both Hill and Sparkman will unquestionably be called upon to lend their names to council rallies and Alabamans are confident they will accept the call.

Side with Talmadge

Such action would find these recognized liberals keeping step with former Gov. Herman Talmadge of Georgia, now a candidate for the senate. Talmadge has been widely assailed for exploiting prejudice against the Negro in a disagreeable and violent fashion. Now he has strange company.

Perhaps no single event demonstrated the solidarity of the south more than the shoulder to shoulder stand of men who pride themselves on being liberals and men who are denounced as rabble rousers.

It may be that the annihilation Gov. James [Kissin' Jim] Folsom suffered recently at the polls is worrying politicians. Folsom has been supported by Negroes, labor, and farmers. He tried to woo the 40,000 Negro votes and keep the whites happy. He named a state commission of Negroes and whites "to bring about peace between the races."

Advocates Negro Vote

More importantly, he said he was for Negroes "having their rights." He said the only way he could see for Negroes to get their rights was "to give them the vote."

With White Citizens Councils of the Carter stripe campaigning against extending the vote to more Negroes and raising specters of intermarriage, Folsom took the worst licking of his career.

Whites are determined there shall be no mixing of races in the schools. Even Negro leaders foresee no general mixing.

"It will not be for a long time — not five years or 10 years," says the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Negro Baptist leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, one of the direct causes of race tension. He is now advising Negroes to boycott all non-integrated schools in Alabama, which has infuriated whites.

How Boycott Started

The boycott started because a bus driver ordered a Negro seamstress to take a seat in the rear of a vehicle—the place traditionally reserved under segregation for the Negroes. When she refused, she was arrested.

Last February, tension erupted at the University of Alabama when Autherine Lucy, a 26 year old college graduate, became the first Negro student in the institution's 125 years. She was ordered enrolled after a court action. She was transported between classes in an automobile by university authorities. Everywhere she went she was greeted by shouts "keep 'Bama white." Stones were flung at the car.

The university's trustees suspended the Negro girl in the interests of avoiding more serious trouble. Her Negro attorneys countered with a court suit seeking reinstatement. Then the trustees expelled her for "outrageous charges" made against them in her suit. The girl left the university and has since married.

King Cole Attacked

In Birmingham, whites climbed up on a stage to beat Nat [King] Cole, Negro entertainer, who had come to sing in his home town. It must be recognized that many whites deplored the action, but did so at the risk of being accused of coddling the Negroes in their drive for integration.

Alabama has 2,079,591, or 68 per cent, whites to 979,617, or 32 per cent, Negroes. There had been some attempt at integration but it died as a result of the incidents.

100-Signature Letters Oppose Desegregation

Birm News 7-15-56

I would like to call to the attention of your readers the "100-signature letters" sent by the residents of the Marion Junction community to each of its congressional representatives. If this idea will "catch on" and other communities, civic organizations, and ladies' clubs will sponsor similar letters, we will soon discover many dedicated "segregationists" on Capitol Hill.

The letter of transmittal accompanying each "100-signature letter" is as follows:

"Enclosed is a letter signed by one hundred (100) of your constituents in the Marion Junction area urging you to vigorously oppose any and all appropriations to any federal agency using its funds to break down our customs of segregation in the South.

"The South, by the actions of many of its representatives in the Congress, has led the nation to believe it is willing to accept integration. Nothing can be farther from the truth.

"We implore you to fight with all the vigor at your command this unconstitutional encroachment upon states' rights.

"We have no intentions of letting the combination of radicals and impractical, misinformed 'do-gooders' bring political, economic, and social chaos to our section. We will defend without reservation the excellent racial understanding cooperation that has long existed here.

"In this fight be assured of our united and undivided support."

R. L. SIMONTON,

Judge Blasts Northern Agitators For 'Equality'

Post-Herald p. 6
Birmingham Ala.

THOMASVILLE, Feb. 28 (AP)—A South Alabama circuit judge charged tonight that "rabble-rousing Northern politicians" who fought economic advancement of Southern whites and Negroes are the ones now "loudly proclaiming social equality."

Wed. 2-21-56

Circuit Judge George Wallace of Clayton said in a prepared speech that politicians in the East and Midwest "ought to know a lot about discrimination because they come from sections wher e dwell the biggest discriminators that ever discriminated."

Speaking at a civic club meeting, Wallace pointed to the freight rate equality fight waged

RAPS 'POLITICIANS' — Circuit Judge George Wallace.

by Southern states as an example of "Northern discrimination placed upon the backs of all Southerners, black and white."

"This fight which resulted in victory for the South was led by Southern politicians and leaders," Wallace said, "and has resulted in many new industries with thousands of jobs for our people, especially Negroes.

"If the politicians of the North had been so interested in the plight of the minority people in the South they would have joined Southern leaders in having these unjust freight rate restrictions removed."

Judge Wallace, whose circuit is comprised of Barbour, Bullock and Dale Counties, recently told a grand jury he would arrest any federal officer trying to investigate judicial procedures in his circuit.

On his recommendation, two grand juries have urged local officers to continue enforcing segregation laws.

Friends In The North

Editor, The Advertiser:

Advertiser p. 4-A

I have read the *U. S. News & World Report* article in which you were interviewed. I am a yankee who is ashamed of the hypocrisy of the North. The tragedy is too few people realize the problems of the other sections of the country. In this (Detroit) area the Negro problem is something that has been with us about, say, 15 years only. The combination N.A.A.C.P.-C.I.O. is ruthless and intolerant of all opposite views of the race problem. This group is working together to elect Southern congressmen of the "liberal" stripe, so that all barriers to a socialized state will be removed.

Thurs. 3-8-56

Here we have a different form of segregation. Older neighborhoods taken over by Negroes soon run down. The remaining whites find their properties run over, new neighbors running all into parties, vice palaces set up. Soon white women are accosted on the streets. Crime rises. In short, the Negro is not ready to mingle freely with the white. People in Detroit wonder about the bus boycott in your city—why you folks drive the Negroes to work.

Montgomery Ala.

These are some things you can do. First, the C.I.O. is spending a penny a month per member to promote civil rights. Why not have each C.I.O. member have his union stop sending a cent to the international union till it stopped (1) all agitation for civil rights; (2) spending one cent for civil rights.

In the key states of Michigan, Ohio and Illinois, there are as many Southern born whites as Negroes. Your people, through the intimacy of a letter, must write to your friends and relatives up here and request them to vote against all civil rights advocates and Negroes.

I say this not out of hatred for the Negro, but to prevent the South from being subjected to another carpetbagger occupation through the manipulation of the N.A.A.C.P. We whites are disorganized, the opposition is not. You have many friends up here.

For reasons of personal safety, I prefer to remain anonymous.

Highland Park, Mich. J. A. S.

Taking A Stand

The Sylacauga News

In spite of the fact that segregation is more widely practiced in other sections of the nation, it is now all too apparent that the South is to be the whipping-boy, and that this serious controversy will be settled—if it is settled—south of the Mason-Dixon line. If that's the way the die is cast, we'll take our stand in Dixie.

It is not our idea to wave the Confederate flag, nor to fight again this Civil War, nor smother our tears in crinoline and old lace. We intend to create our own destiny with both the tools God gave us and those made by man, but let us face the issue as it really is.

If it is the intentions of the North to rededicate the Mason-Dixon line, then we'll take our stand in Dixie.

TIMES HAVE CHANGED

The Cincinnati Enquirer

We can remember when a prospect expected to buy a car; not to have it thrust upon him as sheer philanthropy

Voice Of The People

Negroes Want Equal Educational Advantages

In your paper of Feb. 20 a writer said: "The Negro shouldn't ever disregard the fact that God gave him his color, and he should be proud enough to keep it that way." Agreed, but isn't it a little late for this race to boast of a definite color? Look around, see the blonds, brunettes, redheads, some with blue veins and eyes, under the heading of Negro. Did God do that? Who's responsible?

News

It is a most damnable untruth to teach innocent youth that Negroes are seeking the mixing of the races. Sex is not the objective we seek. Ninety-nine and nine-tenths of Negroes are seeking the things we have bought and paid for in hard-earned money and taxes.

How long must we be herded into unsanitary places, stacked into small spaces on public conveyances, which are spacious, because we are Negroes? We've labored here untiringly. Why do all other races have the welcome mat thrown out for them no matter how dark their skins?

We do want equal educational advantages, we want signs taken down from at least an equal part of recreational places which are paid for in taxes.

We don't want charity from foreign countries, or sympathy. We have lived, slaved and made very good, side by side, in America or the land of the Indians. I am 100 per cent against desegregation in Southern schools, also any form of mixing any two races legally or otherwise.

MRS. MARY NICKERSON,
904 Fifth Avenue, Bessemer, Ala.

Birmingham Ala.

Love And Tolerance Will Solve Problems

All my life I have considered Alabama the fairest state of all the South, but since the recent controversy at Tuscaloosa I feel that we have joined hands with the most unfair state of Mississippi.

How can we as American citizens and Christians take part in such a disgraceful act? I cannot help placing part of the blame for such acts on the parents who have taught only prejudice and hate instead of tolerance and love. On the other side of our thoughts we wonder what happened to the intelligence of the students. At their age is there no respect for the laws of Alabama or even the Supreme Court?

Thurs. 2-23-56

I can only say that to condemn a young woman for wanting to advance her education in her home state is the most unfair act of justice I ever heard just because of the pigment of her skin. To condemn her is to condemn her Maker, the Maker of all races and creeds. Until we learn to live with brotherly love instead of racial hate, there can be no peace on this earth. Love and tolerance is no hard job. It can be the answer to the world's problems. Is that so much to ask? With the help of God we can accomplish anything.

MRS. B. J. THOMPSON,
Sheffield, Ala.

Negroes Want To Look At Flag Of Liberty Too

I have been reading so much about racial segregation, but if you all would just stop and think that God made us and the color of our skin. We didn't have anything to do with it.

When we all pray we say, "Our Father, which art in Heaven," why do you think a Father will do more for one of His children than He would do for another?

Our Negro men go to war. Does anybody ever say they should not go? What are they fighting for?

News

When we work, we don't get the pay it's worth. Our men have to pay tax. The poor colored people on welfare don't get enough money to have a decent living. The time has come for us to look at the flag of liberty too.

We go to the store to buy food. They don't say, "You are a Negro, your food is cheaper." Downtown if we want anything we have to pay the same price.

God is a just God. So let's all think about the golden rule. Think about this: If everybody in this world is just like me, what kind of world would this world be?

SARAH JOHNSON,
Route 1, Box 498, Bessemer, Ala.

Birmingham Ala.

Better School Facilities Are Urged For Negroes

It is astounding to see how we, the people, in our confusion, will let out-of-state agitators, NAACP and Communist-inspired trouble-makers come into our state and interfere with our states' rights race question and other internal states' rights affairs.

Such interlopers should be arrested, brought to court and be made to show what business they have stirring up strife among our people. Our state laws prohibit them to do so. Let's enforce the state laws and keep the trouble-makers out. No such confusion among our races has occurred since the Civil War. We haven't seen any trouble yet to what we will see if this isn't stopped.

The white and colored people are living happily right now under our form of government—the colored people are satisfied.

and don't want any trouble and don't want to create any.

The colored people do not want to mix with the white people; God did not mean for them to do so. They want their own race and color to themselves. They want to go to their own schools, colleges and universities. Our state government should finance a plan now to build, as soon as practicable to do so, better schools, colleges and additions to Miles College and if possible to have a university—at least one institution of higher learning in order that the colored population may have equal rights and advantages.

Let the Negroes help pay a special tax to get these equal educational advantages.

FORNEY R. RAY

READOPTION OF STATE RIGHTS PRINCIPLES

Advertiser P. 1 Sun. 6-24-56

Wallace To Hit Intergration As Demo Platform Drafter

Montgomery, Ala.

By REX THOMAS
AP Staff Writer

The South, says George Wallace, must "let the world know" that racial segregation is "The only sane, sensible and non-hypocritical way in which our people can live in harmony together."

As a member of the powerful platform committee at the Democratic National Convention, the circuit judge from Clayton, Ala., says he will make every endeavor to get that idea across at Chicago.

"We have no apologies to make," Wallace declared today. "The great majority of the men and women of the South of both races are men and women of goodwill. They can solve and work out any problem between them withuot the aid of Midwestern and Eastern politicians."

As a member of the platform committee, the South Alabama judge has been instructed by the state's convention delegation to seek readoption of the State Rights principles carried in the party platform in 1928. It says:

"We demand that the constitutional rights and powers of the states be preserved in their full vigor and virtue. We demand a revival of the spirit of local government without which free institutions cannot be preserved."

Wallace, in an interview, termed the 1928 position a "positive approach to the matter of federal encroachment on states rights," and added:

"Those of us on the platform committee from the South must take the lead for the nation to fight any further efforts to weaken local government."

As a judge, Wallace recently threatened to jail any federal officer who might undertake an investigation of the courts in his circuit.

WALLACE

At Chicago, he said he will "oppose any of the so-called civil rights proposals;" any attempt to endorse the Supreme Court lecision outlawing school segregation; or any effort to tack a desegregation rider on new federal aid legislation, such as help for the schools.

Wallace said he plans to confer with Alabama's other member of the platform-writing committee, Mrs. Martha Roberts McBurney of Florence, and other members of the delegation about the segregation and related problems.

As for himself, the judge said he also will recommend:

1. A farm program "designed to stop the downward trend of farm income" and assure Alabama farmers "a fair price for cotton, peanuts and other agricultural products."

2. Any proposals "that I sincerely believe to be fair to industry and labor."

3. Expansion of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the REA, especially in rural telephone development, "to counteract the efforts of the present administration to weaken these agencies that have meant so much to the people of Alabama and the nation."

4. An expanded social security program.

5. Continued benefits to war veterans, especially those disabled.

6. A "Strong" anti-communist stand both at home and abroad.

But Wallace said he will devote his efforts primarily to segregation because, he declared, "The continued trend of the federal government and the Supreme Court to encroach upon the rights of the states is of paramount concern to the people of Alabama."

"The federal government's insistence that it knows better how to work out the problems confronting the people of Alabama and the South is a direct insult to our people," he added.

"Segregation is the way in which our people have lived side by side for generations in peace and harmony. It is deplorable that the federal government through its efforts to bring about integration of the races has caused the deterioration of the fine relations that have heretofore existed among our people."

And he said he will do his utmost at Chicago to prove that "the propaganda that has been purposely disseminated to the effect that those who believe in segregation are anti-Negro is a downright lie."

SEGREGATION SUIT ANSWERED BY PSC

Commercial Appeal P. 35 Sun. 4-20-56

Alabama Unit Upholds Bus Separation

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 19.—(UP)—The Public Service Commission Wednesday filed answers in Federal District Court to a suit brought by five Negro women charging that state and city segregation laws were unconstitutional.

Memphis, Tenn.

The three-member commission was named in the suit along with the City Commission, Police Chief G. J. Ruppenthal and the Montgomery City Bus Lines.

The PSC, through the attorney general's office, said in its answers to the suit that:

1. Separate but equal facilities are provided for the white and Negro races on all buses operated wholly in the City of Montgomery.

2. Separation of the races promotes the general welfare of both races and tends to protect each from violence and possible bloodshed.

3. There are no sociological and psychological factors present in this case which would tend to require integration on buses.

4. The general welfare of both races and any sociological and psychological factors present require and demand the separation of the races on buses.

The suit was filed Feb. 1 on behalf of five Negro women by Negro Attorney Fred Gray, who was later indicted for representing one of the women without her consent.

'FORCIBLY SENT TO ALABAMA'

Advertiser Fri. 6-22-56

Negro Woman Ruled Resident Of Ohio

Montgomery

LIVINGSTON, Ala., June 21 (AP) —Probate Judge Wilbur Deaman ruled that a Negro woman and eight children were legal residents of Ohio and were deprived of their civil rights by being "forcibly sent to Alabama."

P. 1

Dearman instructed Circuit Solicitor Tom Boggs to ask both Alabama Atty. Gen. John Patterson and U.S. Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell to investigate the alleged mistreatment of Martha Winston and her family.

Seven children and a grandchild who were exiled from Cleveland, Ohio, with her by court order, now are living with Mary Bowden, her oldest married daughter, at Coatopa, Ala.

Juvenile Court Judge Albert A. Woldman ruled at Cleveland June 7 that the children were not eligible for relief in Ohio because they had been in the state only four months. Ohio law requires residence of a year before a needy person may receive welfare help.

He ordered the whole family put on a train with instructions to return to Livingston, Ala.

She testified at Cleveland that she went to the Ohio city because she couldn't support the children down South. She said she took the children there last October because "I didn't want them to grow up in the South."

To get the plight of the family before Cleveland court, the Negro woman was charged with neglect of six children under 16 by keeping them out of school.

The woman and her husband, James Winston of Coatopa, have been separated for five or six years. Dearman held that she was deserted by her husband.

Dearman ruled that his court had no jurisdiction in the case which was brought before him to decide who should have custody of the children. The father had offered to care for them.

The probate judge said the evidence showed that the Winston woman "was a citizen of Ohio because she had all the requirements of citizenship including the right to vote."

"Under Ohio law as well as Alabama law," he asserted, "when a father deserts a mother and the mother has taken care of the children, citizenship of the children follows that of the mother."

Dearman said the facts showed that the woman "went to the welfare department (at Cleveland) asking for help and the welfare department or some one in the department carried them before a juvenile judge and had a criminal charge filed againstt her."

Ask Probe Of Family Exiled From Ohio

World P. 1 Sat. 6-30-56

Birm., Ala.

LIVINGSTON, Ala. — (ANP) — Declaring that a Negro woman and her seven children and a grandchild were legal residents of Ohio when they were "forcibly sent to Alabama" several weeks ago, a probate judge here has ordered a probe into possible violation of the family's civil rights.

P. 1

Probate Judge Wilburn Deaman instructed Circuit Solicitor Tom

Boggs to ask both Alabama Atty. Gen. John Patterson and U. S. Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell to investigate the alleged mistreatment of Mrs. Martha Winston and her family.

World P.8

Judge Dearman ruled that he had no jurisdiction over the eight children who were exiled" to Alabama along with Mrs. Winston under a threat of a jail sentence for her.

"I believe Martha Winston's only crime was asking her own state for bread for her children," the judge said.

"Yet for asking for bread, what did she receive? A jail sentence.

"I think the state of Ohio violated her civil rights when the welfare and policemen's forced her to leave Cleveland."

The family's plight gained nationwide publicity when Juvenile Court Judge Albert A. Woldman ruled at Cleveland June 7 that the children were not eligible for relief in Ohio because they had been in the state only four months. Ohio law requires residence of a year before a needy person may receive welfare aid.

Judge Woldman ordered the whole family put on a train with instructions to return to Livingston, Ala.

Mrs. Winston testified at the time that she moved to Ohio because she couldnt support her family down south.

"I didn't want them to grow up

Jim Folsom Too 'Moderate' For Alabama Voters

Call P. 28
Fri. 5-11-56

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (INS) — Alabama Governor James Folsom's moderate approach to the segregation issue has been sharply rejected by Alabama voters.

Ardent pro-segregationist state Rep. Charles W. McKay Jr., defeated Folsom by a 3 to 1 vote margin or the post of Alabama national committeeman.

Kansas City

McKay of Sylacauga, is a leader of the White Citizens' Council movement in Alabama. He authored Alabama's resolution of interposition, which declared the U. S. Supreme court's school segregation decision "null and void" in the state.

Folsom, accused by his opponents of "doing nothing" toward maintaining Alabama's traditional system of racial segregation, termed the interposition resolution "hogwash." He said it would be as effective 'as a hounddog baying at the moon."

Folsom candidates for lesser state offices apparently went down to defeat with him.

Sen. Lister Hill apparently was nominated for another term, defeating retired Rear Admiral John V. Crommelin, by a two-to-one margin. Incumbent Congressmen Frank Boykin of the first district, and George Grant of the second, appeared certain of renomination, and other members of the state's congressional delegation were unopposed.

PLEADS WITH CONGRESS ... Rep. George Huddleston

Huddleston bill would ignore court rulings

Times P. 1
Tues. 6-5-56
Montgomery Ala.

BY JIM FREE
News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 5—Rep. George Huddleston Jr. today called on Congress to stop the Supreme Court's "gross invasion" of the law making powers of the Congress.

The Birmingham congressman proposed a bill that would allow federal and state courts to ignore any Supreme Court decision that "conflicts with the legal principle of adhering to prior decisions which are based upon considerations other than legal."

Huddleston told the House that he feels the Supreme Court has taken over legislative powers in its school integration decision and in its recent decision knocking down a Pennsylvania state sedition law.

WARNING that such "abuses" can mean the death knell of our constitutional system of government, the Alabamian said his bill would reaffirm the separation of powers in the Constitution for the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches. It would have Congress declare that "established law of the United States shall be revised or changed only by legislative enactments or by constitutional amendments."

He charged that in the 1954 school segregation case, the Supreme Court tried to add a new constitutional amendment—one not proposed by Congress and one not enacted in the manner set out in the Constitution.

At the time of that decision, he continued, the law was well established that the doctrine of separate but equal school facilities comply with the 14th Amendment. In its ruling, he said, the court, in effect, adopted an additional amendment. He said the decision was contrary to established law of more than 100 years.

IN ITS recent decision in the Steve Nelson case, Huddleston said the court applied the "preemption" doctrine. It invalidated a Pennsylvania sedition statute, saying that the federal sedition law took precedent. Huddleston said this ruling obviously was contrary to the intent of the Congress which passed the federal law.

"It is time that we members of the Congress take steps to counter this great threat to our constitutional system of government. We must serve notice to the Supreme Court that it must limit itself to the exercise of judicial powers only."

He voiced the hope that Congress can halt the practice of the court to base its decisions on "socio-psychological and other non-legal principles."

Courageous Commissioners

Advertiser

Editor, The Advertiser:

I deeply appreciate the fine manner in which Mayor Gayle and his associate city commissioners are handling the Montgomery bus segregation matter. I am proud to know that there are at least some city officials in Alabama who have courage enough to stand up for our Southern customs and way of life.

If elected as a delegate to the Democratic convention from the state at large I will lend my best efforts toward nominating a presidential and vice-presidential candidate who will stand for the right things of life just as your fine city officials have done here of late.

M. J. WILLIAMS JR.
1928 Quintard Ave., Anniston, Ala.

Montgomery, Ala.

Charge!

Editor, The Advertiser:

I just read your very interesting speech. Pour it on them!

H. A. HARRISON.
Dallas, Texas.

Sat. 4 Best Yet - 56

Best Yet

Editor, The Advertiser:

The quotations as carried in *The Shreveport Times* from your speech made before the New York Athletic Club group was the finest statements on the true Southern position that I have ever seen.

J. S. CHAPMAN.
P. O. Box 4283, Shreveport, La.

Y.4.H

Memories Of The Enlightened North

Editor, The Advertiser:

I read an account of your New York speech in the *Pensacola Journal*.

I am a Northerner, a native of New York, and after having grown up and gone to school there and in other states where they have desegregation, I want to go on record as being 100% for segregation.

I agree with you about the treatment of the Negro in the North. Any Negro is better off in the South.

When I was in grammar school in New Jersey a Negro boy won a scholarship which no one had exected to be given a Negro. Did he get it? No, sir. He didn't. The reason: The school did not admit his race.

I have never seen a Negro wedding announcement in a paper and I have never had a Negro school teacher.

The NAACP never tells these people that.

MRS. CATHERINE L. RIGGS.
Rt. 7, Box 910, Pensacola, Fla.

Congratulations

Editor, The Advertiser:

As a Southerner, living in this part of the country, both my husband and I have been interested and disturbed in reading the bad publicity given the South in the past several months.

We would like to congratulate you on your handling of the critical issue, and the success you have had so far in your manner of reporting the true facts on both the North and South's problems.

MRS. LEONARD H. CONRAD.
642 S. 12th St., New Hyde Park, N.Y.

Fine Spirit

Editor, The Advertiser:

Having spent the last two weeks in your city, I read with great inteset your series of articles on "Publish It Not In Askelon." You are to be commended for the fine spirit in which these controversial articles were presented. Accept the appreciation of a Southerner in the "Gateway to the South."

If these are printed in brochure or booklet I would appreciate receiving a copy. For this fine work you need to be nominated for the Pulitzer Prize. My prayer, sincerely, is that a spirit of Christian love and sympathetic understanding will help the fine citizenry of Montgomery to settle such a matter.

H. M. JOHNSON JR.
[Pastor, East Audubon Baptist Church.]
Louisville, Ky.

Folsom Allows History Is Full of Race Trouble

By JAMES Y. NEWTON
Star Staff Correspondent

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Mar. 10.—Gov. James E. Folsom stretched his long legs, leaned his 6 foot, 8 inch frame way back in a chair in his handsome Capitol building office, and allowed he had been reading considerable history lately.

"Big Jim," as he is called by everyone including himself, is not the student type. His interest in events of yester-year was kindled by today's racial crisis facing Alabama and himself, as the State's chief executive.

As a result of his historical research, Big Jim had concluded that racial troubles have been going on for a long time.

Back before the war between the States, the Governor said, there had been four notable crises, one attending the Dred Scott decision, another the Missouri compromise. The other two he couldn't recall off-hand, and he couldn't find a written memo that was somewhere in the papers on his desk.

GOV. FOLSOM
Does Some Research

Up Every 10 Years

"These things," said Mr. Folsom of racial crises of more recent times, "come up about every 10 years. In the 1920s there was the Ku Klux Klan, the Negroes and the Catholics. They were very successful, but along came the 1930s and we kicked them (KKK) out.

"Along about 1940," he continued, "there was the FEPC and the Negroes. That didn't get very far. In the late 1940s it was civil rights and the Negroes. Now it is integration and the Negroes and in 1960 it will be something else and the Negroes."

Big Jim gave the impression that, on the surface at least, he regards Alabama's and the South's troubles as something that history shows to be inevitable and will pass by without serious difficulty.

"No," he didn't think there would be another civil war, "this thing is not very serious."

Firmly Against Integration

What is the governor's personal view of integration in the public schools?

"It just won't work in Alabama. I personally am opposed to it at this time."

"There will be no integration in Alabama during my administration," Big Jim said with a "this is it" finality characteristic of many of his statements.

He pointed out he had three years to go in this, his second term. In campaigning for election he had promised there would be no integration and he intended to keep his promise.

The Governor philosophized that the situation in Alabama was little different from that in other parts of the world.

"There have been no riots in Alabama like those in Michigan, Chicago and New York," he said.

As a youth, Big Jim said he had worked his way "all over the world, and wherever I found two races I didn't see them associating together."

"No law can be enforced," he said of the Federal court decisions calling for an end of segregation of various types, "without the force of public opinion behind it."

In Alabama, he reckoned, the sentiment was about 70 to 30, percentage-wise among the people, against integration, "and not all the 30 per cent Negroes approve of it, by any means."

"I could issue a proclamation, but I'm not," Mr. Folsom continued. "If I issued a proclamation decreeing integration it wouldn't work and it would just mean trouble."

Big Jim has been roundly assailed by all sides of the racial issue. Some of the white citizens councils, angry because he entertained Representative Adam Powell, New York Negro Democrat, at the executive mansion, and because he proposed establishment of a State biracial commission to ease tension, have called for his impeachment.

Criticized in Lucy Case

Negro groups have been critical of the governor for not affording Autherine J. Lucy, Negro coed, what they called sufficient protection from mobs when she attempted to attend classes at the University of Alabama last month.

Even a 20-year-old university sophomore has demanded his ouster.

Big Jim indicated a sort of secret admiration for the sophomore, Leonard Wilson.

"When I was his age I wanted to kick everybody out," he commented.

The Governor was asked his opinion of the White Citizens' Councils which have been popping up all over Alabama in recent weeks like mushrooms.

He pointed out that race relations was a touchy question, one in which it was easy to stir up emotions on both sides.

"Races," he added, "just aren't overly fond of each other and that's true around the world.

"But I'm for the white man organizing, the black man organizing, the red man organizing, the yellow man organizing, and if there are any other colors I'm for them organizing, too," he answered with a grin.

Gov. Folsom indicated he didn't care much what his opponents think of him, although observers said his position on the race matter had edged over to the White Councils' side recently.

"I am never going to run for public office again when I get through this term," he declared, a prediction few down here believe.

"Now 47 Years Old"

"I am now 47 years old," he continued. "When I get through this term I'll be 50. It will be time for the younger folks to take over."

Big Jim has asked the State legislature to set up a bi-racial commission with a large representation of newspaper editors, to "round off the rough edges" of racial friction. But the legislators, busy sponsoring bills tightening segregation laws, have not taken kindly to the idea.

The Governor said he could create the commission by proclamation, but that a racial commission wouldn't do any good unless it had public support . . . "unless it's a two-way street it wouldn't be worth 15 cents."

The Negro, Mr. Folsom thought, had made a lot of progress in Alabama over the years in approaching a status of equality with the white man.

"A lot of changes have been made since 1856," he said, returning to his new venture into history. "At that time anybody who even proposed teaching Negroes could be fined and jailed. Now we provide them good teachers. There has been tremendous progress."

And Stay Out of Court

Mr. Folsom said his State had never been a party to Federal court suits, though these had been brought by other Southern States in an effort to preserve segregation.

"I have seen to that," he said, indicating legal action only causes trouble. "I want harmonious race relations in Alabama."

On the other hand, there has never been a suit by the Negroes against the State while he was in office—the Autherine Lucy case was brought during the four years he was out of office, he added.

If the supporters of interposition to nullify the Supreme Court school desegregation decision (the Alabama legislature has approved interposition) are sincere, they should be willing to have a popular vote on it, Big Jim said.

"Let them put on the ballot the question of whether Alabama should secede from the union," was the way he put it, "and let the people vote on it. Put up or shut up."

The Governor chided gently a Canadian reporter who took part in the interview.

Would Favor Truman

"I would think," he said, "you folks could find enough race troubles to write about in South Africa, Kenya and elsewhere in the British Empire without having to come poking around down here."

Politically, Big Jim prides himself on always having been a "loyal Democrat," opposing any Dixiecrat movement, for example. He says President Eisenhower has slipped in popularity down here. Former President Truman is still his choice for the Democratic nomination this time, but he guesses there's no chance of him running.

"Truman could beat the living hell out of him [Mr. Eisenhower]," opined Big Jim who once had his differences with the former President.

As for the main Democratic presidential hopefuls, he professes no choice at the moment. He has just announced his candidacy for Democratic National Committeeman from Alabama.

"If I win," he said, "the Alabama delegation will go to the convention with no slate, no hate, uninstructed and undecided," he said.

SEGREGATION ISSUES PONDERED BY COURT

Arguments Of Negroes End In Montgomery Case

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 12. — (AP) — A three-judge United States District Court panel Saturday pondered legal issues involved in a segregation protest which has kept Negroes off Montgomery City Lines buses nearly six months.

They heard arguments Friday in a suit by four Negro women who seek to have city and state segregation laws thrown out as unconstitutional.

Two of the judges remarked from the bench that they did not construe a recent United States Supreme Court decision in a South Carolina appeal as having decided the question.

There was no indication when the court will announce its decision.

This ruling, which possibly will be appealed to the United States Supreme Court, could lead to the first clear-cut court decree on the separate but equal doctrine as applied on city transit systems.

The United States Supreme Court April 23 refused to consider an appeal involving city buses in Columbia, S. C., after the Circuit Court of Appeals held bus segregation unconstitutional.

Lawyers are divided on whether the nation's highest court, by refusing to hear the appeal, ruled segregation on intrastate buses unlawful or whether it was a technical ruling requiring further action in lower courts before it is considered on the merits.

Folsom signs bill for segregation of park facilities

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 18 —(AP)—A bill aimed at preserving segregation in Alabama parks and playgrounds even if it means giving the public facilities to private groups has been signed by Gov. James E. Folsom.

THE ACT will automatically go into effect if a proposed amendment to the state constitution is ratified by the voters in the special election Aug. 28.

The bill provides that cities, counties, towns and other subdivisions of the state could sell or give away parks, playgrounds, other recreational facilities and public housing projects.

They would thus come under private ownership and presumably would not be subject to the U. S. Supreme Court's anti-segregation rulings applying to publicly-owned projects.

Mississippi and South Carolina have already enacted similar laws.

The bill, sponsored in the recent special legislative session by Clark County Reps. Emory McNider and Marion Bradford, makes no specific reference to racial questions.

★ Tell It To Old Grandma ★

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Mon. 5-21-56

Where Are Alabama's Voices?

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Is Alabama as completely devoid of leadership at the national level as it is at the state level?

It would seem so. According to a front page story in *The Advertiser* May 17, the white people of the state, acting through their Citizens' Councils, scheduled five meetings for May 17, the second anniversary of the Black Monday segregation decision.

It is interesting to note that Charles McKay, who so recently gave such a sound political thrashing to the state's No. 1 Buffoon, Folsom, is the only Alabama speaker at any of the meetings.

¶ Birmingham went to Mississippi for Tom Brady.

¶ Selma went to Mississippi for John Bell Williams.

¶ Hayneville went to Georgia for Roy Harris.

¶ Phenix City went to Texas for Dan Smoot.

¶ Bayou LaBatre went to Mississippi for Merle Palmer.

Our senators and congressmen may say that they were not invited to these meetings, and this is quite possible. The questions are, does their past performance justify or warrant an invitation? Can't they, or any of them, hear the voice (of the people of Alabama) in the wilderness? Or can it be they have been away too long? Or can it be that they have all removed the wax from their ears, as did Senator Sparkman in 1952, the better to hear the Siren song of the Yankee political bosses who sing of great power and glory for those loyal Democrats who are willing to trade the racial integrity of their constituents.

Montgomery. LUTHER INGALLS.

Byline Of Undependability

Editor, The Advertiser:

Bob Ingram's report of Congressman Bell's speech at Selma last Thursday night proves once again how facts on the integration problem are being kept from the general public by press, radio and television. In my opinion the Associated Press is one of the worst offenders in this respect. Those of us who believe separate but equal facilities best for both races, best for the South and all America, are going to have to fight our battles by letters and word of mouth to friends, relatives and all those of open mind in this great struggle for preservation of this republic.

Evergreen, Ala. R. C. WILSON.

The View From Venice

Editor, The Advertiser:

Saw in a paper over here that you put Big Jim in his place.

Keep him there. Having a wonderful trip and will be glad to see Montgomery and friends in June.

Venice, Italy. ARTHUR MEAD.

★ Tell It To Old Grandma ★

Advertiser
Tues. 6-26-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Consider The Long Shot

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—The XII and XX Amendments to the Constitution of the United States provide the method by which the President and Vice President shall be elected. To fully understand the following the reader should refer to these amendments.

Let's suppose:

¶ That the Northern Democratic convention meeting in Chicago shall find Soapy Williams, Humphrey, et al, ranting and raving and reviling the South, affirming that they do not need us to win. The decision of the Supreme Court on school segregation will be endorsed. A plank affirming their determination to secure for their wards, the Negro race, every advantage resulting from close association with white people. No states' rights plank will be adopted and the whole platform will be what the South does not desire.

¶ The Republicans will meet in San Francisco. Eisenhower's health will force him to decline to run, or if he does run, his vice president will really be the candidate. The convention also will endorse the decision of the Supreme Court, and proclaim their undying love for the Negro race.

¶ The states of Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana will refuse to give their support to the Northern Democratic ticket. Alabama in protest will select an independent slate of electors which has already been qualified. These states have a combined electoral vote of sixty-one (61) and may be supplemented by several other Southern states.

¶ Since the War Between the States the Democratic Party has not elected a president without the vote of the South, Roosevelt excepted. A recent statement by Truman to the contrary is entirely false. In 1948 he received 303 votes, 194 from the North, and 109 from the Southern States. A loss of 38 additional votes would have defeated him.

¶ 266 electoral votes are necessary for election as provided by the Constitution. Without the leadership of Eisenhower the Republicans can not secure that many votes. Suppose the vote is as follows: Republicans, 260; Northern Democrats, 210; Southern Democrats, 61; Total 531.

¶ The Southern electors will meet and cast their votes for Senator Byrd of Virginia, or some other loyal Southern statesman. This will make Byrd eligible for election by the House of Representatives. The House, voting by states, will naturally be divided among the three candidates, as 25 states will be required to elect.

¶ The House will meet Jan. 3. The Southern block of congressmen will have the balance of power. Speaker Rayburn, being persona non grata to many Southern Democrats, the South will refuse to participate in organizing the Congress, but will submit the names of several loyal Southern congressmen, such as Smith of Virginia and Vinson of Georgia, giving the caucus the privilege of selecting any one of the number. I am assuming that the Democrats will have a slight majority in the House, as at present.

¶ If the House fails to elect, and the Senate, on account of the Southern senators refusing to participate in the voting, also fails to elect a vice president, under the law, the speaker of the House becomes President, and since we have elected the speaker, the President will be a Southern Democrat. So we had two chances to win. In the House we might persuade the Republicans or the Democrats to select Byrd in order to secure against the election of their opponent.

We in the South must organize if we expect to be recognized. All this is based on the assumption that the Republicans can not elect their candidate without Eisenhower, and the Northern Democrats have no chance without the South. Fellow Democrats of the South, "Think on these things." I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but "A voice crying in the wilderness."

EDWARD BAPTIST TEAGUE.
210 Brown Marx Building,
Birmingham, Ala.

Anti-Integration Bills Introduced

Post-Herald
Birm., Ala.

Rigid Screening Of Students Proposed

Post 3-10-56

MONTGOMERY, March 9 (AP)—Rigid new segregation proposals made their start through the Alabama Legislature today, aimed at stopping integration in college and in public parks and swimming pools.

In the wake of the recent rioting at the University of Alabama a bill was introduced in the House to give college authorities a weapon to use against any student whose presence would endanger the lives, health or welfare of fellow students or the college.

It would apply to any state-supported institution of higher learning.

Across the corridor, the Senate received a proposed constitutional amendment to give Alabama cities the right to dispose of recreational facilities.

Sponsored by Sen. Gerald Bradford of Clarke County, it would allow city governing bodies to lease or sell the property to private operators to get around Supreme Court decisions on segregation.

If passed by the Legislature, the amendment would be voted on at a special election already called for Aug. 28

The college entrance requirement measure was sponsored by Rep. Pat Boyd of Pike County. It authorizes the board of trustess or similar controlling agency to make an investigation of any prospective student or those already enrolled.

Purpose of the investigation would be to determine if it would be dangerous to life, health, welfare or property to permit the student to enter the school, remain on the campus if already enrolled, or to use dormitory or eating facilities at the college.

An adverse report would be grounds for banning the student from school, and if he refused to leave, the college could get a court injunction to enforce its demands.

Any student expelled under the proposed new law could appeal to court, with the trial judge given authority to empanel a jury to hear the evidence.

Violation of an order to leave the campus would be punishable by a $500 fine and 12 months in jail for each day the violation continues.

The initial application for enrollment would constitute a waiver by the student of any claim for personal damages growing out of an investigation by the school authorities.

In making the investigation, the college would have power to take sworn testimony and to subpena witnesses.

College authorities in carrying out the proposed law would be directed to take into consideration these factors:

The student's morals, conduct, health and personal standards; his home environment; the "possibility or threat of friction or disorder" resulting from the student's presence; the "possibility or threat of breaches of the peace or ill will or economic retaliation within the community;" the possibility of "psychological injury" to any students.

Mobile Woman Erroneously Identified As A Negro

Post-Herald
Birm., Ala.
Mon. 4-23-56

MOBILE, April 22 (AP)— Nine loan company officials indicted on charges they made false claims against a Mobile white woman were free under $300 bond each today.

The woman, Emma Mayton Davis, was erroneously identified by the Associated Press as a Negro.

The nine men surrended at the U. S. marshal's office on federal grand jury indictments returned Thursday. The indictments charged the companies filed claims on loans to the woman on which they had charged an interest rate which allegedly exceeded the legal rate.

State law limits the interest on a $100 loan to $8 a year.

The nine were charged with falsely swearing that their claims were "free from usury as defined by the laws of the place where the debt was contracted."

Mrs. Davis had filed as a debtor in the Federal Debtors Court last September. The nine firms later filed claims as creditors.

The indictment named these men:

James Comer Bryant Jr., manager of the First Loan and Finance Co., Mobile; Earl Bernard Chastain, owner of Prichard Investment Co.; William T. Dixon, partner of Sawyer's Credit Loan Co.; Robert Byron Eddins, manager of Dixie Finance Co., Eugene Emerson Holleman, superisor of Azalea Loans Inc.; Claudius Septimus Knapp, manager of Ford Finance Co., all of Prichard.

Walter Ray Merritt, manager of Southern Finance Co., Plateau; William A. Rozar, manager of T & C Finance Co.; and Byron Keith Salter, owner of Sun Finance Co., both of Prichard.

38a 1956

Judge decries charges segregation is unChristian

News Sun. 7-29-56

NEWVILLE, Ala., July 28—A member of the Democratic Convention platform committee today challenged anti-segregationists who say racial separation is "unChristian."

"The Christian faith is based upon love," Circuit Judge George Wallace of Clayton said in a speech. "The segregation system in the South is not based upon ill will, hatred, malice or racial prejudices as the propaganda agencies and the politicians and the do-gooders of other sections declare.

"THE SEGREGATION system is based . . . upon the convictions in the hearts and minds of the vast majority of our people that segregation is for the best interset of all concerned.

"Wherein is there anything unChristian about a system based upon what we know to be the best interest of both races? . . . We in the South do now and have heretofore approached our problems in the Christian manner because there is goodwill between the races."

However, he warned, "if the do-gooders and rabble rousers do not desist from their deliberate interference, this may cease to be the case."

WALLACE IS ONE of two Alabama delegates elected to the platform committee for the Democratic Convention. On other issues, he told the Pea River Electric Cooperative he will advocate:

1. A farm program calling for 90 per cent of parity for all basic crops and one that "will not discriminate against the South as the Republican program is doing at this time."

2. Continued support for PEA co-ops.

3. "Equitable limitations" on foreign imports "whenever such imports threaten the economic health of an American industry."

The latter obviously referred to growing criticism in the South of cotton imports from Japan.

TURNING BACK to the segregation issue, Wallace said that as a member of the platform committee he will "defend vigorously" the system he called a "sane, sensible and nonhypocritical program that has stood the test of time."

"We shall never submit to the destruction of a system that has made it possible for our people to live in peace and harmony with one another," he declared.

ALABAMA VOTES ON BIAS QUESTION

Times 7-29-56

Light Balloting Is Reported on Whether to Wage Stiff Fight for Segregation

Post 8-28-56

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Aug. 28 (AP)—Alabama voted today on whether to take drastic legal measures to preserve segregation in its schools, playgrounds and public housing.

Two proposed amendments to the State Constitution, frankly aimed at circumventing the Supreme Court's edicts ending legal segreation of whites and Negroes, drew the major attention in today's special election.

Early voting was light, despite considerable campaign oratory on both sides of the question.

The school amendment would provide "freedom of choice" for parents to send their children to schools serving only their own race.

It also would remove both the Constitutional provision for state-supported public education and the requirement for segregated schools. It would authorize the Legislature to abolish public schools in any of Alabama's sixty-seven counties and to finance private schools, presumably segregated, with public funds.

Protection for Board

School board members also would become judicial officers, protecting them from lawsuits.

The other amendment bearing on racial problems would permit cities and counties to sell, lease or give away public parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, golf courses or public housing projects. This was another effort to preserve segregation.

State Senator Albert Boutwell of Birmingham, one of the authors of the "freedom of choice" measure, said it would have the effect of keeping separate schools for Negroes and whites.

State education leaders split over the school amendment. Dr. Austin R. Meadows, State Superintendent of Education, opposed it as "weakening our stand against segregation" and ending the constitutional requirements for public schools and public school attendance.

The various White Citizens' Councils that sprang up in Alabama after the United States Supreme Court decision in 1954 outlawing segregated schools also were split on the "freedom of choice" amendment.

Some opposed it because it would eliminate the State Constitution's clause requiring separate schools for whites and Negroes. Others took the view that this state provision already had been ruled out by the Federal courts and that a new law was necessary.

Negroes took no public part in the "Freedom of Choice" campaign. The Negro vote in Alabama usually is less than 5 per cent of the total.

ALABAMA BACKS BIAS

Times 9-33

Full Returns From Election Shows Strong Majorities

News Herald 9-2-56

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Sept. 1 (AP)—Complete returns from Tuesday's special election in Alabama showed that the voters had taken a strong stand for racial segregation.

The "freedom of choice" amendment designed to maintain segregation in public schools was approved 128,545 to 80,777. An amendment useful in resisting racial integration of parks and playgrounds was approved 112,364 to 81,245.

The "freedom of choice" amendment eliminates the mandatory requirement for state-supported public schools. It also, among other things, gives the Legislature authority to close schools and turn them over to private organizations if that is necessary to prevent integration of white and Negro students.

The second segregation amendment authorized the Legislature to place state parks and playgrounds in private hands if necessary to preserve segregation.

ALABAMA

Grant Charges 'Brainwashing' In Racial Verdict By Court

Advertiser Mat. 9-22-56

Montgomery, Ala.

The American people, including members of the Supreme Court, are to a cretain extent, being "brainwashed," according to Rep. George Grant, U.S. Congressman from Alabama's 2nd District.

Grant, speaking yesterday before the Montgomery Assn. of Life Underwriters, laid blame for this condition to the State Department. He reported that he had seen, about four years ago, a memorandum from that department to the Justice Department relating to the effect of conditions in America on non-white allies.

"We face very, very serious times. We must bring to the other people of the country (non-southerners) that this is a question of States' Rights and of upholding the constitution," he said.

In his off-the-cuff speech in the Whitley Hotel Lounge, Grant told the underwriters that he had seen Supreme Court justices at a segregated club in Washington. "You can be sure they bring their children and grandchildren to segregated pools and clubs," he added.

The Civil Rights law which passed in the House but was not voted on in the Senate, is, according to Grant, the most dangerous piece of legislation I've seen in my years in Washington." He expects similar legislation, he said, in the next sessiom, when it may be introduced early enough for passage in spite of delaying action.

James Thomas introduced Grant. Before Grant's talk, president James VonSeeberg discussed a proposed booth, at the county fair in October and appointed G. E. Cauthen and Vernon McGraw to handle arrangements. He also appointed George Smith and James Pinholster to provide manpower for the project.

Boycotters Appeal to Ike

Courier 8-26-56

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—Leaders of the bus boycott appealed to President Eisenhower to order a Federal investigation of anti-Negro "threats, violence and mass arrests" in the city and state.

Hit Home Of Leader In Boycott

Coll. 9/9 Kansas City Mo.

White Minister And Family Escape Injury

Jour. 8-31-56

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (INS) — The bombing of the home of a white minister who has supported the Negro boycott of buses in Montgomery has aroused fresh feeling in Montgomery.

Police Capt. E. P. Brown said the blast at 3:10 a.m. Saturday damaged the front of the home of the Rev. Robert Graetz, a white Lutheran minister who has a Negro congregation.

The explosion, according to Brown, ripped out windows, damaged the doors of the house and blew a hole in the front yard. It also blew out windows in a home across the street. Brown said it apparently was caused by two or three sticks of dynamite.

No One Injured

Graetz has been an active member of the Montgomery Improvement Association. The group supports the Negro bus boycott which started last December when a Negro woman was arrested for refusing to move to the segregated section in the back of the bus.

Graetz and his family were away from home at the time of the blast. No one was injured. Graetz, 27, is pastor of the Trinity Lutheran church. His home adjoins the church in the Negro residentia section.

The youthful minister has used his personal car to give rides to participate in the boycott.

Police Chief G. J. Ruppenthal said he was told by neighbors that the Graetz family has been out of town since last Sunday.

The dynamiting came just following a meeting of the Montgomery Council on Human Relations, of which Graetz is a member.

Sought Aid of Others

News 9-27-56

As program chairman of the Council, Graetz invited white clergymen of the city to attend last Thursday night's meeting to hear the Rev. Martin Luther King tell "his side of the story" on the bus boycott.

Ruppenthal said the explosion knocked out several windows in the pastor's home and blew the lock off the front door. He said it left a hole in the front yard "about big enough to put a two-gallon bucket in."

The dynamiting was the third such incident since the boycott began.

Others Were Bombed

The boycott had brought other outbreaks of violence in its early stages. In recent weeks the Negroes have operated their own "station wagon procession" to get supporters to and from work.

The last bombing in connection with the boycott was last January, when the home of Negro minister M. L. King was bombed. King is the recognized leader of the boycott and head of the Association.

Segregation Bills Keep Wide Margin

Post Herald Birmingham Ala.

BY ASSOCIATED PRESS

Two amendments designed to preserve segregation in Alabama's schools, parks and playgrounds, maintained a wide margin of victory. 8-31-56

Tabulations of results of Tuesday's referendum slowed to a trickle yesterday, but there had been no doubt of the two measures passing since late Tuesday, when they showed a substantial lead.

Of 2495 of more than 2700 boxes in the state which so far have been counted, the school "freedom of choice" amendment is ahead 120,061 to 75,828.

Amendment No. 3 (parks and playgrounds), is ahead 105,298 to 75,826.

Amendment No. 1, proposing to increase income taxes on corporations up to 5 per cent, was being beaten by a count of 123,776 to 62,358.

The other three amendments are strictly local in application.

For the same number of boxes, herer is the count for those:

Amendment No. 4 (Auburn and Opelika ad valorem taxes), for 62,411, against 69,068.

Amendment No. 5 (Marion County), for 38,533, against 90,257.

Amendment No. 6 (Franklin County), for 50,826, against 75,955.

Alabama Voters Ratified Amendments Tues. Aug. 28

Alabama voters ratified two amendments to the constitution Tuesday, Aug. 28 which were designed to safeguard segregated schools and parks.

The so-called "freedom of choice" school plan (Amendment No. 2) was approved by an unofficial vote of: For—104,379, Against—68,231

Amendment No. 3 which would empower the Legislature to dispose of public parks to prevent them from being integrated carried by:

Four other proposed amendments were rejected. Proposed amendment No. 1 would have increased tax on coroporations. This new revenue would have gone to the schools.

Amendments 4, 5, and 6 were local in application but they were rejected.

Segregation amendments increase lead

Two measures designed to maintain segregation in Alabama increased their already wide margin, as late tabulations filtered in.

ONE PROPOSAL, providing for "freedom of choice" for parents who wish to send their children to segregated schools, was passed with the biggest majority for any of the six amendments.

Of 2476 boxes counted of more than 2700 in the state, 119,229 favored the proposal, while 75,685 opposed it.

The other segregation amendment, designed to maintain separate white and Negro parks and playgrounds, passed by a vote of 104,808 to 75,653, based on the same number of boxes counted.

ANOTHER AMENDMENT proposing to increase the ceiling on income taxes of corporations to 5 per cent was defeated 123,198 to 61,841.

The other three amendments were strictly local in application.

Of 2476 boxes, Amendment No. 4, Auburn and Opelika ad valorem taxes was defeated 68,752 to 62,496.

Amendment No. 5, Marion County, was defeated 89,985 to 38,645.

Amendment No. 6, Franklin County, was defeated 75,679 to 50,966.

Voice Of The People

Main Difference Over Method Of Segregation

With respect to the recent voting on the Boutwell Amendment, I should like to say that it is my opinion that the vast majority of those who voted, either for or against the amendment, were voting for segregation. The difference was over method.

I have never seen a people so united in opinion and determination as are the people of Alabama on the question of segregation. The NAACP might as well throw in the towel where Alabama is concerned.

N. S. CHAMBLEE,
528 South 81st Street.

★ Tell It To Old Grandma ★

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

A Negro Minister Speaks

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Those who are acquainted with the history of the United States can recall the rough sketch of a snake drawn in 13 separate parts, each part representing one of the 13 states which later became the United States of America.

A strange snake story was told the other day of a chicken snake that swallowed 12 rotten eggs, crawled up and wrapped himself around a tree, put on the egg crushing act, and set himself for an egg feast.

Instead of the expected palatable luxury, the rotten eggs all exploded in the snake at one time, bursting him wide open from head to tail.

This snake story can be compared with the United States of America today. The snake is the public, the eggs are the sedition and propaganda generated by the segregation and integration issues.

As soon as the people swallow enough of it, there is going to be a replica of the snake episode. Too much abuse of our judicial sovereignty will some day prove fatal to our entire existence as a free nation.

White citizens don't want integration and Negroes don't want segregation. The white race is afraid of what integration may do to their race but the Negro race already knows what segregation has done to his. Under the old segregation law of separate but equal, there has been much separation but little equality except in such things as taxes, poverty, sickness, and death. Under the old law of segregation, the whites are still white but the Negro has been mongrelized to such extent that a real thoroughbred Negro is almost extinct in America.

Whatever may befall segregation and integration, may God grant from this day forward that all races shall be protected from the rabies of racial debauchery. I don't believe that God ever intended for human species to mix any more than he did in lower animals.

I pray that God will hasten the day when there will be no lawsuits between the white and Negro races of any kind whatever, but in every walk of life there will be mutual understanding and brotherly love in every one's heart and mind.

REV. ELIJAH J. BRAXTON,
Pastor, the New Style Methodist Church,
Wetumpka, Ala.

Report Says Downtown Building Drops Its Bias

A report says that a downtown office building has abandoned its previous "racial segregation practices" on elevators, since a police court acquitted a local Baptist church minister of disorderly conduct charges after he defied the Jim Crow practices.

The Rev. Theodore N. Nelson, 50, of 1504 Southwest 23rd Street, Powderly, was found not guilty of disorderly conduct in City Recorder's Judge Ralph E. Parker's court, Monday, October 15, after he was arrested Saturday, October 13, when he refused to ride an elevator "reserved for Negroes" at a local downtown Building.

The Rev. Mr. Nelson was arrested on the seventh floor of the aMssey Building, after the elevator operator refused to carry him to the first floor.

Tom Bentley, Jr., of 2g00 North 18th Street, captain of porters at the building, said he called police after the operator called him.

Bentley said the building has three elevators operating. He said one is marked "colored" but both Negroes and whites ride it.

Another downtown office building known as the Frank Nelson Building still practices racial segregation on its elevators. It has seven elevators plus another elevator reserved for Negroes and freight. Only white riders are permitted to use the other seven. However, when the "reserved" elevator is not being used for freight transportation, some impatient whites who don't like to wait always jump on the "reserved" elevator with Negro riders.

Attorney Arzell Billingsley, Jr., represented the Rev. Mr. Nelson in court, argued and got his acquittal.

Judge Parker agreed with Attorney Billingsley that there is no law against Negroes and whites riding the same elevators in Birmingham. "They do it here in the City, the City Hall, the County Courthouse, department stores and most of the large office buildings" Judge Parker further agreed with the young brilliant attorney.

Bentley said that Rev. Nelson did not cause any disturbance or use any profane language. He just kept saying "Main Floor," when the employees tried to get him to get on the other elevator.

Attorney Ingram Beasley, a passenger on the elevator when the Rev. Nelson got on was a strong witness in court asking for a conviction of the minister.

Women Electrical Workers Dispatch Scroll To Mont.

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 6-13-56

NEW YORK — Pledging to work for the "common cause for economic and political equality" of working women, north and south, some 200 delegates to the Fourth National UE Conference on the Problems of Working Women meeting at the Belmont-Plaza Hotel here last week end, signed a symbolic scroll and dispatched it to the Montgomery Improvement Association in Montgomery, Alabama.

The annual women's conference was sponsored by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) and addressed itself, in its two-day session, to discussing and drawing up a program on urgent problems facing working women in shops throughout the country such as, speedup, health hazards, need for political action, etc.

In a special order of business the Conference heard a report from Mrs. Marie Hoag of Cleveland in which she discussed the situation in the South and presented a huge scroll to the Conference, addressed to the women of the South, which was signed by the women delegates attending the New York Conference.

"The heroic fight of the Negro women of the South—as symbolized by Miss Autherine Lucy in her fight for equality and dignity in education and Mrs. Rosa Parks for equality of treatment and dignity in transportation—has been a major contribution and a deep source of inspiration to the fight of women for equality in our country," the UE message stated.

"Their heroic and dignified fight in defense of democracy and equality of treatment deserves the praise, sympathy and support of women and men everywhere.

"We trade union women of the electrical, radio and machine industry, along with the men gathered together in our fourth annual UE Conference on the Problems of Working Women in New York City on this 20th day of May, 1956, do hereby affix our signatures to this Scroll in tribute to and in pledge of sympathy and support.

"We recognize that the fight of trade union women for economic and political equality cannot be won so long as the Negro women are extreme victims of undemocratic treatment.

"We therefore pledge to work to make 1956 a year when our common cause for economic and political equality will be advanced."

Mobile Negroes organize to oppose segregation

News Fri. 6-8-56

MOBILE, Ala., June 8—(AP)—The only way to make democracy work is to grant equal rights to Negroes, a minister told about 500 members of his race last night.

After the Rev. J. Echols Lowery and other speakers criticize segregation, the Mobile Negroes decided to form a committee of 100 to lead a fight against it.

They turned in nominations for the committee, which will be chosen before the next mass meeting is held.

The National Assn. for Advancement of Colored People, banned in Alabama by a Montgomery temporary court order, was praised in a resolution for its "great work."

THE RESOLUTION also said: "Men of good will everwhere are disturbed that many newspapers and political opportunists in the South are urging open defiance of our courts and inciting irrational thinking and hatred in confused minds. These sources are perhaps unwittingly giving aid to the destruction of the forces of law and order and creating a situation which may bring chaos to our beloved country.

"We call upon our fellow white citizens in larger numbers . . . to use their influence toward the end that the Christian principle of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man may be established in the hearts of men everywhere."

THE REV. LOWERY said Negroes have divine help in their struggle against "persecution."

Attorney Clarence Moses reviewed actions of the Alabama legislature, judicial statements and court rulings which he said had the purpose of nullifying the U. S. Supreme Court's decision barring public school segregation.

"We are not as bad as Mississippi," Moses said, "and the reason may be that we have a good governor." Alabama's governor is James E. Folsom, Mississippi's is J. P. Coleman.

A group of leading Mobile Negroes called the meeting as part of "a hold the line move to protect our fight for a first class citizenship status."

State should lead fight for South, says judge

News Birmingham, Ala. Sun. 5-27-56

CLAYTON, Ala., May 26—(AP)—Alabama should "lead the fight" at the Democratic National Convention to present the South's case against racial integration, Circuit Judge George Wallace said Saturday.

Wallace is a delegate from the Third Congressional District and the judge who recently threatened to jail any federal agent attempting to investigate the courts in his circuit.

In a prepared statement Saturday, he said Alabama should take advantage of its "strategic spot" as first in the rollcall of states and "utilize it to the extent of taking the lead in the fight against any matter . . . calculated to weaken the South's stand on segregation."

WALLACE SUGGESTED his approach:

"The delegation should be opposed to any anti-Southern candidate for either the presidential or vice presidential nomination. The delegation should vigorously lead the fight in behalf of the South's stand on segregation; should support an interposition plank in the party's platform; should vote for restoration of the two-thirds rule, and oppose actively the so-called Civil Rights resolutions."

Continuing, the judge declared: "We should let the people of the nation know that we are not going to sit idly by and see local government run over roughshod; that any problem existing among our people can be worked out and will be worked out by the local people involved, rabble-rousing Eastern and Midwestern politicians to the contrary notwithstanding."

"We should begin our fight on the first rollcall," he added, "and continue until the adjournment of the convention."

RACIAL CRUSADER LOSES POSTAL PAY

Times P. 46-L

Letter Carrier Is Suspended at Mobile, but U. S. Denies Link to Civic Activities

New York, N.Y.

By PETER KIHSS

One of Alabama's best-known campaigners for Negro rights has been suspended for twenty-eight days as a mail carrier in Mobile. He is John L. LeFlore, Negro, a postal employe for thirty-five years. 4-22-56

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said here last week that "it is our belief that, while Mr. LeFlore may have been derelict under some of the numerous regulations of the Post Office Department, the present moves against him are actuated by a desire to curb his long and well-known activity as an N. A. A. C. P. officer in Mobile."

In one of the more recent and conspicuous phases of this activity Mr. LeFlore was one of the plaintiffs in the case that brought the Interstate Commerce Commission order of Nov. 25 for an end to race segregation in interstate railroad travel.

Suspension Began April 7

Last week, at Mobile, Postmaster Taylor H. Henry confirmed the payless suspension effective April 7. He insisted that it was based solely on the mailman's work record. He said that he had filed the charges, and that the investigation and decision had been made by the department, with the suspension order coming from Washington.

In Washington the Post Office Department said yesterday that Mr. LeFlore had been suspended for "abuse of sick leave and an unsatisfactory record," which it refused to detail.

The suspension followed a conference between Mr. LeFlore and Norman R. Abrams, Assistant Postmaster General in charge of operations, the department stated, adding concerning Mr. LeFlore:

"At no time did his membership in the N. A. A. C. P. have a bearing on the decision to suspend him."

In his discussion of the case Mr. Henry declared that a mailman "can take part in any activity outside, so long as it doesn't interfere with his work in the post office." The Mobile office, he added, has 435 employes, of whom 41.5 per cent are Negroes. Mobile is one-third Negro.

Mr. LeFlore challenged the selection of Mr. Henry for the postmaster post. Representing the N. A. A. C. P., he urged the Senate Post Office Committee by letter in June, 1954, to hold up President Eisenhower's appointment. The letter cited alleged racial discrimination.

Mr. Henry, a Republican, who had been acting postmaster from June, 1953, said this week that June, 1953, said last week that move. He declined comment on his racial views.

Cleared in Federal Inquiry

Mr. LeFlore, who is 53 years old, has been executive secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. Mobile branch since its start thirty-one years ago. In 1946 he was a leader in helping 500 Negroes to register in Mobile after they had won the right to vote in the Democratic primary.

His activities led the Mobile County Board of Registrars to send charges Feb. 1, 1946, to the Post Office Department accusing him of violation of Civil Service regulations and of the Hatch Act against political activity by Federal employes. An inquiry under the Truman Administration cleared him as not having worked for any individual candidacy and commended him for community service.

In the nationwide I. C. C. railroad cases initiated by the N. A. A. C. P. in December, 1953, Mr. LeFlore complained against race segregation on the Gulf, Mobile and Ohio Railroad.

On July 26 of last year he filed with the Mobile County School Board petitions by thirty-three Negro parents for desegregation of the county public schools in line with United States Supreme Court decisions. One petitioner, a maid, was discharged by a white family.

On Sept. 8 Postmaster Henry served charges against Mr. LeFlore and proposed that he be dismissed or otherwise disciplined. Alleged were abuse of sick leave involving parts of thirty-five days in three years, tardiness in sixty-three instances in four and a half years, deviations from route and disobedience or delay in five cases from 1952 to 1954.

Rebuttal Evidence

Mr. LeFlore, in rebuttal, filed statements of doctors and evidence of higher rates of sick leave and tardiness by other employes.

A supplemental charge Nov. 29 involved his calling a white woman by her first name, with the reply that this was at her suggestion.

In September, after the filing of the case, Joseph N. Langan and Charles F. Hackmeyer wrote to Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield in praise of Mr. LeFlore's character and civic activities. Mr. Hackmeyer was then Mayor of Mobile and is now city commissioner. Mr. Langan became Mayor in October.

A meeting in behalf of Mr. LeFlore is being held today at a Mobile Negro church by a special committee that challenges suspension.

Endorsed by the Mobile Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance of Negro Clergy, the rally seeks to raise $1,000. This would reimburse Mr. LeFlore for his loss of pay and start a fund for potential victims of "economic pressures." Mr. LeFlore's annual salary is $4,750 and his suspension may cost him $390.

Mobile has been considered racially tolerant, as Alabama communities go. In February Mayor Langan set up a committee of seventeen white persons and thirteen Negroes under his chairmanship to promote good racial relations and eliminate tensions.

Voice Of The People

Negroes Want Chance To Enjoy Labor's Fruits

As good citizens of this great country, and as residents of Alabama, we are facing a crisis now that I think should make us turn our minds back to a few things that seem to have been forgotten by those who so bitterly oppose equality for the Negro race.

There is hardly a building, bridge, plant, car, train or anything of great concern or importance that the Negro did not contribute his time, labor, and skill in helping to build or construct; and in most instances were far underpaid. We can go even back to when the Pilgrims came to this country. Negro slaves were brought along to do the hard work, such as cutting down trees, digging wells, plowing and helping in building homes for their masters, and working along side-by-side with their masters in every way; making it possible for the prosperity that is now enjoyed today.

Think even today of the many Negroes who serve as cooks, maids, and nurses in white homes preparing meals for the nourishing of the body, taking care of their children, and in many instances, the children really depend upon their colored nurse to pacify and comfort them.

Since Negroes have helped in the growth of this great nation and state, why can't we enjoy equality as those who come from other countries? Any other nationals except the Negro have the privilege of enjoying freedom and equality. Why must this be so in a free country?

We as Negroes are proud of the things we have helped to accomplish. We only want to be given an opportunity to enjoy them. We are not asking for a mixing of the races.

So why not look into the future, putting away ancient ideas and traditions in this enlightened day and accept the Negro race as a human race, and allow us to take our places as first class citizens of this great nation, country and state?

MRS. MYRTLE C. STEELE,
123 West Eighth Court.

Think With Minds, Not With Emotions

Is a fourth party in the making?

The solid South is no longer solid politically or otherwise. I think our "State Righters" made the first inroad into our solid South. Of course, this stirred the sleeping giant, the Republican Party, which before had never been a serious threat to our Democratic South, but which was awakened to its full political power and became a strong contender in our last election.

Now over the horizon emerges a "fourth party—the White Citizens' Council." This new party stated in the outset of its organization that it was not a political party yet in a few days it contradicted this very statement with the anouncement that it expected pledges from all candidates for the National Democratic Convention to run on a segregated platform. In fact, letters were to be sent to each candidate. In other words, only those who support the views of the fourth party would be elected. The question arises in my mind: How can you be unpolitical at a mass meeting and be political after adjournment? Somewhere along the line someone is fouled up in his thinking.

I was born and reared in the South and I like the way things have been in the South for the length of my life. I want them to stay the way they have been and are now. I believe in fighting for our rights. But I don't believe it can be done by prejudice, hate and social unrest. I do believe it can be done by holding our Christian dignity high and thinking with our heads instead of with our emotions.

It might be significantly noted that we have had splendid racial understanding and unity in our city for the past three or four years, and I might add, "without any bombing of Negro homes." Mob violence must not and cannot be allowed to supersede the law if we are to make progress together under the same flag, which tells us that we are all free, black, white, red or yellow.

I appeal, as a Christian minister, for people to be temperate in all things. Let no one incite you to prejudice and hatred.

I think it would be a wonderful thing if we of the white race should have a few "mass prayer meetings" of our own to temper our hearts with justice, love and understanding of our racial problems. Be led of God and not of man! Think with your minds and not with your emotions! This, alone, is the answer to the unrest we are undergoing.

REV. HERBERT HAMILTON,
Brookhaven Methodist Church, 1725 31st Street, Southwest.

For Understanding And Cooperation

A word of thanks and congratulations are due The News for the front-page editorial, "More Consultation Is Urgent Need in Racial Situation," Saturday, Feb. 25, issue.

If this paper had taken that attitude in its editorials and articles ever since the Supreme Court's decision on integration in 1954 perhaps Alabama would not stand embarrassed before the world today.

Why does a great daily newspaper carry headlines and articles designed to incite and inflame?

"The other course relies mainly on good will, understanding and agreement. It is evident that we urgently need far more effort of that kind."

(Quoted from editorial mentioned above.) That's good sense and good citizenship.

Let's have more editorials of this kind!

Decatur, Ala. OTIS E. KIRBY

'The Rumors Were Lies'

The following Associated Press story was printed Sunday, but it seems advisable to reprint it here to emphasize the peril of rumor. We in Montgomery need to grasp the significance of this Bessemer story in order to shieuld ourselves.

Such rumor-mongering is a form of cannibalism, as you see.

You can't stop fools and irresponsible people from starting rumors. But you can render them harmless by refusing to believe them.

Mark well that the Bessemer rumor, like many in Montgomery recently, *turned out to be false and baseless*

Mark it well:

BESSEMER, Ala., Feb. 18 (AP)—Only the usual small sounds of night broke the calm when midnight struck Bessemer. And for that many people were grateful.

Because for five days this suburban industrial city of 30,000 had been in the grip of frenzied, unfounded rumors of an impending racial clash. The rumors said Friday was to be The Day.

The first stories began circulating Monday. They were that Negroes were planning a "push day" for the purpose of creating incidents.

Then rumors circulated that Negroes would attempt to take over buses in the downtown area when the stores closed last night. Hardware and sporting good stores reported heavy sales of guns and ammunition, mostly to white persons.

Beginning yesterday morning, police headquarters, newspapers and radio stations were bombarded with thousands of telephone calls.

"Has there been a race riot? Is there going to be one? Is it safe to go down town? Should I keep my children from school?" were some of the questions asked.

Officers couldn't ignore the wild reports any longer.

Police Chief C. T. Mullins made preparations to have his entire force available for any emergency.

Sheriff Holt A. McDowell alerted his staff and sent 12 deputies to Bessemer at noon, where they remained on duty until late last night. Commanders of Birmingham and Bessemer National Guard units were notified informally they might be called.

Heavily armed officers cruised the streets in police cars, with three or four men to the car instead of the usual one or two.

They stood by when Bessemer High School dismissed classes at 3 p.m. because it was said "something" was going to happen them. Nothing did.

Many people stayed away from the downtown area.

Merchants said business was at the lowest ebb for a Friday that they could remember—except at the stores handling firearms and ammunition.

By 8 p.m. there were less than half the persons normally downtown on a Friday night, when stores stay open late.

Only a few men were visible on the streets at 9 p.m. Women and children were not to be seen.

Midnight came and proved the rumors were lies.

Police were at a loss to explain how the stories started, and whether they were circulated maliciously.

No matter how the rumors began and then spread like fire through dry grass, they were dangerous.

Even an imagined offense might cause taut nerves to snap in a city ruled by fear of the unknown.

'100 Signature Letters'

Editor, The Advertiser:

I would like to call to the attention of your readers the "100 signature letters" sent by the residents of the Marion Junction community to each of its congressional representatives. If this idea will "catch on" and other communities, civic organizations, and ladies clubs will sponsor similar letters, we will soon discover many "dedicated" segregationists on Capitol Hill.

The letter of transmittal accompanying each "100 signature letter" is as follows:

"Enclosed is a letter signed by 100 of your constituents in the Marion Junction area urging you to vigorously oppose any and all appropriations to any federal agency using its funds to break down our custom of segregation in the South.

The South, by the actions of many of its representatives in the Congress, has led the nation to believe it is willing to accept integration. Nothing can be farther from the truth.

We implore you to fight with all the vigor at your command this unconstitutional encroachment upon state's rights.

We have no intentions of letting the combination of radicals and impractical, misinformed "do-gooders" bring political, economic, and social chaos to our section. We will defend without reservation the excellent racial understanding and cooperation that has long existed here.

In this fight be assured of our united and undivided support.

R. L. SIMONTON,
Marion Junction, Ala.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser 7-14-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Wed. 6-20-56

Montgomery, Ala.

The 'Moderate': Radical Or Reactionary?

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I have been following in *The Nashville Banner* reprints of your excellent series on the subject of racial discrimination in the North. The series is a real service no less to the Negro race than to the white and no less to the North than to the South, and I should like to congratulate you and your reporters on the series itself and also on the fact that in spite of the emotionalism of the subject you have been able to handle it with remarkable objectivity.

During the past week or two, many of the reprints in *The Banner* have dealt with the racial situation in and around Detroit, and in this connection I came across not long ago an article on "Prophet" Jones, which I am taking the liberty to enclose. As you may know, Prophet Jones, a native of Birmingham, is one of Detroit's wealthiest and most powerful citizens.

Although it is hardly news that unscrupulous Negroes shamefully exploit the members of their own race, my interest in this particular case is that Prophet Jones has such a hold on the Negroes of Detroit that both the state and federal revenue officials are reluctant to investigate his income tax returns, and that he is so respected as a political pivot in Michigan that the Michigan state legislature honored a few years back his request to deliver the invocation at an opening session.

The article which I am enclosing appeared in *Inside Story*, which, as you know, is one of the many expose magazines, and of course that suggests in itself that nothing presented therein can be taken at face value. At the same time, the specific assertions to which I refer above should not be too difficult to verify. I have no personal objection or resentment whatsoever to having an authentic Negro minister to deliver the invocation at the opening session of any state legislature, North or South, but I hardly see how a Negro such as Prophet Jones could dignify either the occasion or the race he represents.

About 10 days ago I heard on a radio newscast that the U.S. Bureau of Internal Revenue had built up a case against a "high official" in the National Association for the Advancement or Colored People, but that when the agents started to crack down they received orders from above to withhold their fire on the grounds that such an exposure might upset the racial balance. The name of the NAACP official was not given, of course, and I have heard nothing further about the matter on the radio, nor was I able to find any reference to the case in either of the Nashville newspapers. The newscast to which I refer was carried a day or two after the announcement that Joe Louis had been "forgiven" his back income taxes, which, as I recall, exceeded something like a million dollars. I remember only that it was a staggering amount.

I have always been under the impression that the Bureau of Internal Revenue was no respecter of persons, but it is beginning to look as if even that hard-boiled agency has a soft-spot for Negroes. I am especially curious to know if there is anything to the report concerning the NAACP official.

Among the reprints which *The Banner* has carried was the one in which a member of your staff discussed the recent race riot in Detroit (it was the riot against a Negro family — who turned out to be Indian — who had moved into a white neighborhood), and in the article your reporter commented on the fact that when such riots occur in the North they are called "disturbances" and that when mobs gather they are referred to as "crowds." That is, if the story is carried at all. Yesterday in *The Nashville Tennessean*, under the date-line Muncie, Ind., there was a short Associated Press news item concerning the race riot Monday at or near the Ball State Teachers College, which resulted in the arrest of five whites and five Negroes.

The trouble developed, it seems, at a municipal swimming pool, in which some Negroes went swimming, but apparently the rioting involved both the college and the town. The write-up is quite hazy, and it is difficult to know just what did happen, although the college is mentioned specifically. One thing is clear, however. Although the situation was serious enough to warrant the arrest of 10 persons, the AP report referred to it as a "racial disturbance," and although between 200 and 300 people were involved, the assembly was referred to as "crowd." In other words, there was no riot and no mob.

And, incidentally, the story was not front-page news even when a Nashville paper carried it. It appeared on page 17. In fact, even there it was but the third of four separate items concerning racial matters. I need not comment on how the AP would have handled the story had the date-line been Florence, Ala., for example, or even Murfreesboro, Tenn., or on the second invasion of the South by hordes of newsmen from the North. Frankly, I think it is just as well, but I wish the Northhern press were more reciprocal.

It is difficult indeed for one to keep one's head these days, and perhaps the two extremist groups are right when they argue that moderation is an impossibility. Not infrequently the moderate has the feeling that he is dwelling in a sort of no-man's land, where the South regards him as a radical and the North as a reactionary. At the same time, I feel that your series is a good thing, not just because it calls attention to the fact that discrimination exists as shamefully in the North as in the South and, worse, that it exists hypocritically, but rather because, through your series, you have made it unmistakably clear that the racial problem is national, not regional, in scope and responsibility.

VIRGINIA DOSS.
Woodmont Boulevard at Bowling,
Nashville 12, Tenn.

★ Tell It ★ To Old Grandma

Advertiser 7-7-56

Wed. 6-13-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows

Montgomery, Ala.

The Situation Imposed

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — I recently read in the *Congressional Record* (Vol. 102, No. 69, dated April 27, 1956) the speech you made to the 57th Annual Banquet of the Huckleberry Indians at the New York Athletic Club on April 21, entitled, "The Southern Way of Life Up North." As you are probably aware, Rep. Albert Rains of Alabama inserted your speech in the record.

In my opinion your presentation was a magnificent discussion concerning the situation the people have had imposed upon them.

BENJAMIN M. FINUFF.
115 Robin Lane, Oak Ridge, Tenn.

◆

A Detroit Citizen Reports

Editor, The Advertiser:

Attached is clipping of an event in North [Buffalo race riot]. The occasion was on or at a place of amusement.

This is the pattern of events leading to Detroit's big race riot.

Our public places of amusement have been removed. Our city parks are still open, but our finest and most beautiful, Belle Isle, has been deserted almost completely by whites since the rioting.

Our city fathers have contemplated making an airport of Belle Isle, because it is useless to white people.

You notice that our Northern papers sidestep full facts in reporting, as for instance, in this case.

E. B. GIRDLEY.
2435 Lawndale, Detroit, Mich.

◆

The Situation North

Editor, The Advertiser:

I think you will be interested in these clippings.

While visiting my parents, Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Thompson in Luverne this spring I read your editorials with much sympathy. I think you are doing a fine job of reporting racial tensions in the North to your Southern readers.

[MRS.] EUGENIA T. MAGOON.
332 Mt. Vernon Rd., Engden 21, N.Y.

◆

Our Disgust

Editor, The Advertiser:

I am in complete agreement with you in that our Northern papers are sweeping their own racial tensions under the rug.

Finally, these tensions have become too large and intense for them to hide as they would prefer. The integrated policy and its acceptance here are not met with favor here as our political aspirants would have you think.

Our disgust in this enforced way of life is at a maximum as you will agree when reading the enclosed articles.

P.S.—Lest reprisals be sought on my children, I wish to remain anonymous.

MRS. J. E. B.
Parker Avenue, Buffalo 16, N.Y.

◆

Soft Pedal

Editor, The Advertiser:

Just a note to explain the enclosed clipping. I am a native Alabamian now living in a suburb of Buffalo, N.Y. For weeks the *Buffalo Evening News*, our daily newspaper, headlined the Autherine Lucy fiasco and also the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. Both were presented as racial strife in its very worst form. Yet please notice how a much worse racial riot right here, involving Buffalo's own colored and white citizens, was "soft pedaled" as "teen-age, hoodlumism."

Please read the entire account and study the pictures.

Another note: Neither John Cameron Swayze nor Douglas Edwards mentioned the Buffalo incident on TV, yet Autherine Lucy and Montgomery were their choicest morsels for weeks.

Doesn't it burn you up? It does me.

MRS. M. E. M.

P.S.—Please don't use my name or address in the paper, if you decide to print any portion of this note.

Roycraft Blvd., Snyder, N.Y.

'Fight like the men and women of Montgomery'

Afro-American P.8

Sat. 6-23-56

BALTIMORE

"Fight with righteous weapons. Fight with character; fight with dollars . . .Fight like the men and women of Montgomery, Ala."

Presiding Bishop Raymond Luther Jones so exhorted some 200 ministerial and lay delegates to the 129th annual sessions of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Conference of the AME Zoin Church at Pennsylvania Ave., AME Zion Church Thursday.

The bishop's fighting Episcopal address was delivered on his first appearance in Baltimore since his election to the bishopric at the denomination's general conference in Pittsburgh two months ago.

The Rev. George N. Spells, pastor of the Harris Church, Harrisburg, Pa. delivered the opening sermon Tuesday for the conference which will continue through Sunday.

Organizational meetings followed Wednesday, with an address by the Rev. French C. Flack, of Kingsport, Tenn. Dr. I. Albert Moore of the Washington District delivered the annual message Wednesday evening.

"They themselves, with strength, patience, unity and forebearance have made the Montgomery bus strike a symbol of their new and active role and of their deep understanding of both the will and the way to win

"We cannot win the hearts of the underprivileged of vast continents while serving privilege at home.

* * *

"THE WORLD is on the march. We cannot afford to mark time.

"We can win the day if our deeds match our words. We can win if our hands do what our lips say. We can win if we apply the pioneer spirit to our newest frontier: The struggle for human rights.

"Chief of all our domestic problems is the plight of those who are still denied equal civil rights to a major degree in some parts of our country and to some degree in all parts of our country."

Lehman has plaudits for bus boycott

Afro-American

Sat. 6-23-56

Baltimore Md.

NEW YORK — "The single most historic development (in our domestic field) was the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools."

That statement was made last week by Sen. Herbert H. Lehman in an address at the 12th annual dinner of the Liberal party in the Grand Ballroom of Hotel Commodore.

He added:

* * * P.5

"BUT THE single most dramatic development, in my judgment, has been the emergence of the colored people of the South, themselves, as active factors in the struggle

NORTH IS CHIDED ON SEGREGATION

Times 6-33

Dr. McCandless Poses a Dual View of the South's Social Conventions

Mon. 6-18-56

"What the North generally has done is to accept the social conventions of the South while condemning the reasons for those conventions," the Rev. Dr. Hugh McCandless declared in a sermon yesterday. P.33-C

¶He preached at the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Epiphany, York Avenue and Seventy-fourth Street, on "The North and Segregation."

Dr. McCandless said that absolutely equal opportunities to serve and absolutely equal rights to live as one wishes are the only conditions that a religious man can consider tolerable, and those are the conditions for which we must work actively."

He went on to ask members of the congregation to examine themselves in these respects:

¶"Do you indulge in sweeping generalizations which are not recognized as prejudices because they are kindly and appreciative? For example, do you feel that all Puerto Ricans have a sense of rhythm, that all Frenchmen are gay, that all Negroes are amiable, that all Jewish men are wise? If you don't know any exceptions to these impressions, it means you don't really know enough members of these races to have an opinion.

¶"Do you belong to any voluntary associations which are made up of people of different backgrounds? If so, has the number of these increased in the last ten years? If not, have you any plans to do something about this? Your answers should tell you whether or not you are leading or trailing behind the change that is occurring right now.

¶"Do you know any members of other races and faiths well enough so that they themselves have brought up the matter of race or religion with you? Your answer to this question should show you what your attitude really appears to others to be."

Besides the measures passed or pending, another segregation bill of broad scope has been drafted for introduction by Rep. McKay. It would prohibit race mixing in athletic contests, in public meetings, restaurants and theaters.

McKay had it ready this week with withdrew it to let other legislators study the bill.

SCHOOLS, TRANSPORTATION

Advertiser P.1

Far-Reaching Measures Taking Shape In Legislature's War On Integration

Sun. 3-11-56 Montgomery, Ala.

By REX THOMAS
Associated Press Writer

Far-reaching new measures have been woven into the widening pattern of legislation designed to preserve racial segregation in Alabama.

With the present special session of the Legislature scarcely more than a week old, bills have been introduced to:

Give college authorities a legal weapon against the enrollment of Negro students.

Allow cities to dispose of public recreational facilities to prevent integration there.

Empower railroads and buses to refuse to haul passengers who won't abide by 'reasonable" rules and regulations on seating accommodations.

Resolutions have been adopted in one house or the other urging the U.S. Supreme Court to "modify" its anti-segregation decrees in public schools, and asking Congress to appropriate funds to transport Negroes out of the South.

And already enacted into law at previous legislative sessions since the historic school integration decisions of 1954 are measures aimed at:

Keeping Negroes out of white schools below the college level.

Allowing school officials in two rural Black Belt counties to fire teachers who advocate non-segregated classrooms.

Making public the membership lists of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People in two counties.

Along with those efforts to maintain the traditional color barriers, a proposed constitutional amendment will be submitted to the voters in a special statewide election Aug. 28 in a separate approach to the school integration problem It would give parents "freedom of choice" to say whether their children attend integrated or segregated classes.

Most of the efforts toward preserving the color line since the present legislative session started March 1 have been directed at the University of Alabama and other state-supported institutions of higher learning.

Advertiser

They were prompted by the violence at the university following the enrollment of its first Negro student, Autherine Lucy, who has since been expelled and its seeking readmission. P. 2-A

One measure, by Rep. Charles McKay of Talladega, would require new students at any tax-supported college to submit written endorsements from three graduates of that school.

Since no Negro has ever graduated from a state-controlled white college, applications for admission to white schools would have to be recommended by white alumni.

An even stronger measure came from Rep. Pat Boyd of Pike County. It would authorize college authorities to investigate the background of all prospective students and turn them down if their presence would endanger the "lives, health or welfare" of students or the school.

Applicants also would be judged on their "morals, conduct, health and personal standards" and their "home environment."

The Legislature itself could take over the administration of any institution under still another bill sponsored by Rep. Virgis Ashworth of Bibb County.

A constitutional amendment, it would empower the Legislature to convene itself in special session and take over the duties of college trustees any time conditions became "so turbulent" that school authorities couldn't cope with them.

Another proposed change in the state's organic law would give city governing bodies authority to sell or lease parks, swimming pools and golf courses to private operators to keep them segregated. It was introduced by Sen. Gerald Bradford of Clarke County.

In transportation, Sen. Sam Engelhardt of Macon County proposed to give railroad and bus companies the right to make "reasonable" rules for seating passengers "to maintain peace and good order or to preserve property."

The operator could refuse to ride anyone who contested the seating arrangement.

Members of the House unaimously approved a resolution this week appealing to the Supreme Court to ease its anti-segregation stand on the schools, but it hasn't come out of the Senate Rules Committee.

A vote in the Senate is likely next week.

But the upper chamber has asked the House to return Marengo County Sen. E. O. Eddins' resolution asking Congress to provide funds to move Negroes out of the South. It may be rescinded.

One school segregation measure has already become law, enacted by the Legislature last summer.

Sponsored by Engelhardt, it would give local shcool boards almost unlimited police power to tell individual pupils where to attend grade school and high school classes.

Although neither race is mentioned by name, the purpose is to let the boards assign white pupils to white schools and Negroes to Negro schools.

In separate acts, the Legislature also authorized boards in Macon and Marengo Counties to fire any teacher who advocates race-mixing in the schools. Negroes outnumber white residents in both counties.

Another bill affecting only Marengo County requires the registration of membership lists of any organizations existing in that county. Its avowed purpose was to get the names of members of the NAACP.

In Wilcox County, the NAACP and any similar organization is required to pay a registration fee of $100 plus $5 for each member.

The "Freedom of Choice" constitutional amendment to be voted on Aug. 28 would permit integrated schools if the parents chose them, but no pupil would be compelled to attend class with members of the opposite race.

It also proposes to give the Legislature authority to abolish the public school system if the members felt that course advisable.

FOLSOM AND LIEUTENANTS AT JASPER
. . seated from left, Gentry, Rep. Shumate, Gov. Folsom, Sen. Newton. Standing from left, Dr. Snoddy, Finney, Barnette, Kimbrell, Partlow.

Alabama Press Opinions

News P. 14

Mixed Committee Needed

(Clarke County Democrat, Grove Hill)

As Negroes enroll in the NAACP, the whites are busily organizing White Citizens Councils. At a meeting sponsored by the latter organization last week, 15,000 people crowded into the Cow Coliseum in Montgomery to hear Sen. Eastland of Mississippi speak. These developments, along with the high-handed performance of Arthur Shores and his protege, Autherine Lucy, on the one hand, and mixed mobs of white students and outsiders on the other, give unmistakable evidence that race relations in the South are fast being disrupted.

Birmingham Ala.

Shortly after the Supreme Court had handed down its political ruling on segregation, we suggested that the well-meaning whites and Negroes of the South should form an organization for the peaceable discussion and solution of problems which confront the two races.

The majority of Southern white are friendly to the Negro and want to see him make all the advancement possible. The majority of the Negroes also are friendly and want no trouble between the races. These whites realize that the Negroes need better schools and have been working to see that such schools and other facilities are provided. The Negroes naturally want these things but want to obtain them through peaceful means.

As matters now stand, agitators and trouble makers on both sides can do irreparable harm. Mon. 2-27-56

It is far easier to recruit members for organizations such as the NAACP and the White Citizen Council—organization which appeal to the prejudices, the emotions and the hatreds of each race—than for an organization such as we suggest, but a body which includes the wise, calm, friendly members of both races, could do far more good than could either of the others.

Voice Of The People

News Mon. 5-7-56

Give Congress Power To Overrule Court

P. 14

The time has arrived in our country for an important amendment to be made to the Constitution of the United States.

As a result of the decision of the Supreme Court in the integration matter the general welfare of our people is being very much disturbed and will continue to become worse. It is my opinion that the great majority of colored people are satisfied with equal but not identical privileges with reference to tax-supported public institutions. Birmingham, Ala.

The preamble of our Constitution provides, among other things, to "promote the general welfare." This provision supersedes all other rights set out in the Constitution when the general welfare of our country is in danger. This doctrine of law was relied upon when natural-born Japanese-American citizens were brought inland from the West Coast in World War II because the general welfare of our country was in danger.

Lincoln in his Gettysburg address said "and that the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." Therefore, to maintain and continue the right of general welfare, our Constitution should be amended to provide that if and when the Supreme Court renders a decision that interferes with the general welfare of the people, then in such event the Congress by a three-fourths majority vote of the House of Representatives and a three-fourths majority vote of the Senate, would have the right to declare such a decision null and void, with the amendment further providing that the President could not veto such a law. This would place the final authority in three-fourths of representatives of the people rather than in nine men on the Supreme Court bench. Such a conclusion by a three-fourths majority of intelligent representatives of the people would be more satisfactory for the general welfare of the people than a legal decision of the Supreme Court as now provided in the Constitution.

CHARLES DENEGRE,
Watts Building.

Bring Issue into Open

Herald P. 19-A

Alabama Newspapers Doing Fine Job on Race Issue

Wed. 5-9-56 Miami, Fla.

By NIXON SMILEY
Herald Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Alabama newspapers are doing a fine job of covering the developments in the integration-segregation issue.

SMILEY

But much of the credit must go to Northern newspaper reporters who came to Alabama to cover the Montgomery bus boycott by Negro riders and the Autherine Lucy case at the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa.

This is the opinion of a person here who was close to the scene and who witnessed the action of Alabama newspapers and the Northern reporters.

★ ★ ★

THE MONTGOMERY boycott and Lucy stories had received routine coverage until the hot reporters from New York arrived with eager city editors breathing down their necks even from the long distance.

The Northern reporters followed every lead and kept wires humming with new developments

Wire service bureaus in the North began to ask questions of their bureaus in Alabama, and kept pressing for confirmation of the developments reported by the New York newspapermen.

Local press services and local newspaper staffs went into a frenzy of action to keep pace with the out-of-state reporters who were giving their full time to the stories.

★ ★ ★

BEHIND the scene wasn't just a difference in talent or of aggressiveness in collecting and writing news. It's deeper than that.

Although discussion of the desegregation issue isn't taboo in the South, Southern newspapermen often find it an embarrassing subject to ask point-blank questions about or to discuss both sides freely in a newspaper article.

★ ★ ★

IT'S A SUBJECT charged with terrific conflict. Opinions are sharply divided. As a white person you can be only for segregation, if you are a "patriotic Southerner," or you can be for integration and classed "lower than a nigger."

Strong emotions are involved. Arguments don't often lend themselves to logic. Therefore the sensible try to avoid argument or discussion where differences might be involved.

★ ★ ★

THE NORTHERN reporter not attuned to Southern sensitiveness, felt no qualms about poking his nose into the issue and asking pointed questions.

And once the Yankee reporter had lifted the veil of reticence from the sacred subject of desegregation, the Southern reporters fell in line and stopped treating it as a thing requiring asbestos gloves.

★ ★ ★

THE RECENT death of an aged Negro preacher from a stone thrown from a passing car load of rowdy white men was developed for all it was worth and given page one treatment by Birmingham and Montgomery papers.

Although the rock throwing incident did not involve directly the subject of desegregation, the fact that the Negro's death came at a time when desegregation was a prime topic, certainly linked the two in most persons' minds.

★ ★ ★

HOW NEWSWORTHY the segregation-integration issue is in Alabama may be judged from the fact that a Birmingham paper recently had three stories on page one relating to the subject in one way or another.

I have learned to push the subject aside during conversations with Southerners until I finish my interviews. Once the talk gets on the Negro, it's hard to bring the conversation back to the original topic.

Summerlin, Ward agree—

Racial, pension proposals draw varied reactions

BY FRED TAYLOR, News staff writer

Opposition to Gov. James E. Folsom's plan for a bi-racial commission and to the Ward proposal for diverting some $9 million in state funds from the teacher retirement system to school operations. was voiced today by some House members.

But Rep. Vernon Summerlin of Crenshaw, chairman of the House education committee, agreed with Rep. D. W. Ward of Lee that Alabama is not financially able to support two pension systems for teachers, declaring:

"I wish we could afford Cadillacs, but there are too many children in Alabama not getting sufficient training now. I think we should use some of the money we're now appropriating to the teacher retirement system for operating the schools."

REPS. RYAN deGRAFFENRIED of Tuscaloosa, W. L. Martin Jr., of Greene and Bob Kendall, Jr., of Conecuh all declared themselves for maintaining the $4,575,000 annual state appropriation to the Alabama Teachers' Retirement System. Some 32,000 teachers and other educational workers are covered under the system.

Rep. Ward said he would introduce a bill in the House tomorrow to recapture this annual appropriation for at least two years, or a total of $9,150,000 to help ease the school's operating problems.

Ward said he favors knocking out one of the pension systems. The state would continue to pay $1,800,000 yearly for social security matching funds for teachers and other educational employes.

"I'm very much in favor of retiring our teachers on as much as we can give them," said Rep. Martin, Eutaw insurance man.

REP. KENDALL, Evergreen cotton merchant, said he might be willing to divert state appropriations to the retirement fund for a couple of years, but for no longer.

"There's too much uncertainty about financial security for our teachers and I think we should maintain the retirement system as well as social security benefits for them," added Kendall.

Rep. deGraffenried, Tuscaloosa attorney, emphasized he's for maintaining the retirement system, pointing out that the retirement plan is built up on an acturarial basis.

"To curtail state appropriations to the retirement fund would knock it off balance," said deGraffenried.

Summerlin, Luverne business man-farmer, came out strongly against the governor's plan for setting up a bi-racial commission composed of whites and Negroes to study problems growing out of the U. S. Supreme Court integration ruling and to seek to ease racial tensions.

"I think that's integration, itself, when you start putting whites and Negroes on the same commission," said Summerlin. "I'm certainly against it."

KENDALL SAID he is "inclined" to be against the plan, while deGraffenried said he wanted to study the measure before voting for or against it.

Rep. Martin, who originally proposed the resolution calling on Dr. O. C. Carmichael, University of Alabama president, to furnish the Legislature with names of teachers and students who signed a petition urging that Negro Co-ed Autherine Lucy be admitted to the school, said he would press for its adoption. The petition had been circulated before University trustees expelled her.

"I will never vote for any appropriations for our schools or colleges, if we do not maintain segregation," emphasized Martin.

MARTIN said that he and Hale Rep. Charles Ramey, co-sponsor of this resolution, would go before the House rules committee to urge that it be reported favorably.

These and other pending school finance and segregation measures were discussed by the four legislators Sunday on WAPI-WABT's "Legislative Report" program.

Meantime, Alabama lawmakers prepared to meet again tomorrow to push through bills to balance this year's school budget at $108 million and clear the decks for action on several segregation proposals.

All four panelists declared they would press for passage of the Lackey-Edwards bill, of which they are co-sponsors, calling for a long-range business man study of school finances. The State Chamber of Commerce last week threw its support behind this measure, which was reintroduced by Jefferson Reps. Rufus M. Lackey and Jess K. Edwards.

A similar bill was passed by the House 75 to 9 during the last special session of the Legislature, but it was choked off by Senate filibuster, despite the fact that a majority of senators favor it.

REP. deGRAFFENRIED, who introduced it, and Reps. Martin and Summerlin declared themselves for passage of the administration-backed bill to raise the maximum state income tax rate on corporation earnings from 3 to 5 per cent.

Kendall said "frankly, I have an open mind on this proposal, but I lean against it."

All four of the lawmakers declared themselves against removing sales tax exemptions on industrial and farm items. While industrialists oppose the income tax hiking measure, they prefer it over removal of sales tax exemptions on machinery and other items, Summerlin said.

"It's better for a corporation to pay taxes on its earnings than it is to put a tax on its machinery before they make any money," said the Crenshaw legislator.

Summerlin added that "we're in a very healthy condition in Alabama for attracting new industry, with these exemptions in effect." He warned that to knock them out would hurt the program to bring in new business and industry.

However, Rep. Martin said he did not think it was fair to require farmers to pay sales tax on machinery items, while manufacturers were exempt from the levy.

Rep. deGraffenried had warned industrialists, who appeared before the House ways and means committee, of which he is a member, that they "might be stepping into a trap" by opposing the income tax hiker. He referred specifically to the likelihood that this might lead to an all-out drive to remove the sales tax exemptions.

Martin, deGraffenried and Summerlin said they believed that when the Legislature balances the school budget, the special session would be adjourned sine die.

But Kendall said he thought a recess of a couple of months was more likely. This would give the lawmakers a chance to determine fairly definitely the rate of increases in revenues from present taxes.

Integration Foes Said

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Censored

Fri. 5-18-56

SELMA, Ala., May 17 (AP)—Rep. John Bell Williams (D-Miss) said tonight a form of press and radio censorship has been imposed on news which might show segregation advocates in a favorable light.

Williams came here for an address to the Dallas County Citizens Council on the second anniversary of the Supreme Court's May 17, 1954 decision which held segregation in schools to be unlawful.

CALLS IT BLACKEST DAY

"This is the second anniversary of 'Black Monday,'" Williams said, "a day that will live in infamy, a day that will be remembered as the blackest day in the history of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence."

Williams said that "indeed this should be a day of mourning as it recalls the anniversary on which the Constitution of the United States was torn into shreds and rendered meaningless by a group of ambitious politicians occupying positions on the highest tribunal in the land."

SEEK SHELTER

The congressman said in his prepared address that the "liberals" who support integration "in the light of truth . . . cringe and seek shelter behind pious declamations and idealistic platitudes." He added:

"So strong have they become in recent years, though, that they control a great segment of the press and radio of this country, to the extent that a form of censorship has been imposed against the dissemination of news and information which might, directly or indirectly, reflect favorably on the attitudes of Southern white people.

ARE HELD UP

"News stories that justify Southern attitudes are deliberately withheld from print; statements favoring segregation by Southern leaders are deliberately distorted to make the author appear as a bigoted fool; words are lifted from the context to make it appear that we in the South hold our Negro friends in utter contempt which is, of course, contrary to all the teachings and tenets of the Southern people.

"They seize upon interracial crimes in the South, amplify them out of proportion to their importance, and by use of half-truths, innuendo, and in some cases outright lies, try to make it look as if lynching Negroes is a favorite Southern pastime among the white people.

ENCOURAGE APOLOGIES

"They encourage Southern writers to become apologists for their people, and make betrayal of their own people the price to be paid for high journalistic awards.

"Even a mediocre writer, if he is a Southerner, can scale the heights of journalistic acclaim by the simple expedient of depicting his neighbors as fools, bigots, ignoramuses, hate peddlers and sadistic fiends who take delight in murdering those of the minority races."

★ Tell It To Old Grandma ★

Advertiser 5-4-4 Montgomery, Ala.

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Mon. 5-14-56

Where Tradition Is Sinister

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I have just read the *U.S. News & World Report* article dealing with the Alabama primary. I noted the reference to *The Advertiser*.

I recently saw reference to a series of articles that you are doing on racial clashes in the North and West.

Roi Ottelly, a Negro writer, has just completed a series of 10 articles on the Negro problem outside the South. I assume that you receive the *Chicago Tribune* regularly in an exchange. I found no fault with the articles other that than he grouped the Negro migrants into one mass. Most Southern Negroes know that the majority of Southern whites think of and treat Negroes as individuals. The Negroes who respect themselves have the respect of the majority of the whites among whom they live.

I am fully aware of the fact that there are elements among both white and black who incite trouble. While I have been out of the South for a number of years, I do not believe that the Negroes that I grew up knowing really have hatred in their hearts for me and other whites. Most of the old ones are no longer living. My brothers write to me telling of the death of younger ones and I am saddened by the news of their death. I do not hate Negroes, neither do other white people of the South.

I have spent most of my adult life in urban centers where there were racial and ethnic groups and I have never seen it very pleasant for these groups to mingle in schools or socially. I am reminded of an Italian who was in the Army with me. He fell into a ditch over in France and called for help to get out. A bunch of fellows from a New York Irish regiment came by and pulled him out because he had said that his name was Mallony. When they saw that he was a "wop," they were going to shove him back into the ditch. When you undertake to mix racial or ethnic groups, you have friction.

I am inclosing a clipping or two. The cartoon by Justus of *The Minneapolis Star* is somewhat representative of the source from which much of the ill-will is being spawned. The liberal cult of which he is representative find every thing traditional to be evil and sinister.

The inference is that the White Citizens Councils are serving the designs of the commies.

Every real American should know and recognize the phony liberals for what they really are.

Continue to publish a worthy American newspaper. I like a fellow who stands for something, when that something is the preservation of the American heritage. We love it even though it is linked with tradition and custom.

2045 East Wood St.,
Decatur, Ill. ROBERT E. PRICE.

Southern Editor Tries To Duck The Issue

Advertiser Sat. 5-12-56 P. 4-A

Editorial In The Daily Republic, Mitchell, S.D.

Montgomery, Ala.

DURING the early phase of the Negro boycott of Montgomery, Ala., buses, newsmen representing Northern papers swarmed al lover the city room of *The Montgomery Advertiser*, asking questions of Editor-in-Chief Grover Cleveland Hall Jr. He asked questions right back at them and decided from the answers that the North's own racial problems were being covered by its press in a "conspiracy of silence."

To prove his point, Hall launched a daily series on Northern discrimination, under the standing head: "Tell It Not In Gath, Publish It Not In The Streets Of Askelon" (thus David voiced the wish that the slaying of King Saul and his son Jonathan in battle with the Philistines could be kept from the Philistines themselves lest they rejoice).

The Advertiser series, gotten together principally by long-distance telephone, quoted Mayor Orville Hubbard of Dearborn, Mich., as bragging that not a single Negro could get a place to live in his city of 114,000, although 15,000 of them worked there. It reported also that Chicago had assigned 150 police to the Trumbull Park development to prevent violence over an influx of Negro residents.

CHORTLED Hall: Chicago race relations "seem incredibly violent to a Southerner," since "in all the Confederacy, there's not a single Negro family I know of that needs police protection." That is a remarkable statement, considering the slaying of Negroes in Mississippi, the bombing of Negro homes in Florida, the attack on singer Nat "King" Cole in Birmingham and the Autherine Lucy case in Tuscaloosa, both of which cities are right in Hall's own Alabama! And think what would happen if more Southern Negroes sought the equality that is expected as a matter of course by their Chicago cousins!

And, speaking of Chicago, a point that shouldn't be overlooked is the fact that the metropolis *is* protecting the Negroes' rights in the Trumbull Park district. The police of Tuscaloosa, on the other hand, dismally failed to stand up to the mob that attacked Miss Lucy on the campus of the University of Alabama.

The Advertiser series also charged the Detroit press with burying news of the Rouse case, in which a part Indian family was forced to move out of a Detroit neighborhood after a mob rioted around the house in the belief that they were Negroes.

FAR be it from us to excuse any Northern papers for soft-pedaling Northern intolerance while playing up the same thing in the South. We believe both are legitimate news and should be covered with equal impunity. But we don't think that the fact that there is still room for improvement in the North is any reason why Northern papers should ignore the serious challenge to law and order which is arising in the South.

And, although Editor Hall is loathe to admit it, there is a basic difference in the treatment of the Negroes in the North and in the South.

★ Tell It ★

Advertiser

To Old Grandma

Mon. 5-14-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it

Mon. 5-14-56

Where Tradition Is Sinister

Montgomery, Ala.

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I have just read the *U.S. News & World Report* article dealing with the Alabama primary. I noted the reference to *The Advertiser*.

I recently saw reference to a series of articles that you are doing on racial clashes in the North and West.

Roi Ottelly, a Negro writer, has just completed a series of 10 articles on the Negro problem outside the South. I assume that you receive the *Chicago Tribune* regularly in an exchange. I found no fault with the articles other that than he grouped the Negro migrants into one mass. Most Southern Negroes know that the majority of Southern whites think of and treat Negroes as individuals. The Negroes who respect themselves have the respect of the majority of the whites among whom they live.

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2045 East Wood St.,
Decatur, Ill. ROBERT E. PRICE.

Alabama Edito

Advertiser 5-2-6

Resurgence Of Moderation

Montgomery, Ala.

The Lee County Bulletin

Three important political events in the South this week gave evidence of a strong tide of sentiment running in favor of moderation and good sense as the region continues to struggle with its vexing problems.

First was Texas Sen. Lyndon Johnson's smashing victory over Gov. Allan Shivers in the fight for control of the state's Democratic national convention delegation. Adv. 5-13-56

Gov. Shivers represented the extremist, irresponsible sentiment. The racebaiters, Dixiecrats, and KKK-type breast beaters were on his side.

Contrarily, Sen. Johnson was supported by the moderates who plainly were sick and tired of the Shivers demagoguery.

Second important event indicating impatience with demagoguery was the landslide win by Gov. Leroy Collins over a field of five opponents in Florida's Democratic primary.

The chief issue developed by Gov. Collins' opponents was race. They claimed that he had not taken a vigorous enough stand in support of segregation and that he actually favored gradual integration. Gov. Collins denied the charge, but pleaded for less heat and more light.

The third event addressed itself to a different kind of extremism: that of McCarthyism. In winning the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Senate seat which he lost in 1950 due to the rabid McCarthy's smear tactics, Maryland's Millard Tydings raised the hope that his state has its feet back on the ground.

Of course, there was the victory in Alabama by Rep. Charles McKay, white citizens council leader, in his race for Democratic national committeeman. But there is strong evidence that extremism on the racial issue was not the only major factor in his win, although it had much to do with it.

Overall, the signs point to a resurgence of the attitudes of moderation and of calm judgment. The hopes of all of us in the South ride with Liyndon Johnson, Leroy Collins and others who, despite the temptation to demagogue, in these critical times are preaching the intelligent Christia napproach to our frightful problems.

Baldwin Leadership

The Baldwin Times

In keeping with a rising trend of sentiment in the South in connection with the recent anti-segregation laws passed on a national level, the citizens of Baldwin County have banded together in an organization pledged to support and maintain the highest ideals of Southern traditions.

A group like the Baldwin County Citizens' Council, had it fallen into the wrong hands or chosen less intelligent leaders, could have made a mockery of the principles it stood for. Instead, Baldwin can be proud of the fact that the citizens who have taken an active part in its formation are sensible, clear-thinking adults who mean malice toward nobody, and are dedicated only to keeping peace in our county and upholding our way of life.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. F.

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Tues. 5-15-56

Eye For Eye, Tooth For Tooth

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I have today sent a postcard to our two senators and to George Grant, our district representative in Congress. It follows: Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Mr. Grant:

The CAA disclosed it will not provide funds to cities and communities for equal but segregated facilities in the airports of the South. I urge you to cut off all funds proposed for CAA appropriations. And eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth should be the policy of the South from now on against the "liberals" of the North.

Steps must be taken to curtail and define through constitutional amendment the assumed dictatorial powers of our Supreme Court. Its members should be elected by the American Bar Association from an approved list of lawyers, and not by appointment of politicians by politicians.

I have been much interested in your published in Askelton, not mentioned on the streets of Gath series. I have cut many clippings and sent them north to friends. I think you are doing a lot of good and helping the South in the unequal fight. I hope that you also think that our Supreme Court should be made to confine itself to settling interstate quarrels and not be allowed to meddle in intrastate matters.

Montgomery. FRANK K. SCOTT.

◆

Laws Must Change

Editor, The Advertiser:

White and colored people have lived together in America ever since it became a sovereignty and both of them have shared the suffering and prosperity as well as the freedom of its laws. Likewise, both of them have shown unshaken faith and love toward each other through all of the events of time.

I know that we are going to meet the present transitory social disorder and solve it with calmness and dignity. The two races must never cease to exercise continued love and faith toward each other and be willing to share with each other the things God has provided for us all. Public freedom should be awarded every one equally, but social equality is not for laws to adjust; for God only can integrate life on earth.

Segregation has kept men apart in the past and has kept them from knowing each other and men who can't know and understand each other they likewise can't know God. Those who are inclined to hate the Negro are those who have never come close enough to him to know him. I do enjoy the fine letters that white friends write about us when they say they love us. I don't believe that there are really many white people who downright hate Negroes, but there are teeming thousands who yet don't know the Negro well enough to judge him.

Time has caught up with us. States like individuals must realize that times are not as they were 100 years ago and the laws that govern men then are inadequate to meet the needs of men today. The traffic, game, sporting, and almost every other law has had to change to meet the demands of time. Tradition as well as laws must take their share of adjustments. I am a Negro, but I heartily believe in states' rights, I also believe in human rights, and in all rights that are really right, but above all, I believe in individual and equal rights.

When justice is withheld for fear of mob violence, it will give the hooded monsters control of our governments and there will be no safety on earth. It may be the Negro today but will be the Jew or Chinaman tomorrow, and finally it will be blue-blooded white man. I have observed and found it to be true that whatever is practiced on Negroes will finally be practiced on the white. If the white people of America want to remain free they must free the Negro everywhere, both North and South.

REV. E. J. BRAXTON,
Pastor, New Style Methodist Church,
Wetumpka, Ala.

◆

So Fully Packed

Editor, The Advertiser:

All in all, I never read an edition of a newspaper which was more interesting to me than your Sunday, May 6, issue. Your editorials were good. The one on "The Negro Vote" contained the kind of information that will make people think.

Likewise Ingram's column, "Negro Vote Saved Folsom From Third Place," on Pg. 3-B contributed additional material for developing the same thought.

Certainly the dispatches from Paris on the "3 Wise Men;" from Minneapolis on the election of a Negro to the position of the highest lay-leadership in the (white) Methodist Church; the Denver dispatch on the conviction of John Gilbert Graham; the Dallas dispatch on Sen. Johnson's victory, the Montgomery AP story headed "Dark Shadow Falls On Folsom," and the "Domino Set" by Joe Azbell could not have more reader interest.

More than all else please let me commend you for the admirable crusading spirit and colorful appeal in your notable editorials and writings on the segregation issue.

The last election was the best and most decisive election ever held in Alabama. The results are due in part to the efforts of the White Citizens' Council but even this could not have accomplished the result except for the support of the press and the fine editorial leadership throughout the state. None contributed more to this than you.

J. BRUCE HENDERSON.

Prairie, Ala.

'Miss Lucy', Mrs Parks inspire democracy

Afro-American P. 11 Sat. 6-2-56

Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK — "The heroic fight of women of the South, as symbolized by Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster and Mrs. Rosa Parks inspire the fight of women for equality in this country."

With these words the National United Electrical Radio and Machine workers of America pledged itself to work for the common cause of all women, here, this week.

The fourth annual meeting of the conference was attended by 200 delegates, who signed a symbolic scroll and dispatched it to the Montgomery Improvement Association in Montgomery, Ala.

The conference addressed itself, in its two-day session, to discussing and drawing up a program on urgent problems facing working women in shops throughout the country, usch as, speedup, health hazards, need for political action.

IN A SPECIAL order of business the Conference heard a report from Mrs. Marie Reed Hoag of Cleveland in which she discussed the situation in the South and presented a huge scholl to the conference, addressed to the women of the South, which was signed by the women delegates attending the New York Conference.

"The heroic fight of the Negro women of the South — as symbolized by Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster inn her fight for equality and dignity in education and Mrs. Rosa Parks for equality of treatment and dignity in transportation has been a major contribution and a deep source of inspiration to the fight of women for equality in our country," the UE message stated.

"Their heroic and dignified fight in defense of democracy a equality of treatment deserves the praise, sympathy and support of women and men everywhere.

"We therefore pledge to work to make 1956 a year when our common cause for economic and political equality will be advanced."

Folsom Threatens Nullification Move

Post-Herald Wed. 5-23-56

Birm. Ala.

Blasts High Court Work Law Decision

MONTGOMERY, May 22 (U.P.) — Gov. James E. Folsom said today he may resort to the doctrine of nullification if the U. S. Supreme Court insists on "trying to cram force bills down our throats."

The governor's statement stemmed from a U. S. Supreme Court decision yesterday outlawing state "right to work" laws governing the railroad industry.

"If such force bills are pushed upon our state, then I will immediately call another special session of the Legislature and again recommend the ordinance of interposition or nullification," Folsom said.

Alabama passed a "right to work" law in 1953, but Folsom has said he is opposed to it in theory and would work for its repeal.

Under its provisions, a worker is not required to join a union unless he so desires. Eighteen states have such laws.

The Alabama Legislature already has passed a nullification resolution declaring null and void the high court's segregation decrees.

The resolution, authored by Rep. Charles McKay, who defeated Folsom in the May 1 Democratic primary for National Democratic Committeeman, became law without the governor's signature.

Folsom called the resolution "hogwash" and urged the Legislature to call a constitutional convention to enact nullification "legally."

"I recommended four constitutional conventions and I would like to point out that an ordinance could have accomplished legally in one of them," Folsom said. "I didn't veto the resolution of nullification. I just did not sign it because it was of no effect as a resolution."

He added "while I didn't sign the resolution, I did sign the only real segregation bill passed by the Legislature and that was the freedom of choice bill which is in no way a force bill."

POLICE INVESTIGATING

Advertiser 8/1

Autos Of White Minister, Negroes Splashed With Acid

Montgomery, Ala.

Aug. 12-11-56

Seven automobiles, including six owned by Negroes and one belonging to a white minister who is conducting "brotherhood" services for Negroes here, have been damaged by acid during the past week

The most recent incident occurred Sunday night when a foreign-make station wagon owned by the Rev. Ashton Jones of Atlanta, a white minister, was damaged slightly by acid.

The Rev. Jones, who represents the Brotherhood of the World Society, was showing a film at the home of a Negro pastor, the Rev. W. F. Alford, 623 Union, at the time of the incident.

The vehicle is decorated with the symbol of the organization, the hands of a Negro and white clasped firmly.

The Rev. Jones is staying at the home of the Rev. Robert Graetz during his services here. The Rev. Graetz, white minister of an all-Negro Lutheran Church, has been active in the bus boycott.

Five of the other six vehicles damaged were apparently struck by acid at the same time.

The five were parked at the intersection of Bullock and South Holt streets last Wednesday night while their owners attended a P-TA meeting.

Negro owners of the damaged cars included Otis Arrington, 3339 W. Tuskegee Circle; Edward Stephens, 3352 E. Tuskegee Circle; Richmond P. Smiley, 749 Holt; Henry J. Allen, 3323 Roundtree Drive and James E. Thornton, 2701 W. Edgemont.

Smiley, who owned a 1956 Dodge, said the acid apparently had been "shot out of some sort of gun."

"Whoever did it must have had a pressure gun of some sort as the acid was shot in a straight line from the rear to the front of my car, and right on down the line to the other cars," Smiley explained. "I don't know what sort of acid it was, but it ate the paint right off."

The one other case where an auto was damaged by the acid occurred Saturday night. The owner, Milton Franklin, Negro, 329 N. Ripley, said his car was parked in front of his home at the time.

Police Chief G. J. Ruppenthal said reports had been filed on all seven incidents and that an investigation is in progress.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. 2-B Sun 3-18-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

A Northerner's Tour Of Dixi

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — My name is Steve Stavis, Johns Road, Marblehead, Mass. For nearly two months I have been pursuing my trade as a salesman throughout the South.

When I say the South, I do not mean Miami or other noted resorts. I mean the South of the red earth farming areas, the Deep South of Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi. I have been to all of the big cities in each of these states. I have stayed for days at a time in each of the following cities: Montgomery, Tuscaloosa, Selma, Mobile and Dothan, Ala.; Dublin, Albany, Thomasville, Cairo and Blakely, Ga.; Hattiesburg, Vicksburg and Natchez, Miss.

I am writing this, sir, because the powers that allow me to think and see and feel have undergone a change and I do not wish to leave this gentle Southern earth in silence.

Before this trip the South was a stranger to me. It wasn't so much of a stranger, however, that from my home in the North I didn't know of its Klu Klux Klans, its Huey Long and its Bilbo, its Emmett Till case. It was never a complete stranger, though, for I read of its Negroes and how badly they were treated.

But I have come here now and I have seen. I wish it were possible for all thinking people in the nation to come and to see what I have seen.

They would know first of all that if the situation were reversed, that if the masses of Southern Negroes were in reality masses of Northern Negroes, the Negro, in his present Southern way of life would have less white friends and less help in the North than he now has in the South. If, on a morning not too long ago the people could have been with me, they would have seen a white farmer in Dublin, Ga., pick up the injured son of his Negro employe, and, while the father looked on, rush the boy to the hospital. During the incident, not one word was said between the farmer and the Negro father. It was as though what happened had happened before in many ways and many forms, and it would happen again and when it did the white man would again pick up the Negro boy and the boy's father would watch and there would not be a word said between them. This episode taking place in the South? No, it could not be, at least not in the South that was locked in my mind. But it did and it was as though I had wronged a man, a whole race of men in thinking what I did and I thought then that distance is not the proper atmosphere in which to pass judgment.

SHOW OF FORCE

The conflict in the South is not a conflict between the white man and the Negro in the South. It is a conflict arranged by a Northern Negro organization that now, having the power of the Sureme Court ruling behind it, is flexing its muscles and means to cram integration down the throats of the Southerners.

The NAACP is now having its day. It is acting not out of wisdom but out of an impending sense of power. If the motives of the NAACP were honest, they would know they cannot bring about integration by violence. They cannot quicken the process by defying 125 years of tradition. Their actions cannot be justified, for their actions mean violence and they must surely know that the people of the Deep South are in no mood to accept the Supreme Court ruling and have it enforced by a Northern Negro organization at one and the same time.

The thing the NAACP fears the most is that the nation may learn all too soon that the white people in the South are now and have for the last 10 years developing by peaceful means what the NAACP hopes to do by violence. The NAACP fears that if they do not force integration now they will be exposed for what they truly are, the betrayers of the very very thing they say they are fighting for.

I have come here now and I have seen.

I know that in the Deep South there are two ways of life, the white and the Negro. The history of the white South has such hallowed depth that its family ties are the strongest in the nation. The history of the Negro South is one of scant material possession, little or no education, but a people free of worry, of conventional standards. The two ways of life are integrating to an extent even at this moment. The reason for this is not noble. It is sheer necessity. The Negro population in vast sections of the Deep South overwhelm the white population, and yet in those areas, as it is all over the South, the whites carry 90% of the tax burden. Despite this, and the fact that over 80% of the people on relief in the Deep South are Negroes, I have not visited a county in the Deep South where the Negro schools are not models to behold.

SHARING THE RESPONSIBILITY

The white Southerner knows that if his earth is ever to realize economic prosperity, the Negro has got to absorb a far greater share of the financial responsibility. And here is the heart of the local problem. While more and more Negroes are responding to a better community life, the vast majority are still rebelling against changing their way of life.

It is very true that Southern Negroes as a whole have less of everything, including less need to worry. There are very few heart attacks in Negro communities, and I have come across no Negro psychiatrists. A vast number of Negroes look forward to their Saturday night and don't worry too much about Monday. If they're hungry or sick they know they'll be taken care of.

The material and social sickness of the Negro in the Deep South will improve only as quickly and to the degree that he wants it improved. But it is improving. The NAACP cannot hurry the process, and violence will destroy all the progress that has been made so far.

It is of extreme importance for we in the North to know that the white South is much more of a friend to the Southern Negro than we have been led to believe. It is also important for us to know that the NAACP is apparently interested first in its own strength and second in the destiny of the Southern Negro. The Supreme Court wisely did not set a time for integration. Is the NAACP wiser than the Supreme Court—or are there other motives?

STEVE STAVIS.

Marblehead, Mass.

Meany And The South

Advertiser
The Dallas Morning News

GEORGE MEANY, the boss of organized labor's millions, deplores groups in the South who have organized to keep segregation.

Montgomery, Ala.

"Economic boycott" and intimidation of Negroes are chosen instruments of the White Citizens' Councils' hate-mongering campaign," says an AFL-CIO executive council statement, adding: "Many acts of violence have come in the wake of this campaign." P. 4-A

Both hotheads and decent, sensible people are in the Citizens Councils—just as hotheads and the sensible are in labor's millions.

2-17-56

The "hate-mongering campaign" and "acts of violence" in the South are infinitesimal compared to the violence against body and property in the many strikes by labor to achieve its aims.

Meany says Southern groups are challenging the Supreme Court's segregation decision—in effect, challenging the law. But on the same day he erupted, 47 strikers were convicted of contempt of court in Columbus, Ohio, in connection with the Westinghouse strike. They had violated a court order limiting picketing.

The News does not condone lawlessness in any form. But in these days of sectional emotionalism, it would remind that many of those condemning the South in its trying period themselves have much to explain.

★ Tell It ★

Advertiser

To Old Grandma

Wed. 2-22-56

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P. 4-A

Adlai On The Race Issue

Montgomery, Ala.

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I read in this morning's paper that George Meany, AFL-CIO president, completely opposes our President's and Adlai Stevenson's views on gradual integration and the issuing of federal educational funds without the integration stipulation.

Well, I tell him here and now they speak with the greatest truth. I applaud them! Yes, integration will come but it *must* come gradually or this danger of civil war that they speak of will indeed become a horrible reality. The Southern people are not going to have integration rammed down their throats. If our uninformed Yankee countrymen will listen to their informed leaders who speak with the true consideration of all the American people at heart, and only then, will our country be truly united.

I urge all our Alabama friends to rally to the support of a man who is not afraid to state his honest beliefs—Adlai Stevenson. If a man is honest in his campaigning, there's a much better chance of his living up to his beliefs in office. Then when he is elected, let's make sure we have senators and representatives up there in Washington who will actively back him up and make sure he is kept fully aware of all our problems. Here, I think, is a man who will be genuinely concerned.

MRS. FRED B. PERRY JR.

Auburn, Ala.

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Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

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MRS. FRED B. PERRY JR.
Auburn, Ala.

Legislators Give Thought To Segregation, Spending

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. 2-16

Sun. 12-16-56

By REX THOMAS
Associated Press Staff Writer

Alabama legislators are devoting more and more thought to the approaching biennial session with promised emphasis on segregation and spending.

The Supreme Court decision outlawing bus segregation has added a new chapter to the continuing fight over racial barriers since the Legislature ended a special session early this year.

Several house and Senate members have started working on legislation to preserve the traditional separate seating of white and Negro passengers despite the court decree, but there is no agreed plan thus far.

Rep. N. S. Hare of Monroe County, for instance, has drafted a bill to give women passengers of either race the right to occupy an entire seat with the right to refuse to share it with another.

Hare says that could prevent racemixing to some degree. He also has something in mind to give bus companies authority — and protection under the state law — to regulate seating "in the interest of preventing violence."

JUDICIAL IMMUNITY

Other recommendations have been made. President Jack Owen of the Public Service Commission, for example, has suggested making bus drivers justices of the peace to give them authority to enforce their orders and with the hope of making them immune from prosecution as judicial officers.

Another proposal is to follow the patterns of railroads and authorize bus lines to sell first class tickets for seats in one part of a bus and unreserved fares for accommodations in another part.

Most of those suggestions, however, depend more or less on voluntary action by the bus companies. Whether they would risk damage suits of civil rights prosecution remains to be seen.

In another field, segregationists are still looking for a fool-proof way to keep public schools segregated. Two new laws are on the books — the Placement Act and the newly adopted "Freedom of Choice" amendment — but neither has been tested.

The placement law gives local school boards wide latitude in deciding where each individual child shall attend school. The "Freedom of Choice" act allows parents to say whether they want their children to attend segregated or integrated classes.

NO COLLEGE LAWS

No legislation has been passed to preserve the segregation pattern on the college level, and one Negro student, Autherine Lucy Foster, has already been admi: to the University of Alabama, although she has since been expelled.

Others may be admitted unless the legislature finds a way to prevent it, and no agreeable solution was found at the special session this year or the regular term in 1955.

Rep. Charles W. McKay of Talladega County has offered a bill to require prospective students to submit letters of recommendation from three former students of the college they seek to enter. Since no Negro has ever graduated from a state-supported white school in Alabama, the endorsements would have to come from white persons.

However, McKay said his measure probably wouldn't work without some modification. He held it in committee for future consideration.

TAXES, SPENDING

Taxes and spending also will come in for major attention when the Legirslature meets in May. Educators are already saying there won't be enough money this year to meet the full school appropriations, approved by the Legislature for the current biennium.

Several interim subcommittees are studying the state's revenue structure and will recommend some changes. But Gov. James E Folsom, whose administration has seen taxes increased 20 million dollars a year since he started his second term two years ago, has said he won't stand for any more.

Folsom's own spending policies probably will get a thorough going over from the legislators. He has been widely criticiaed for his liberal use of the executive mansion fund and recently announced plans to repay $5,180 which he spent for food "and other items."

Under present laws, the governor can spend $310,000 a year from three separate funds with virtually no restrictions as long as he says they are for public use. Several legislators have said they think some stricter limitation should be imposed.

Acid attack mars cars at Montgomery in racial incident

News Sun. 12-11-56

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec. 11 —(AP)—Acid splashing of 10 cars, all but one belonging to Negroes, is under investigation by Montgomery Police Chief G. J. Ruppenthal said yesterday.

The 10th vehicle, a combination car-trailer, belonged to a white minister from Atlanta here for a Negro-sponsored racial institute last week. The Rev. Ashton Jones said symbols of brotherhood on the vehicle were marred by acid attacks both Saturday and Sunday nights while the vehicle was parked in front of Negro meetings.

Five of the cars were parked in front of a Negro Parent-Teacher Assn. meeting last Wednesday night, three belonging to teachers at Alabama State College were parked by their residences on the Negro campus Sunday night and one was by a private residence Saturday night.

38a 1956

Los Angeles Times

★ MONDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 27, 1956

A Big Pin in the Kremlin Chart Room

Tell It To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

But That Was Different

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—During the reign of Earl Warren as governor of California, there occurred riots here in Hollywood that would make the Alabama gathering look like a stiff breeze compared to a full size hurricane.

Opposing studio unions battled with clubs and what have you, and for a long period of time.

Herb Sorrell, leader of the rioters, cheered on his cohorts from a low flying airplane equipped with loud speaker at the "Battle in front of Warner Brothers."

People were injured, property damaged and a major highway (in front of Warner Brothers) was unsafe for neutrals who were compelled to make a wide detour since this highway had the only bridge over the river and road through the hills for a couple of miles.

ALABAMA

Gov. Earl Warren did not intervene.

A newspaper said he had no authority to, under the law, unless requested by local officials.

Yet you will notice how *The Los Angeles Times'* cartoon points a finger at Alabama!

You might have the matter looked up as a comeback at this holier-than-thou stuff the doctrinaire press is shouting.

Hollywood, Calif. JOHN JONES.

'Brainwashing'—Ala. Style

The views expressed in this column do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of the Louisiana Weekly.

A recent study of Americans held prisoner and subjected to brainwashing by Chinese Reds divulged that many soldiers were easy prey to the lure of communism because they had no real knowledge of the meaning of democracy.

The tragic story of Milton and Minnie Lucy, parents of Autherine J. Lucy, is an example of the same kind of brainwashing—and possibly for many of the same reasons as those applied to American prisoners. Mr. and Mrs. Lucy are just as captive in their Selma, Ala., environment as any P.O.W. behind the barbed wire of a prison stockade.

The parents of Autherine Lucy, intimidated and uneasy, state that she had been taught to "stay her distance from white folks." They profess dismay that their daughter would become a central figure in an attempt to bring a semblance of democracy to Alabama. With downcast gaze they claim that Autherine "didn't get her new ideas from home."

And what else could they say? Most assuredly Autherine could not have gotten her "new ideas" from home—because her "home" was like home for so many Negroes in the South. It was a refuge from the sharp antagonism and ceaseless discriminations of a systematic hatred that forever kept Negroes in a subservient condition. It was a place where uncertainty, fear and frustration were inbred, generation after generation, until there could be no sense of belonging to a society as a whole.

Democracy as a social or political phiolosophy—as a way of life—was something that Mr. and Mrs. Lucy could never understand. The opportunities and the challenges of democracy had never been for them. Their fear would prevent their seeking them. Their browbeaten outlook on life would make it impossible for them to understand that a chance for a better future might be worth inconvenience and even danger. A search for hope would be incomprehensible in lives that have so long been without hope. Only their belief in God sustained them.

The cruel brainwashing of the South has been indeed effective. By the incessant drumming of an idea it has made even some Negroes believe that second-class citizenship is the inevitable order of things. By unyielding insistence that acceptance of inferiority is the price of a peaceful existence, the South has almost succeeded in depriving the Negro of even the will to resist. Almost—but not entirely!

The Negro of the South, and of the nation, today, has concluded that he will resist by every means at his command. He is determined that if democracy is good for the United States, it is good for him. He has decided that it can be no more painful, or degrading, to be kicked standing up than lying down.

Mr. and Mrs. Lucy lamented, "Before all of this came up, we had plenty of white friends that we could go to their house and knock on their door any hour of the night if we needed help." Maybe that's the tipoff! Maybe the Negro of today is not so much interested in knocking and asking for help as he is in having a door of his own and being able to help himself.

Brainwashing — Alabama style —has so far been a useful tool of prejudice. Alabama, with the rest of the South, has been careful to keep Negroes from securing any real understanding of democracy. Mr. and Mrs. Lucy responded in the only way they knew—by submission to what they believed to be the inevitable.

The sons and daughters of the Mr. and Mrs. Lucys throughout the South today do not regard the humiliation of segregation and discrimination as inevitable — and they have no inclination to submit.—(Kansas City Call.)

In answer to Boutwell—

Lamberth denies Folsom has slate, debate rages

By FRED TAYLOR, News staff writer

A bristling verbal exchange between two of Gov. James E. Folsom's legislative leaders and one of his sharpest critics over the "Folsom slate" today enlivened the May 1 Democratic primary races for public and party offices in Alabama.

Jefferson Sen. Albert Boutwell's assertion that Folsom has a "slate of candidates" but has not announced it publicly because it "would be obnoxious to the public," drew sharp retorts from Sens. Broughton Lamberth of Tallapoosa and E. L. Roberts of Etowah.

"I disagree with the senator from Jefferson," said Lamberth, Folsom's Senate floor leader. "Gov. Folsom does not have a slate."

BUT BOUTWELL said "the word is going out very quietly" at the courthouses rallies where Folsom has been making "report to the people" speeches, "because the people would resent the governor publicly attempting to put over a slate."

Sen. Roberts, assistant administration floor leader, said "I've never heard the governor mention a slate, nor have I heard any of his lieutenants mention it."

SEN. BOUTWELL, Birmingham attorney, said that the governor "heads the slate" in his race for Democratic national committeeman from Alabama, in which he is opposed by Talladega Rep. Charles McKay and Roy McCord, former legislator from Etowah.

Boutwell added that Jasper Judge Roy Mayhall, State Democratic Executive Committee chairman, is Folsom's pick over Supreme Court Justice Davis F. Stakely; that Justice James J. Mayfield is backed by the governor over State Sen. James Coleman for another place on the court; that Judge Rowan Bone, appointed by Folsom to the Court of Appeals, is supported by him over Montgomery Atty. Aubrey M. Cates Jr. and William Conway, Birmingham attorney, for the appellate court post.

SENS. LAMBERTH, Roberts, Boutwell and E. W. Skidmore of Tuscaloosa, who appeared on WAPI-WABT's "Legislative Report" program Sunday, were unanimous in expressing the belief that Gov. Folsom would call another special session of the Legislature after the present one is adjourned sine die April 5.

Folsom declared repeatedly from the stump last week he would summon the lawmakers back to Montgomery to consider his plan for a constitutional convention as the most effective way to solve Alabama's racial problems, if they refused to submit his proposal to the voters in the present session.

THE GOVERNOR said he wanted to be "relieved" of his oath to support the U. S. Constitution on the question of integration of races.

However, Boutwell said "the only way the governor could be relieved of his oath to support the U. S. Constitution would be for him to leave the United States."

Lamberth pointed out that "those men in the 1860s were relieved of their oath to support the U. S. Constitution."

"But this was done by seceding from the union and setting up a separate government," added the Tallapoosa senator. "I don't think we want to do that."

BOTH ROBERTS and Lamberth, who are candidate for alternate delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention, **said they would not answer questionnaires sent out to all candidates by the White Citizens Councils on the racial question.**

"Everybody's for segregation," said Lamberth. "No, I don't intend to answer the questionnaires."

Boutwell asked "If that's true, why did the governor let the student placement bill become law without his signature?"

Lamberth shot back: "Well, the Senate voted unanimously for it."

THE PANELISTS expressed doubt as to whether the Legislature would authorize a constitutional convention for any purpose, if Folsom calls a sixth special session.

"The Legislature hasn't been disposed to vote for a constitutional convention," said Sen. Skidmore, Tuscaloosa attorney, in pointing out that a convention proposal for reapportinment was turned down by the lawmakers in a former special session.

Wilcox Sen. Roland Cooper asserted on a discussion program over WAPI-WABT a week ago that Folsom was seeking a constitutional convention on the racial problem "merely as a roundabout way" of getting a convention to rewrite the state's basic law.

"I'M INCLINED to disagree with Sen. Cooper," said Skidmore. "I think Gov. Folsom is very frank about what he wants to do. In fact, I think that at times he is too frank."

Lamberth tore into Boutwell sacrastically over the constitutional convention proposal when the Jefferson senator said "I don't think the Legislature will call a constitutional convention, because it cannot be limited."

"But you could elect delegates pledged to consider only the racial question," interjected Sen. Roberts.

WHEN BOUTWELL said he did not think this plan would work, he was asked if Alabama had politicians who would not live up to their promises.

"We have some prime examples," Boutwell replied.

Then came Lamberth's sarcastic comment: "I don't think the senator from Jefferson wants to submit anything to the voters. He says 'now is not the time.' He doesn't think we have the 'right' governor."

"Well, a good governor would help," said Boutwell.

Lamberth and Roberts, cosponsors of the Flowers resolution to rescind the McKay interposition resolution, said they would seek to get it passed.

AS TO REPORTS that the Flowers resolution to rescind was intended to "nullify Charlie McKay's candidacy," Sen. Roberts chuckled and said: "If it passed, it certainly wouldn't help him."

Boutwell said reports indicated that Rep. McKay is running "far ahead" of Gov. Folsom for national committeeman.

But Roberts shot back: "That's not what I hear. You apparently haven't been in Northeast Alabama."

It was at this juncture that Sen. Lamberth expressed surprise that Rep. McKay was running for Democratic committeeman.

"CHARLIE McKAY'S daddy is a good friend of mine, and he's a Republican leader," said Lamberth. "I hope you're listening, Sam, and I'm surprised your son didn't follow your Republican leadership."

As to reports that Folsom would put a measure for repeal of the right-to-work law in his next special session call, Lamberth said "I doubt it."

Sen. Skidmore, who led the fight against passage of the right-to-work statute, said he believed that if it were put in the call it "would have a chance of passing."

SKIDMORE and Boutwell expressed strong support of the revised Lackey-Edwards bill, which passed the House 84 to 1 and is on the Senate calendar. Roberts said he probably would support it, but Lamberth said he would not. The amended measure calls for a long-range study of school finances by business men and legislators.

Sen. Roberts said "I'd like for the teachers of Alabama to know that this Legislature has been one of the most conscientious in helping the schools." He pointed to the $600 annual pay raise given teachers and the record $108 million school budget for 1955-56.

IN DENYING that Folsom has a "slate" of candidates in current races, Sen. Lamberth pointed out that Cullman's John E. Drinkard, who is running against Jack Owen for Public Service Commission president, "is a personal friend of Gov. Folsom."

"But Jack Owen and I served in the Marine Corps together and I won't follow such a slate as that," he said.

Billy Tucker, Birmingham insurance man and polio-stricken former Auburn football player, also is running for commission president.

Lamberth also pointed out that Judge Bone, Gadsden lawyer, had run against Roberts for state senator.

Gov. Folsom has said he has a "no slate, no hate, uninstructed and undecided" platform. And he **has emphasized his "report to the people" speeches are in no sense speeches in behalf of his candidacy for national committeeman.**

BOTH ROBERTS and Lamberth said they did not think the governor was "kidding anybody" and definitely is not using his "report" tour to campaign for himself.

Asked his opinion, Sen. Skidmore said "I don't think it will hurt him any."

Boutwell pointed out that Folsom had made other "reports to the people" by radio and TV, in asserting he considers the governor's tour a campaign tour.

"Now he has his Corn Grinders and is going over the state to make speeches," added Boutwell.

Mrs. Rosa Parks Urges Women Not to Lose Faith

Her Arrest in Montgomery Started Boycott

By ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON. — (ANP) — "Support the NAACP, live up to the ideals of Mary McLeod Bethume, stick close to Christianity, don't give up faith, and one day we will have the Democracy we are all hoping for."

This was the advice given by Mrs. Rosa Parks to the women attending the "New Crusade" conference sponsored by the National Council of Negro Women at the Statler hotel, Saturday.

Mrs. Parks, whose arrest in Montgomery, Ala., six months ago, set off the spark that lighted the flame for the bus boycott in that city, pledged to "continue in every way I can to make democracy a reality."

"Coming up in a segregated society does something to you, not only to the oppressed but also to the oppressor," said Mrs. Parks. "The sooner the myth of white supremacy is done away with the better off we will be. There is only one race—the human race—and we are all children of one God."

Mrs. Parks referred to the Supreme court decision on school segregation as a "second emancipation." But nothing will be done about it unless the people do something themselves on a community level.

This courageous woman felt that it was her responsibility to do something toward promoting equal justice in her community. She recalled having heard Mrs. Bethune speak, sometime back in the 40's. She remembered that this great leader advised her audience to prepare themselves for any opportunity which might arise, even if one never comes. It is better to do this than to have several opportunities present themselves and you are not prepared for them.

Perhaps it was this advice which inspired Mrs. Parks to attend workshops at the Highland Folk school in Tennessee to discuss desegregation. "This was my first experience of living in an integrated society," stated the speaker.

When she returned home she realized how complacent or contented the people were. She had learned that you must fight for your rights, that you cannot look to the other group to do it for you.

Anxious to do her part to promote better conditions for her people, Mrs. Parks joined the NAACP and worked in many civic groups. "The people of the community knew me," she said. "They knew that I was not a person to say very much. I was not an agitator or troublemaker."

That is why they became so excited, and even angry, when they heard of her arrest for refusing to stand up on a city bus and give her seat to a white passenger.

Southern Editor Refuse To Team Up With Negro Reporter

New York (ANP)—A southern newspaper editor has called off a proposed parallel North-South survey of racial discrimination in New York and Montgomery, Ala., because a Negro reporter was assigned to him for the suggested series.

Editor Grover C. Hall, Jr., of the Montgomery Advertiser, declined to team with Ted Poston of the New York Post.

Hall originally proposed that Post Reporter Murray Kempton or Editor James A. Wechsler be assigned to do the survey of racial conditions in New York.

Wechsler replied that both he and Kempton felt that Poston was the logical choice for the assignment, because of his wide experience and contacts with the city's colored population.

Wechsler suggested that Hall come north to do the series c New York with Poston, then the two return to Montgomery for a similar survey. Results of the surveys were to be published in paralleled columns in both newspapers.

Hall called off the plan saying: "My first proposal and your acceptance did not mesh . . . Your alternate proposal — my reliance on assistance of the well-known Negro reporter, Ted Poston—is obviously an inadequate arrangement for obtaining this particular story."

Notified that Hall was dropping the proposed survey, Wechsler said:

"I think we've said everything that needs to be said about Mr. Hall's refusal to work with a Negro newspaper man. I'm sorry we won't be seeing him."

Wechsler said he was sure Hall "would not expect me to abide by Montgomery's segregation system in handing out assignments on the Post."

The Post editor said it intends to go ahead with Poston's survey of racial disharmony in New York.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Constructive Analysis

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I've just finished reading the account of your speech before the Huckleberry Indians, published from wire reports in the *Dallas Morning News.*

Your constructive analysis of an all-important situation should help to clarify thought. I sincerely hope you'll be able to get this message to many, many more people.

REYNOLDS S. WORTHINGTON.
3647 Durango Dr., Dallas 20, Tex.

The Negro Press Is More Reliable

Editor, The Advertiser:

I was much interested to read in *U.S. News & World Report* your letter to James A. Wechsler, editor, the *New York Post*, in which you call for a more objective reporting by the Northern press of racial incidents in their own bailiwicks.

I have more respect for the responsible Negro press on these issues than I do for the Wechslers, etc. Of course there has been considerable criticism of Wechsler and his *Post* for other matters than the racial issue.

I was also interested to note in *U.S. News* that your letter addressed to Wechsler has drawn a retort from the edito rof *Minneapolis Star & Tribune* concerning our criticism of their lack of coverage of racial incidents in that city. This is doubly interesting to me because on Oct. 29, 1954, I had addressed a letter to the editor of that paper reading, in part, as follows:

"In the Oct. 23, 1954, issue of *The Pittsburgh Courier* it is noted that your publications, with others, will undertake to bring Southern white students and educators to your city to observe what is being done there with integrated schools.

"This of course is a commendable action, and in turn I feel that some action should be taken to bring some of your educators and students to Southern centers where they could attend some of the segregated schools, and then decide whether they feel that the South should willingly follow the actions of your city.

"As one who is much interested in this entire racial matter, and has pursued it over a number of years, I would greatly appreciate it if you would furnish me with a factual breakdown of the attendance in, say, two or three of your intermediate schools, and the same number of your high schools, i.e., the number each of white and colored pupils attending."

Although a stamped and addressed envelope was enclosed for convenience in replying I regret to advise that no such reply was made.

It is very good to find your newspaper interested in attempting to get our Northern friends to give us the facts, and stop trying to alibi or cover up the fact that they, too, have numerous racial incidents, although their Negro population is, generally, limited.

N. G. SHEROUSE.

Reddick, Fla.

◆

Delightful Treat

Editor, The Advertiser:

Your unloading on the Northern press was an appreciated and delightful treat as reported by the AP Saturday night. Let's hope all of Dixie appreciates what you stand for. If we could get every small-town country editor to publish your address it would change conditions in a week's time.

H. P. WILLIS,
4160 Glenwick Lane, Dallas 5, Tex.

◆

True And Logical

Editor, The Advertiser:

I think your speech on the "Failure of the American press to present a faithful, unsparing picture of American race disharmony from New York to Los Angeles" is the truest, most logical and creditable bit of wisdom which has been read on discrimination against the Negroes since anti-bellum das—and I am up two hours earlier out of a warm Sunday morning bed to tell you so. Now Sir, to make it more constructive, more helpful, more just to the much maligned Southern people on this all too much misrepresented attitude of the South towards colored citizens.

Our Southern states have been so impudently, so crudely misrepresented by the selfishly designing, to the ignorant masses, no John the Baptist could undo the damage already done. But Sir, I believe you have the talent, the eye to see and the will and boldness needed to tell the truth.

MARY S. LOCKHART.
7141 Ley Rd., Houston, Tex.

Post Office Workers Panicked

Mobile Postmaster Idles NAACP Head

MOBILE, Ala. — The Courier learned last week that the Post Office Department imposed a twenty-eight-day suspension against veteran postman John L. LeFlore, militant NAACP leader in the Deep South.

LeFlore, a thirty-five-year postal employe, was suspended as a results of charges filed against him by Mobile Postmaster Taylor Henry last September. The postmaster sought to have the NAACP official fired from the postal service. The suspension went into effect April 7.

Henry was accused by several postal union leaders of seeking LeFlore's dismissal from the post office service because of the latter's militant work in the civil rights field.

■

The Mobile postmaster filed the charges against LeFlore several weeks after the NAACP worker had submitted a school desegregation petition to the Mobile school board asking integration in local public schools.

The LeFlore case leaked out to the newspapers some time ago and the Post Office Department received numerous protests from throughout the country against what was described as the prejudiced attitude of Mobile post office officials toward the NAACP leader.

In what was believed to be an unprecendented move in a disciplinary matter, the lily-white state Republican party was said to have thrown its weight into the case against LeFlore. Alabama GOP Chairman Claude Vardaman of Birmingham was said to have written top postal officials in Washington demanding that the Mobile postmaster be upheld in his efforts to fire the NAACP executive secretary and state official.

The Mobile postal union, who feels it may not be safe to divulge their names, says there is a feeling of alarm among local post office workers that protection heretofore provided by Civil Service regulations has become almost non-existent since Henry's appointment about three years ago. He was appointed postmaster by President Eisenhower.

The union leaders explained that a postmaster has certain powers which may be regarded as almost arbitrary. It was further pointed out that such authority gives him the privilege of imposing his will for disciplinary action against an employe, and that a postmaster may contrive to drive from a job any postal worker who may incur his disfavor.

When inquiry was made with regard to petitioning the Post Office Department in Washington for relief from the conditions they describe as "deplorable" in the Mobile post office, these postal workers expressed disappointment with the action so far taken by high officials of the department to protect them from job discrimination, segregation and dismissal from employment.

Alabama Acts To Keep Park Segregation

Law Would Permit Private Ownership

Montgomery, Ala., April 17 (AP)—Governor James E. Folsom has signed a measure aimed at preserving separation of the races at parks and playgrounds in Alabama.

The new law will become effective only if a proposed amendment to the State Constitution is ratified by the voters in a special election August 28.

The amendment would authorize cities, counties, towns, and other subdivisions of the State to sell or give away parks, playgrounds, other recreational facilities, and public-housing projects.

While the measure makes no reference to the racial question, under its provisions a City could give a park to an individual or group and it would immediately become a private facility and not subject to the United States Supreme Court's desegregation decrees.

Mississippi and South Carolina have already enacted similar measures.

The only restriction in the Alabama proposal is that such transfers must first be approved by voters in the areas involved.

A newspaper's gold mine

Afro-American P.2

BY CLARENCE MITCHELL

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — If the elders who make policy in Alabama had any sense they would outlaw segregation just to get rid of the visitors who are here to write about what is going on or out of curiosity. 21-5-6

For a long time the American newspapers neglected the number one story of our time—the colored citizen's fight for rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. Baltimore, Md.

If two bums had a fist fight in an alley in Cairo or Calcutta, most of the leading journals would carry a story about it.

If the bums had the foresight to pretend that they were starting a people's movement to overthrow the government, the same papers would send a squad of well trained correspondents directly to the scene.

ONCE THEY arrive, the correspondents might spend most of their time in local bars and other hotter spots. They would also turn out some hair-raising stories.

Even after they got back home, these correspondents could make a tidy bit of extra spending change by writing about real and imagined customs in the lands they visited.

This puzzled me because it always seemed that there was much more dramatic and newsworthy material in Georgia, U.S.A. than in Georgia, USSR, or some other place with a hard-to-pronounce name.

* * *

AT LAST the newspapers have discovered the gold mine in Dixie. They are working it 24 hours a day.

Acting on the theory that there is no such thing as bad publicity, many local sheriffs and jail turnkeys are buying metropolitan dailies to see their names in print for the first time.

Some of them do not know how to read, but they do recognize the letters that spell their names.

At one time the crowd of visiting newsmen became so thick they were interviewing each other without knowing it. Flash bulb cameras go off so frequently local officials no longer blink and squint like less publicized humans.

OF COURSE there is a lot of grumbling about all these newspapermen cluttering up the place. There is also a tendency to get prettied up.

More businessmen now wear neckties and clean shirts. Housewives now take a second look in the mirror to see whether the lipstick is on straight.

More and more, the newsmen are becoming international. Canadians have been around for some time. Now the British have moved in too. Soon there will be a regular international set.

One local newspaper has been running a series on discrimination in the North. This has only alerted those papers that did not have correspondents in the area to send some down.

So far as I am concerned, I hope that the correspondents keep coming. There is nothing like publicity to make wrongdoers run for cover.

Bi-Racial Group To Be Appointed To Study Tension

Sun. 3-3-56

Montgomery, Ala. (ANP) — With a battle theme of "passive resistance," Montgomery's bus-boycotting Negroes vowed last weekend that they will see the protest "to the finish" despite the onset of legal resprisals.

Foot-sore from a city-wide "pilgrimage" of walking which began Friday and continued through Sunday, Negroes were told not to get weary of the hardships brought about by the 12-week old boycott of Montgomery city buses.

"No goal was ever attained without sacrifice," the Rev. Martin Luther King said from the pulpit Sunday.

Rev. King, 27, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association, which has backed the boycott, told members of his Baptist church that "even if the boycott ended now, the Negro in Montgomery has achieved a new dignity."

Shouts of "Amen" greeted the young minister when he declared: "We will not stop now, we will see it to a finish."

The 89 Negroes accused of fostering the boycott against Montgomery City Lines buses answered "not guilty" at arraignment proceedings last week in circuit court.

Judge Eugene Carter set the week of March 19 for trial of all cases.

Defense attorneys filed demurers contesting the indictments which charged violation of the Alabama law against "illegal" boycotting.

Fred D. Gray, young Montgomery Negro lawyer and minister, who is under indictment for unlawful practices because of a segregation suit he filed, was one of two lawyers on hand to represent the defendants. The other was Charles D. Langford, also of Montgomery.

Gray said at the close of hearing that all defendants would demur on "constitutional grounds."

Meanwhile, Gov. James E. Folsom's plan for a 25-member statewide bi-racial commission to study racial tension and settle disputes growing out of the U. S. Supreme Court's desegregation ruling will be presented to the legislature in an early special session.

This was decided after an advisory committee of Alabama editors and publishers approved the governor's proposal to create a commission with noted white and Negro leaders serving on it.

The commission would be composed of a white and Negro member from each of the nine congressional districts, and seven other members from the state-at-large.

Folsom said he would be willing to provide $25,000 from his emergency fund to help finance the commission's work. He told the advisory group that he would call another special session of the legislature probably for March 5.

An estimated 10,000 persons—half of whom stood outside First Baptist Church—attended a mass meeting last Thursday night to pray for "justice to prevail."

"We must use the weapon of love," the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., said. "We must have compassion and understanding for those who hate us. So many people have been taught to hate, taught from the cradle. They are not totally responsible."

In a prepared statement following the meeting, the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy declared: "We have walked for 11 weeks in the cold and rain. Now the weather is warming up. Therefore, we will walk on until some better proposals are forthcomng from our city fathers . . . the protest is still on and approximately 50,000 Negroes have stated that they will continue to walk."

'The Rumors Were Lies'

Advertiser

The following Associated Press story was printed Sunday, but it seems advisable to reprint it here to emphasize the peril of rumor. We in Montgomery need to grasp the significance of this Bessemer story in order to shieuld ourselves. Wed. 2-22-55

Such rumor-mongering is a form of cannibalism, as you see. P. 4-A

You can't stop fools and irresponsible people from starting rumors. But you can render them harmless by refusing to believe them.

Mark well that the Bessemer rumor like many in Montgomery recently *turned out to be false and baseless*

Mark it well: Montgomery, Ala.

BESSEMER, Ala., Feb. 18 (AP)—Only the usual small sounds of night broke the calm when midnight struck Bessemer. And for that many people were grateful.

Because for five days this suburban industrial city of 30,000 had been in the grip of frenzied, unfounded rumors of an impending racial clash. The rumors said Friday was to be The Day.

The first stories began circulating Monday. They were that Negroes were planning a "push day" for the purpose of creating incidents.

Then rumors circulated that Negroes would attempt to take over buses in the downtown area when the stores closed last night. Hardware and sporting good stores reported heavy sales of guns and ammunition, mostly to white persons.

Beginning yesterday morning, police headquarters, newspapers and radio stations were bombarded with thousands of telephone calls.

"Has there been a race riot? Is there going to be one? Is it safe to go down town? Should I keep my children from school?" were some of the questions asked.

Officers couldn't ignore the wild reports any longer.

Police Chief C. T. Mullins made preparations to have his entire force available for any emergency.

Sheriff Holt A. McDowell alerted his staff and sent 12 deputies to Bessemer at noon, where they remained on duty until late last night. Commanders of Birmingham and Bessemer National Guard units were notified informally they might be called.

Heavily armed officers cruised the streets in police cars, with three or four men to the car instead of the usual one or two.

They stood by when Bessemer High School dismissed classes at 3 p.m. because it was said "something" was going to happen them. Nothing did.

Many people stayed away from the downtown area.

Merchants said business was at the lowest ebb for a Friday that they could remember—except at the stores handling firearms and ammunition.

By 8 p.m. there were less than half the persons normally downtown on a Friday night, when stores stay open late.

Only a few men were visible on the streets at 9 p.m. Women and children were not to be seen.

Midnight came and proved the rumors were lies.

Police were at a loss to explain how the stories started, and whether they were circulated maliciously.

No matter how the rumors began and then spread like fire through dry grass, they were dangerous.

Even an imagined offense might cause taut nerves to snap in a city ruled by fear of the unknown.

38a 1956

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Fri. 2-24-56 P.4-A

In Defense Of Southern Newspapers

Montgomery, Ala.

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Will you allow me to answer a reprint from *Time* magazine that appeared in your paper Feb. 18?

Editor, Time Magazine:

I have read Southern newspapers for 40 years. I also sold them on the streets when I was a boy. I have been in the leading cities of nine Southern states and have had short periods of residence ranging from three months to a few years. I have been a subscriber to more than 50 papers in that time. These same newspapers are as important to me as my kitchen stove. If the stove doesn't work I eat at a cafe; but if my local press stops, where am I?

I am forced to read week-old news out of New York magazines with some crack-head opinions. The past three years *The Montgomery Advertiser* has been under my door every day, the *Thomasville Times* in my mailbox every Friday, and I get seconds on the Union *Springs Herald*, and the news is not slanted.

Frederick Sullens' paper was in my home for eight years. Why don't you go to Jackson, Miss., and, as you say, tell old (78) Fred how to take the slant out of *The Jackson Daily News*. When you do, be sure that you have your shoes off, you will need a fast get-away.

LEO B. YELVERTON.

Montgomery.

◆

Who Is 'Reverend'?

Editor, The Advertiser:

The term "reverend" is used one time in the Bible. In Psalm III:9, "Holy and reverend is his (God's) name." Here as anyone can see it is applied to God, never to man. But today "reverend" is probably the most common title used in referring to the preacher. Some add to this the "most reverend" or the "right reverend."

Had the Lord intended that preachers be called "reverend," we would have had an example of such being done. But it is not used as a title for man. There is no mention in the Bible of a "Reverend Paul," "Right Reverend James," or "Right Reverend Peter." They looked upon themselves as weak creatures, needing God's help. Paul described himself simply as "a servant," or a bond servant."

If piety would entitle the preacher to the name "reverend," then each member of the congregation would deserve it on the same grounds. If not, why not? Did you ever read where Christ's apostles, evangelists or any other Christians of the First Century ever wore the title? I believe the answer is No.

As the Bible shows "Holy and Reverend" is God's name and his only. But look around us, whether we like it or not we have some men who are called preachers or reverend, and they are far from being such. People (church members also) call the preacher "reverend" without thinking about it. We may not mean to or realize we are doing it, but we are putting them on a plane with God.

CARL BEAUMANN.

Montgomery.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P.4-A

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Montgomery, Ala.

Discrimination Is National, But Why?

Fri. 4-13-56

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I would like to congratulate you on your excellent "Askelon" articles. You have brought out a most significant point in these articles, namely, that "wherever the Negro migrates in numbers, he encounters rejection."

You have made this point clear and irrefutable. Now is the time for a really analytical answer to the most important question: Why is this so?

Most people in the North and perhaps some in the South do not completely understand this, even though they may be sympathetic toward segregation. The Negro, himself, probably does not understand.

An enlightening article on this question, handled with the dignity and objectivity of which you are capable, might help the growth of understanding between North and South, colored and white.

ALICE C. LAMAR.

Fort Deposit, Ala.

◆

Tell It Not In Washington

Editor, The Advertiser:

The integration situation here in the District of Columbia is rapidly deteriorating. Friction between white and Negro students is serious and is increasing, but seldom makes the newspapers. Negro juveniles and even the older people are wilfully inviting trouble, since they believe the government is on their side. One of these days real trouble will happen; trouble that can't be handled by local police.

As an indication, the riot at Fort Dupont Park was entirely Negro. While the enclosed editorial of *The Washington Star* does not say so, the previous day's edition stated flatly that some 2,500 Negro juveniles and even older people started the riot.

The other large paper in Washington, *The Post & Times Herald*, carried the report but played down the participation of the Negroes. This paper has a specific policy not to designate a criminal or other malefactor's race in their columns.

Two days later, on April 6, the *Star* reported a near riot at the Zoo. Again this was provoked entirely by Negro juveniles.

Crime in the District of Columbia is not classified by race in any public records, but it is certain that a very large percentage (some say as much as 90%) can be attributed directly to Negroes. Conditions are similar in nearby Maryland, but are distinctly better across the river in Virginia, because race conditions, for the present at least, are well in hand.

It is my firm belief that the recent Negro juvenile riots, assaults, arson attempts, and many other crimes are a direct result of forced integration *in* the District schools. Further, there is the trouble of backward students. One of the District commissioners recently proposed mass demotion of students in certain areas in order to adjust their abilities to others. In plain English his proposal was to demote Negro students pholesale to lower grades because they were holding back the brighter white students.

I wish you well in your efforts to expose the truth about segregation in Northern cities and towns. Washington, Baltimore, New York, Chicago, Detroit, and many other places have conditions which the "liberals" refuse to recognize. I believe every honest citizen of these Northern cities should do as I have done: send you verified data on the many racial incidents occurring in their areas.

S. BYRD.

Arlington, Va.

He Couldn't Face the Issue

Kansas City, Mo.

The issue of segregation is causing many strange things to happen. While some people of the South reacted to the U. S. Supreme Court decision with violent outbreaks and open defiance, others, with inner conflicts, brooded silently over the dilemma in which they found themselves.

Call P.20 Fri. 4-13-56

Apparently, Alabama's Supreme Court Justice James J. Mayfield was among the latter. Wrestling over the problem of segregation was too much for him. He couldn't take any longer the terrific pull on his conscience, so he ended his life as the only way to achieve peace of mind.

Duty-bound as a jurist to follow the United States Supreme Court and the law, Justice Mayfield was said to have been a segregationist at heart. He could not reconcile his personal convictions with his judicial obligations. A judge is expected to be objective at all times. Disregarding personal feeling, he weighs the facts and applies the law.

Mayfield found himself unable to be objective when it came to the issue of segregation and the rights of Negroes.

Psychiatrists say that people commit suicide when they can no longer face the realities of life. Some say that suicide is a sign of weakness, of cowardice.

With such weak men as Mayfield sitting in high places in the South, it is no wonder that Negroes lose cases in southern courts. Thank God for the United States Supreme Court which can reverse the decisions made by courts manned by unstable men like Mayfield.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser p. 4-A

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Montgomery, Ala.

Now, Really

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — As an ex-Chicagoan, I have been reading your Gath-Askelon series with some sense of agreement with your findings—and quite a bit of annoyance. Having made your point, and having supported it with some telling examples, you go on to belabor this point with far-fetched examples that weaken your case.

Thurs. 4-12-56

For instance, a juvenile bomb threat to the president of a small college. In burying that story on a back page, was *The New York Times* really engaging in conspiracy of silence, or was it exercising a professional sense of news values? Now really!

I was also annoyed by your Sunday story on the visiting students from the University of Wisconsin. It took a bit of reading between the lines, but I got the impression that mixed dating and intermarriage occur so rarely in Madison that these youngsters had hardly given the matter any thought at all until your reporter got hold of them. Then, like a bulldogging prosecuting attorney, he brought sharply back into line anyone who dared stray from the subject.

Now what is your attitude about all this? As long as we are ripping Biblical quotations out of context and tossing them around, may I say that I "could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping . . ." (*Ezra 3:13*)?

Montgomery. DAVID S. SAVLER.

◆

Irrelevant

Editor, The Advertiser:

As a native of Alabama and a former student at the University of Wisconsin, I was interested in Mr. Azbell's article on the editorial page April 4.

The only comment it deserves is that it is entirely irrelevant. The campus is integrated and no one concerned has had any of his rights trampled on, as they would have if segregation existed there. Therefore, no one is unhappy about the situation there.

Your question on the Milwaukee mayor's race is confusing since it implies a situation which simply did not exist. Read your own AP service for the outcome of this race which ended last Tuesday.

In closing I wish to say that if we in Alabama were half as concerned with education as we are with segregation, we too might have a university as great as that of which Wisconsin is justly proud. JAMES B. HARRIS.

2165 14th Ave., S., Birmingham, Ala.

◆

In Praise Of Policewomen

Editor, The Advertiser:

Orchids to our policewomen! It has been my opportunity frequently during this school year to observe several of them in action, especially at Highland Avenue school where Mrs. R. F. Charles is on duty.

Along with the youngsters in the safety patrol, they are doing a necessary job efficiently and courteously. And I might add, how attractive they look in their well-designed tailored uniforms.

MRS. JOHN R. MOFFIT.

Montgomery.

At Whom Shall Stones Be Cast?

News (Anniston Star) p. 29

There are many who deplore such unfortunate incidents as the attacks on a University of Alabama student in a colored neighborhood of Tuscaloosa, then on Nat Cole, the Negro singer, in Birmingham, and the more recent bombing of a Negro's home there.

Birmingham, Ala.

Some would throw stones at the assailants because they offended community respectability. There is, in fact, no good reason why, white or colored, persons given to violence should have done something which brought them dishonor.

The social scientists remind us that those who resort to physical violence often do so because self-expression by means of effective verbal argument is beyond their mental capacity.

The politician, skilled in party vernacular, and with a ready tongue, casts verbal "stones" at his opponent, but it is considered undignified should he in disregard of the rules of political sportsmanship resort to assault.

Sun. 5-6-56

The man who has neither words at his command, nor logic to point to the force of argument, nor the social contacts to indicate a way of propriety, is left helpless and at the mercy of physical strength alone. He can but make drama by tragedy and entertainment by animal mimicry.

The man without the weapons of language and social discipline is but little removed from the man who has these cultivated arts but who uses his weapons of culture to defeat truth and to encourage disregard for law and order.

Men in high social and political position have used the language of passion to capitalize on prejudices of the untutored.

And this at a time when both in the nation and in foreign relations, the wisest of men seek to restore law and order, which law and order in the democratic state allows for minority representation both respect and a hearing.

For the democratic concept does not claim to be a revelation let down from heaven, but a formula by means of which principles may be tested independently of self-appointed priests who might be authoritarian and arbitrary in their pronouncements.

There can be—and likely will be—a conflict of loyalties where party loyalty makes demands and conscience-loyalties are equally insistent.

The crusader is not without honor in a democratic society; but he must work within the limitations of law and order. And some of the public speeches of our political leadership have voiced less respect for law and order than a disposition to promote anarchy.

With whatever justice the crusader pleads his cause, the excesses of his claims should be smoothed out by politicians and made practical when written into legislation.

It is of the essence of democracy to civilize the power instinct, to use means for controlling dangerous people, and to create conditions which will make anarchy intolerable.

It is not a qualification of leadership to enlarge the ego by appealing to prejudice for support. Neither should anarchy be the stock in trade of a leader who would dramatize himself as a hero. Some Alabama politicians seem to have sought the heroic role by this cheap technique of self-advertisement. Those who resorted to violence in Tuscaloosa and Birmingham were but imitators who thought themselves heroic by their disregard of law and order.

They may deserve punishment as they already suffer from ignominy and disgrace. But just who should throw the first stone at them may give us uncertain answer.

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Approach To Racial Problem

News

I don't pretend to know the answers to all the problems of racial segregation, and the struggle for integration. But one thing is very plain—we aren't going about it like the Saviour went about solving problems presented Him in that day.

Sun 2-5-56

We all know He told us, "He that exalteth himself, shall be abased." Likewise, "He that humbleth himself, shall be exalted." "Humble yourselves therefore, under the mighty hand of God, and He shall exalt thee—in due time."

P. 18-A

Are we—either race—doing this? I notice Negro pastors are allowing NAACP meetings in the churches. No doubt some of the whites are using the church to fight desegregation from their pulpits. We aren't enemies of any race—at least we should not be.

Birmingham Ala.

The Negro is here through no fault of his own. We are morally responsible for him—or have been, because all he has learned, be it good or evil, he has learned from us. To our eternal shame, some of the things he has learned have not been, to put it mildly, in good taste.

I believe every thinking person of each race realizes it isn't best, at least just now, to force desegregation. Indeed it is never good to strive in heated passion for our own way.

I would like to see the two races on good terms. We cannot, however, accept the Supreme Court ruling without losing all semblance of states' rights.

I very much fear the Negro has more to lose in the struggle at this time than he stands to gain. I fear it is a shining bubble that will burst as he reaches to grasp it. (MRS.) CLARA MILLER,

Box 3, Boaz, Ala.

Second Negro Home Bombed in Bias Row

World-Telegram & Sun P. 17

Thurs. 2-2-56

By The United Press.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 2.—A bomb exploded last night on the front lawn of a Negro railroad porter who has been active in his race's two-month boycott of city buses over segregated seating policies.

Police said the bomb damaged a fence and blew a six-inch hole in the lawn at the home of E. D. Nixon, a former president of the National Assn. for the advancement of Colored People.

New York, N. Y.

Mr. Nixon, a Pullman car porter, was not at home when the explosion occurred about 10:45 p.m.

It was the second such incident in 48 hours. The home of the chief spokesman for the boycotting group, the Rev. M. L. King, was blasted by a dynamite charge Monday night. No one was injured.

The latest bombing occurred a few hours after a group of Negro women filed suit in United States District Court seeking to have state and city bus segregation laws thrown out as unconstitutional.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. 4-F

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Montgomery, Ala.

Put The Finger On The I Birds

EDITOR THE ADVERTISER—The newspapers have given very little information about the several candidates for state office.

Few people know who have had Big Jim's blessings. If the papers don't publish a list of the candidates and who is backing them, we might have a repetition of two years ago.

Sat. 4-28-56

W. A. GULLEDGE.
Verbena, Ala.

¶ *See Sunday's Advertiser.—Ed.*

◆

Courageous Commissioners

Editor, The Advertiser:

I deeply appreciate the fine manner in which Mayor Gayle and his associate city commissioners are handling the Montgomery bus segregation matter. I am proud to know that there are at least some city officials in Alabama who have courage enough to stand up for our Southern customs and way of life.

If elected as a delegate to the Democratic convention from the state at large I will lend my best efforts toward nominating a presidential and vice-presidential candidate who will stand for the right things of life just as your fine city officials have done here of late.

M. J. WILLIAMS JR.
1928 Quintard Ave., Anniston, Ala.

◆

Charge!

Editor, The Advertiser:

I just read your very interesting speech. Pour it on them!

H. A. HARRISON.
Dallas, Texas.

◆

Best Yet

Editor, The Advertiser:

The quotations as carried in *The Shreveport Times* from your speech made before the New York Athletic Club group was the finest statements on the true Southern position that I have ever seen.

J. S. CHAPMAN.
P. O. Box 4283, Shreveport, La.

◆

Memories Of The Enlightened North

Editor, The Advertiser:

I read an account of your New York speech in the *Pensacola Journal*.

I am a Northerner, a native of New York, and after having grown up and gone to school there and in other states where they have desegregation, I want to go on record as being 100% for segregation.

I agree with you about the treatment of the Negro in the North. Any Negro is better off in the South.

When I was in grammar school in New Jersey a Negro boy won a scholarship which no one had exected to be given a Negro. Did he get it? No, sir. He didn't. The reason: The school did not admit his race.

I have never seen a Negro wedding announcement in a paper and I have never had a Negro school teacher.

The NAACP never tells these people that.

MRS. CATHERINE L. RIGGS.
Rt. 7, Box 910, Pensacola, Fla.

◆

Congratulations

Editor, The Advertiser:

As a Southerner, living in this part of the country, both my husband and I have been interested and disturbed in reading the bad publicity given the South in the past several months.

We would like to congratulate you on your handling of the critical issue, and the success you have had so far in your manner of reporting the true facts on both the North and South's problems.

MRS. LEONARD H. CONRAD.
642 S. 12th St., New Hyde Park, N.Y.

◆

Fine Spirit

Editor, The Advertiser:

Having spent the last two weeks in your city, I read with great inteset your series of articles on "Publish It Not In Askelon." You are to be commended for the fine spirit in which these controversial articles were presented. Accept the appreciation of a Southerner in the "Gateway to the South."

If these are printed in brochure or booklet I would appreciate receiving a copy. For this fine work you need to be nominated for the Pulitzer Prize. My prayer, sincerely, is that a spirit of Christian love and sympathetic understanding will help the fine citizenry of Montgomery to settle such a matter.

H. M. JOHNSON JR.
[Pastor, East Audubon Baptist Church.]
Louisville, Ky.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Sun. 5-6-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

The Seamy Side Of Army Integration

P. 4-F

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Since the furor caused by A. Lucy's admission and subsequent expulsion from the University of Alabama and the Montgomery bus boycott, I have seen many references to the "peaceful" integration of the Army which was supposedly achieved several years ago. After having spent almost two years in the army, it is evident to me that Army integration is more theoretical than real.

Of course a personnel office cannot refuse to accept a man solely because he is a Negro, but after the preliminary interview, some excuse can be found to prevent his being assigned to certain units. In addition to the units which have *no* Negroes, the majority of those remaining unofficially keep the percentage of Negroes assigned to their units very low.

There is very little social intercourse between Negroes and whites—even in those units with relatively large Negro populations. For example, in mess halls Negroes usually eat at certain tables and very seldom does one see a "mixed" table.

The white-Negro off-duty relationship is not so rosy as pictured either. Fist fights and brawls between whites and Negroes in on-post clubs as well as in off-post civilian establishments are very common. Only recently a race riot occurred near here in Augsburg. Fifteen or twenty Negroes converged on a German *gasthaus* (cafe-saloon) which is frequented primarily by white soldiers, and tried to run the whites off. The police had to be called to quell the riot. These occurrences are not uncommon.

I have heard many professional soldiers say that the Army has been "in a mess" since integration took place. Granted that this judgment may be a bit rash and superficial, it nevertheless reflects the attitude of the majority of men now on active duty. And all of these men are not from Alabama or Georgia or even Mississippi.

WADE H. HALL.
Heidelberg, Germany.

◆

The Flowers Were There

Editor, The Advertiser:

In reference to your editorial regarding the fact that no flowers showed in the picture of the bugler blowing taps at the Confederate Memorial Day Service:

As the wind was blowing the flowers off the heardstones, we were forced to place them on the graves in front of the stones. The picture was taken from the back of the stones and the flowers were hidden from view.

The school children sent us an unusually large number of flowers and the Boy Scouts placed them on each of the 900 graves. Every flower or wreath sent by the school children was placed on a grave or Confederate monument.

We thank everyone who helped and assure you that your flowers were used and appreciated.

THE LADIES MEMORIAL ASSN.
MRS. PICKETT C. SMITH, President.
Montgomery.

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Advertiser Sun. 4-15-56

Legislative Fiasco

The Lee County Bulletin

Montgomery, Ala.

The fifth special session of the current legislature died on the vine last week, and there's no mourning in Alabama. It was useless and wasteful. The only distinction the session can claim is the national publicity it gained by the Senate's passage of a resolution asking for federal funds to move Alabama colored people up North. P. 2-F

This legislature has been almost a complete bust. It spoke in indignant ad fearful tones about the dangers of integration but it steadfastly refused to take the only step available to it to preserve voluntary segregation in the public schools. The U.S. Supreme Court has said what the law is on this score. That will not be changed. If Alabama is to preserve the present pattern longer than a year or two it must do so with the consent of the colored parents whose children are in public schools. It seems generally to be agreed that these parents prefer to send their children to all-Negro schools, if those schools are modern and adequate in every way. Then, why did the legislature not provide funds for a large scale school building program?

◆

Era Of Extravagance

The LaFayette Sun

The state legislature has just adjourned and there is rejoicing in Alabama.

For the past year and three months—since Jim Folsom took office on that Black Monday — there have been one regular and five special sessions of the legislature. The cost has been nearly two million dollars. Folsom is respon-

sible for all five special sessions since only the governor can call such sessions.

What has been accomplished? What have the taxpayers to show for this reckless spending spree? Absolutely nothing. The school situation is as bad as ever. Reapportionment is just like it always was, with a constitutional amendment submitted by that body that will be promptly killed at the polls next fall. This asinine proposal would add so many new senators and representatives to our legislative body that a much enlarged capitol building would be necessary to hold them. Hundreds of thousands of dollars would be milked from the taxpayers to support such a monstrous, unwieldly body. On top of all this the legislature would be even further from real reapportionment than it is at the present time.

After this reckless disregard for tax money, we predict that the voters will be in a mood to reduce rather than increase the legislature come voting time on this proposition.

◆

Unique Compliment

The Sylacauga News

The Montgomery Advertiser was the recipient of a very unique compliment during the closing hours of the state legislature when that body awarded the newspaper an official commendation for "putting the spotlight on the Yanks." It was a commendation well deserved. *The Advertiser* (Old Grandma to the newspaper profession) and the *Alabama Journal*, were the last lines of defense in the efforts of Northern interests to intergrate the South and they were the first lines of offense in changing defeat into victory by so spotlighting segregation in the Northern states that the accuser practically overnight became the accused. It was masterful reporting and *The Advertiser's* "Tell it not in Gath, Publish it not in the streets of Askelon," was the "they shall not pass" of the recent attempt by the NAACP to integrate the races in the South, and should be broadcast throughout the Southern states—and the nation.

It is even admitted today in the higher echelon of Negro leadership that the NAACP has done their race immeasurable harm in its ill-omened, abortive attempt to force upon a people a social condition for which they were unready and unprepared. The biggest mistake made by the NAACP, however, and the princial thing that caused their house of cards to fall upon their own heads was in using the Northern states as examples of integration and integration support. Such papers as *The Advertiser* and *Journal* counter-charged and proved that in these areas segregation was practiced more generally and more rigidly enforced than in any section south of the Mason-Dixon line.

Probably the most glaring example of all was in the great state of Michigan, whose governor, Soapy Williams, would not speak in Alabama because of our state segregation laws.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. 2-5

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Jun. 4-15-56

Forsaken In West Virginia

Montgomery, Ala.

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I have been following the segregation issue through your wonderful paper and I must say that it is very commendable of the staff and the fine people of Alabama to fight for the rights of the people.

We here in West Virginia are victims of a strong political party who would sell their souls to stay in power. Many of our citizens still want to keep the races separate and have expressed through letters to the *Charleston Gazette* and the *Charleston Daily Mail* but this has been taken lightly by all, politicians who hold office and those who are seeking office.

The people of the South are very fortunate to have members of Congress who will fight to uphold the Constitution and the rights of the people. May I say, that the fight has just begun and as time goes on people from every part of these United States will begin to fight along with you.

I wish you all the best of luck in your terrific fight for States Rights.

Charleston, W.Va. J. O. JAMES.

◆

Integration Will Destroy Us

Editor, The Advertiser:

I am a mother, registered nurse, P-TA and Girl Scout enthusiast. I represent hundreds of others in the South like me. I have lived in the South all my life and want people to know I do not hate Negroes. I have great pity for them, for with all the education and opportunities they have, they continue (as a whole) to be superstitious, undependable and morally stagnant.

After all these years of teaching, they still have to be forced to take immunization and treatment of diseases.

Yet they want our children to have social contact with such conditions. How can so many politicians favor integration, when they know integration will destroy our civilization?

Montgomery. MRS. M. L. B.

◆

May The South Endure

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have been reading in *The Chicago Daily News*, Mrs. Bert Collier's articles on segregation. I must say the *Daily News* is the only newspaper in this section that is willing to give the South a helping hand in their troubles. You may rest assured that the South is not the only place where whites wish segregation would continue. I am enclosing a clipping of April 2. People everywhere are tired of being mixed with Negroes. Kimball Glass here hired two Negro women to work among white women. The white women refused to work with them. Here they don't try moving in white sections because this city is predominently Italian and they fear Italian temper.

I was born in Massachusetts, went South at 16. I am 59, spent nearly all of my life in Atmore, Ala. raising four children there. The Southern people are the best people in the world. They took me to their hearts when I was a homeless boy and gave me love and friendship. They taught me the way to happiness, the love of God and country.

I intend soon to go back home to Atmore, and feel real freedom again. I pray to God that the South will always remain as it is.

1239 Emerald Ave. JOHN A. KING.
Chicago Heights, Ill.

Ike Democrats And Integration

News P. 22-A

Just a reminder of our last Democratic National Convention. Due to the proposal of various civil rights issues for the presidential candidate's platform, many of our so-called foresighted Southern delegates walked out of the convention in protest. After the convention, many of these Democratic delegates returned home and supported the Republican candidate for president. Consequently, the Solid South was not so solid any more and many Southerners joined the "I Like Ike" bandwagon.

There became a vacancy as chief justice of the Supreme Court during the early part of the present Republican administration and the vacancy was filled by Earl Warren, one of the greatest politicians the West Coast has ever known. Chief Justice Warren took his great political aptitudes to the Supreme Court with him and used his office and his political aptitude for strengthening the Republican Party potential. The Negro vote has become predominantly Republican due to Supreme Court rulings favoring integration of Negro and white. History will prove that Eleanor Roosevelt's Democratic vote-winning good will tours among the Negro population of the United States will prove to be a molehill compared to the mountain of votes that the Supreme Court rulings, during the present Republican administration have won from the Negro for the Republican Party.

Birmingham, Ala.

The old technique of "divide and conquer" has been applied to the Democratic Party and is currently being perpetuated by many Communistic agitators and organizations who receive a major portion of their funds for operation from the same sources that make the largest contribution to the various Republican campaign funds. It is ironical that the individuals and corporations who contribute to these alien agitators and organizations have nothing in common with one another. One is merely the tool of the other. Which?

The time has come for Southern "I Like Ike" Democrats, including our good friends in Tennessee, Texas and Florida to revaluate their political beliefs. After revaluation they find that they are still Eisenhower Democrats, let them shut up their howling about integration. If they decide that they are no longer Eisenhower Democrats, then let's join together again and fight and win the battle against integration as we have won many battles before. CHARLES B. SMITH,
404 10th Avenue, Fairfield, Ala.

Courts Of South Should Decide Issue

The Federal Constitution guarantees every man's right to life, liberty and possession of property. Yet the Constitution has no authority to enforce either law but leave to the various states to pass such police regulations as will best serve each individual state. The protection of the rights and privileges of individual citizens are retained by the several states.

Under Alabama right of interposition as stated by our Legislature we should recognize exactly what the Supreme Court is attempting to do, reverse all previous decisions of the court. They tell us that integration is acceptable in New York and other states. So regardless of the situation in the South we must accept the ways of New York. In New York you can go into a saloon and order a highball, gin fizz or what have you? In Alabama you go into a state store, buy your half pint and sneak off and drink it. Why doesn't the Supreme Court tell us that a citizen of New York is an American so when he visits Birmingham we must let down the bars and serve his desires?

Autherine Lucy is an American, a citizen of Alabama, but she, like the New Yorker, must obey our state laws and police regulations. Everywhere people believe in majority rule. The decided majority in the Southern region, both white and black, sincerely believe in segregation and it will continue. Our people and all others are expected to abide by our laws. Had

Dr. Carmichael and the University trustees willingly submitted to demand of Autherine Lucy, all of them should have been prosecuted under our state laws.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P.4-A

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Thurs. 4-12-56

Now, Really

Montgomery, Ala.

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — As an ex-Chicagoan, I have been reading your Gath-Askelon series with some sense of agreement with your findings—and quite a bit of annoyance. Having made your point, and having supported it with some telling examples, you go on to belabor this point with far-fetched examples that weaken your case.

For instance, a juvenile bomb threat to the president of a small college. In burying that story on a back page, was *The New York Times* really engaging in conspiracy of silence, or was it exercising a professional sense of news values? Now really!

I was also annoyed by your Sunday story on the visiting students from the University of Wisconsin. It took a bit of reading between the lines, but I got the impression that mixed dating and intermarriage occur so rarely in Madison that these youngsters had hardly given the matter any thought at all until your reporter got hold of them. Then, like a bulldogging prosecuting attorney, he brought sharply back into line anyone who dared stray from the subject.

Now what is your attitude about all this? As long as we are ripping Biblical quotations out of context and tossing them around, may I say that I "could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping . . ." (*Ezra 3:13*)?

Montgomery. DAVID S. SAVLER.

◆

Irrelevant

Editor, The Advertiser:

As a native of Alabama and a former student at the University of Wisconsin, I was interested in Mr. Azbell's article on the editorial page April 4.

The only comment it deserves is that it is entirely irrelevant. The campus is integrated and no one concerned has had any of his rights trampled on, as they would have if segregation existed there. Therefore, no one is unhappy about the situation there.

Your question on the Milwaukee mayor's race is confusing since it implies a situation which simply did not exist. Read your own AP service for the outcome of this race which ended last Tuesday.

In closing I wish to say that if we in Alabama were half as concerned with education as we are with segregation, we too might have a university as great as that of which Wisconsin is justly proud. JAMES B. HARRIS.

2165 14th Ave., S., Birmingham, Ala.

◆

In Praise Of Policewomen

Editor, The Advertiser:

Orchids to our policewomen! It has been my opportunity frequently during this school year to observe several of them in action, especially at Highland Avenue school where Mrs. R. F. Charles is on duty.

Along with the youngsters in the safety patrol, they are doing a necessary job efficiently and courteously. And I might add, how attractive they look in their well-designed tailored uniforms.

MRS. JOHN R. MOFFIT.

Montgomery.

★ Tell It To Old Grandma ★

Advertiser Tues. 4-17-56

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Montgomery, Ala.

The Negative Vote

P.4-A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—It is my opinion that many subscribers share with me the desire for you to give certain publicity before the primary election in May. From time to time you are publishing lists of delegates and committeemen (candidates), which I am reading.

I hope you will run in your paper a day or two before the election a complete list of candidates, designating whether they were ever in Folsom's camp, whether they now have his support, etc.

With but one exception, I think I shall go down the list and vote for the anti-Folsom slate. I am sorry to acknowledge that my citizenship has reached such negative proportion, but it has. M. H.

Luverne, Ala.

◆

Keep The Home Fires Burning

Editor, The Advertiser:

I want you to know that the people everywhere appreciate the fine work you are doing to show the other side of the picture.

I was in Detroit last summer, just as the schools were closing. I went out to look at the Ford Village in Dearborn. Many of the teachers brought their classes out to the Village to see the museums which are most interesting. You would see a class of 30 and from one to three Negroes would be in them. Many, no Negroes were in them. All white teachers. They probably have a few colored teachers but I did not see any. I did not see any presidents or vice presidents of color in any of the banks. I understand that they have a few clerks in the outskirt branch banks with large colored patronage.

I did not see any colored in the downtown cafes, although they could probably have gone, but as we contend they want to be with their own people. I stayed in Birmingham, Mich., where only white persons can own property. It is in the charter of the section where I visited and all deeds to the property so read.

You and I know that there is not a finer set of colored people anywhere in the world than right here in Montgomery. I have never known the two races to have the slightest trouble until these outside forces came on the scene and I do not believe that I am overstating it when I say that 90% of them are not for all of this disturbance but are confused.

Keep the home fires burning.

Montgomery. JOHN W. LAMAR.

Transformation

Advertiser P.2-A

By Bob Ingram

Sun. 5-20-56

THE REMARKABLE change in the front page makeup of Citizen Council chapters in South Alabama was particularly evident Thursday night at the rally in Selma. Time was when a council rally in that city attracted out few leading citizens who were all but lost amid a lot of redneck jokers. But times have changed and so have the councils.

Montgomery, Ala.

Thursday night's smooth, restrained affair opened with a tony cocktail party and sumptuous meal in a plush private cottage. Council leaders and their leaders were there, dressed just short of formal. Not one was present who did not meet the rigid qualifications for membership in Selma's economic, political and social upper crust.

Still around, but in decreasing numbers, are the shouting rednecks who not too many months ago brought much discredit to the organization. These boys, uncomfortable and out-of-place, are gradually being pushed toward the rear by the more competent men needed to face the problems of the times.

Alabama Editors Are Saving

Advertiser P.2-B

Sun. 5-20-56

Where We Are Weak

Montgomery, Ala.

The Lee County Bulletin

Alabama's position in the effort to delay integration in the public schools is far weaker than that of most of the Southern states. Georgia and South Carolina, to name only two, in recent years have appropriated huge sums for new Negro school buildings. That increasingly is the pattern throughout the region. Except in Alabama. A few large city systems and a very small minority of the county systems have embarked upon ambitious colored school building programs. But in the majority of Alabama counties, colored children still largely are housed in dilapidated buildings.

Alabama's inertia in this regard almost would lead one to wonder whether there is not acceptance of the integration idea. Of course, that is not the case. The truth is that ultra-conservative forces which decide Alabama policy in this instance, while not wanting integration, dislike as much the thought of raising taxes with which to build a couple hundred million dollars of new school buildings.

The vast majority of Negro parents want their children to attend their own schools. But only if those schools occupy decent buildings—warm in winter, dry in wet weather, with sanitary toilets, cafeterias, and other essential facilities.

◆

Hurting His Own

The Anniston Star

Federal aid for school construction still is being delayed principally because of Negro Congressman Adam Clayton Powell's obtuse insistence on an amendment to aid legislation that would deny federal money to any school district still resisting racial integration.

It is generally recognized that no bill carrying a desegregation rider could get by the barrier of unlimited debate in the Senate, so that Powell is accomplishing nothing more than to block badly needed legislation.

Actually, he is performing a distinct disservice to the cause of fellow Negroes, whose advancement he claims to be championing. For no segment of the population would benefit as much through federal aid as would Negro boys and girls now receiving substandard schooling, not only in the South but elsewhere over the nation as well.

◆

Expendable?

The Sylacauga News

Sparked by the Avondale Mills of Alabama, the textile industry has fought an uphill battle with the national administration toward making their position more competitive with the Japanese import market, and while there has developed a certain amount of sympathetic interest by several political leaders, it still seems to be a policy of the administration that for the sake of other trade with Japan, the textile industry is expendable.

◆

Inexperienced Judges

The Birmingham Post-Herald

If the courts overstep, there is always the remedy of legislative action but it should be used with care. All branches of the government need to keep their constitutional perspective.

Certainly it would be constructive for Congress to adopt Sen. Smathers' idea of requiring that all Supreme Court appointees be qualified by at least five years' experience on lesser benches. Only one of the present nine justices would have been eligible under that rule.

It will be said, of course, that some of our most eminent Supreme Court justices of the past lacked this qualification when they joined the bench. But even their exceptional abilities would have been reinforced by previous experience.

★ Tell It ★

Advertiser

To Old Grandma

Sun. 5-20-56

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Montgomery, Ala.

A Tribute To The Seniors

p.2-b

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Congratulations, Seniors, Everywhere!

For a whole year, now, you have been walking in the coveted footsteps of the Seniors of 1955. Tomorrow, you will face new horizons of limitless opportunities. And, as you move along, others will follow—thus, continuing life's educational cycle for youth.

As a representative of the teachers, parents, and all those who have helped you attain the goal of graduation, I would like to pinpoint a few hints that might help you as you resume the struggle for further accomplishments.

In these last days of preparation for graduation, let us pause a few minutes for brief retrospection. In doing so, I hope that you will take an accurate, objective inventory of yourselves.

Last year I emphasized the importance of symmetrical growth: Physical, mental and moral. This, of course, is still important. Perhaps such a growth was what the late Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune had in mind when she wrote her "Last Will & Testament" to humanity—just before she died last spring. Young people, are you thoroughly acquainted with the contents of this document? Are you appreciatively aware of the fact that you are heirs to a great fortune? She said:

"I leave you love!" a priceless possession. Love, saturated with wisdom, will lead men through the solutions of all of life's perplexing problems. It is balm for the wounds of individuals, and nations. It is the keynote of the brotherhood of man.

Says Mrs. Bethune: "The world really belongs to youth—for tomorrow youth will take over its management. And so, I leave you a thirst for knowledge and the wise use of power. To youth I bequeath the spirit of Confidence and Courage."

How can you succeed without confidence in your ability to do so, and the courage to combat the obstacles that you are certain to encounter? Realizing all of the social problems confronting humanity at this time, Mrs. Bethune bequeathed to all mankind Racial Dignity, which should be protected and preserved at all cost.

Finally, concluding, Mrs. Bethune leaves faith and hope. Youth needs these abiding attributes especially during these days that "try men's souls"—they are a "must" if our world is to be steered into that bright tomorrow where democracy will emerge fully matured, and will cast a full radiance over all the peoples of the earth.

And so, again, with these thoughts in mind: Bon Voyage, Seniors!

J. VIRGINIA M. KNIGHT,
Instructor, English Dep't,
Monroe County Training School,
Beatrice, Ala.

★ Tell It ★

Advertiser

To Old Grandma

Thu. 5-18-56 p.4-b

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Montgomery, Ala.

In Praise Of U.S. News

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—In view of the fact that there has been so much unfavorable publicity given the South by the various national magazines, I think that the readers should be reminded that at least one national publication seems to be making an effort to present the news with fairness and without distortion.

I refer to *U.S. News & World Report*, to which I am a subscriber.

Realizing the narrow scope of my reading there may be others that are also doing a fair job.

If you agree with me on this I think it would be good if you would give them a "plug" in your paper, knowing that many like to get the overall picture presented by such magazines but do not care to pay to be insulted.

Montgomery. JOHN E. MOORE.

¶ *It is our considered judgment that, for balance, alertness and readability,* U.S. News & World Report *has outdone all other national publications in telling the truth about American race relations. It has been model reporting. This is not to say that* U.S. News *is sponsoring the Southern viewpoint—it definitely isn't—but it is striving mightily to record the truth without restraint from simple-minded preconceptions. To the extent that the truth aids the South, the South is heavily indebted to* U.S. News.—*Ed.*

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser p.4-b

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Thurs. 5-17-56

4 Answered, 4 Asked

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — As a member of the Alabama delegation, I have written the following.

PITT TYSON MANER.
Montgomery.

Montgomery

Mr. George M. Cox, Executive Editor
The Mobile Press-Register
Mobile, Alabama. Ala.

Dear Mr. Cox:

I take pleasure in replying to your questionnaire of May 10. You are rendering a service to the people of Alabama in sending out this letter. In answer to your four-part questionnaire:

1. Yes, I would vote against the unit rule.

2. Yes, I would vote against any platform that called for an end to racial segregation.

3. I will fight against the nomination of any candidate committed to the elimination of racial segregation, and against the adoption of any platform plank which proposed such elimination. As a lifelong Democrat, I intend to leave the convention, upon adjournment, supporting the party nominees.

4. I would vote against excluding *honest* and *impartial* newspaper representatives from delegation meetings, caucuses or conferences at which questions affecting the delegation are to be considered and acted upon. Among others, I do not consider representatives of the Republican Weekly Newsletter or *Time* magazine to be impartial. I would as soon invite Richard Nixon himself to our caucuses as his news representatives.

Having fully replied to your questions, I consider turnabout fair play. As a newspaper which seeks to completely inform its readers of current political positions and factors, *The Press-Register* should have little hesitation in replying to the following four questions, which I submit:

1. Has *The Press-Register* submitted a questionnaire to the Alabama delegation to the Republican National Convention at San Francisco regarding their positions on the segregation question? If not, does *The Press-Register* intend to do so, as a matter of public interest and information?

2. Will *The Press-Register* support an Eisenhower-Nixon ticket, in view of the Republican administration's breakdown of racial barriers in the District of Columbia and in the armed forces, and of its attorney general's announced plan to push an integration force bill program through Congress?

3. Will *The Press-Register* support the Republican ticket in the event that party's convention adopts a platform calling for an end to racial segregation?

4. Will *The Press-Register* support the Republican ticket whose candidates have committed themselves to the end of racial segregation, either through acceptance of a platform calling for same, or by other expression?

PITT TYSON MANER.

38a 1956

ALABAMA

Politician in Squeeze

Times P. 10-C

Gov. James E. Folsom

Sat. 2-25-56

MOUNTING racial tensions have trapped "Big Jim" Folsom, Alabama's burley "common man" Governor, in a squeeze that is threatening disaster for his political popularity. New York, N.Y.

Picked for a second term in 1954 by a landslide vote, he now says: "Today I couldn't be elected dog-catcher."

Man in the News

Bastically an anti-segregationist and champion of Negro rights, James Folsom has succeeded in Alabama politics by appealing to the less-privileged whites as well, particularly in the rural areas.

He has denounced the big landholders and the "big mules"—the Alabama term for the industrialists and financiers of Birmingham.

He campaigned with the demogogic trappings of hill billy bands and backwoods mannerisms.

In office he has attempted to promote the welfare of lower income groups, provide more schools and see that Negroes obtain the right to vote.

His behavior and views were effective with whites as well as Negroes until the recent burgeoning of racial animosities in Alabama. Today the rural whites who were the main source of his support are the Alabamans most aroused over integration.

The rural whites have now joined other white pro-segregationists in regarding Mr. Folsom with hostility and alarm. At the same time his equivocations and indecisiveness in recent critical situations have also provoked Negro resentment.

"Big Jim" recently charged the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and "outside agitators" with responsibility for the rioting at the University of Alabama.

He didn't call out the National Guard to maintain order at the university. In general he has not been as active in attempting to mediate racial differences as some observers thought he should be.

The Governor recently let the Alabama Legislature's resolution declaring the United States Supreme Court ruling on desegregation in schools null and void automatically become an act. He neither signed nor vetoed the resolution.

Caught in the Middle

He has lately indicated that the racial animosities of Alabama are more or less to be expected. He remarked that in his travels in various parts of the world he had observed that peoples of different races usually were not overly fond of each other. He said what has been happening at the University of Alabama "is the result of such feelings of one race for another."

Thus "Big Jim" is caught in the middle. Even objective observers of the Alabama scene say that his recent failures to act firmly and promptly have contributed to the difficulties now afflicting the state.

However, the Governor's political career has been marked before by downs as well as ups. And he may yet get on top of the most difficult situation he has yet faced.

One of the most flamboyant of the nation's political figures, the Governor free-wheeled into Alabama Governor's mansion the first time in 1946. He is the son of a farmer-politician of modest means and was brought up among the rural poor.

He toured the country-side with a five-piece band, talked the language of the rural "red necks" and often took off his shoes and kissed all the women in his audience before making a speech. He promised old-age pensions, opposition to the vested interests and a clean-up of corruption in the state capital.

He carried a mop and a suds bucket, which he passed around for campaign funds. He advocated higher wages for teachers, more schools, particularly for Negroes, abolition of the poll tax, aid to farmers and small business men and reapportionment of voting districts to assure more equitable representation in the Legislature.

Feuded iWth Legislators

Well-built, handsome and six feet eight inches tall, he called himself "The little man's big friend."

As Governor he carried on a bitter feud with an intransigent Legislature, the press and representatives of the interests he denounced.

He was regarded as a rough-necked demagogue by many of the more conventional-minded Alabamans. The Mobile Press once said that he had played the leading role in a comic opera regime" and had degraded the office of Governor.

"Kissin' Jim," as he came to be called, held that Alabama must provide a fair deal for the Negroes who made up 35 per cent of the state's population.

He maintained Negroes should b eadmitted to graduate schools with whites if Negro graduate facilities did not exist, and he wanted more parks, equal voting rights and economic opportunities for Negroes.

Now 48 years old, the hulking, 245-pound Alabama Governor has been married twice. His frist wife died in 1944. It was while he was a widower that he established his reputation for kissing the ladies.

Governor Folsom had a short tour of duty in the Army during the last war but was discharged because of his huge size and transferred to service n the Merchant Marine. He did the dangerous Murmansk run on Army transports. Once, between sailings, he worked as a doorman at a New York theater.

After the war and his election as Governor he visited New York to receive an award from a fashion studio as the nation's most eligible bachelor.

Governor Folsom's views in Alabama politics have also been reflected in his attitudes in national politics. He was a strong supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt, opposed the Dixiecrats in Alabama and was a partisan of Henry Wallace's views in 1948. He supported Mr. Wallace for the Vice Presidential nomination.

Times Sat. 2-25-56 P. 10-C New York, N.Y. 38a

Associated Press

"Common man" Governor

FOLSOM PROPOSES A BI-RACIAL GROUP TO FIGHT TENSION

Times Sat. 2-25-56

Governor Calls for State Board in Plea to Leaders of Alabama's Press

P. 1

90 NEGROES FACE COURT

New York, N.Y.

Arraigned for Roles in Bus Boycott—Thousands Walk to Protest Arrests

By WAYNE PHILLIPS

Special to The New York Times.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 24—Alabama's Governor proposed today a state commission of Negroes and whites to seek to reconcile racial differences.

Gov. James E. Folsom put his proposal before seventy-five of the state's editors and publishers at a conference in the House Chamber at the state Capitol. As far as is known here, no other state has a bi-racial government commission of such scope.

Ninety Negroes, meanwhile, were being arraigned a few blocks away in Circuit Court on charges of organizing and joining in an illegal boycott of the city's buses. Ten others have been indicted but not yet arrested.

[Plans for nation-wide protests in support of the Montgomery boycott were being made Friday by Negro leaders. In New York, Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of Manhattan, said a meeting of Negro church leaders had approved a "national deliverance day of prayer" and a one-hour work stoppage on March 28.

[In Baltimore 300 ministers of the African Methodist Episcopal Church asked for Federal intercession. A special emergency session of the Council of Bishops will be held in Washington Saturday.]

Laws Fought in Court

The conference with the editors, who had been called from all parts of the state, underscored the seriousness with which tension between whites and Negroes was viewed here.

All day thousands of Negroes trudged the streets, refraining from riding in automobiles and taxicabs, in protest against the arrests in the eighty-one-day bus boycott.

This was touched off by the arrest Dec. 1 of a 42-year-old seamstress, Mrs. Rosa Parks, for refusing to give up he r seat to a white when ordered to do so by the driver of a city bus.

At first the boycott was a protest against what the Negroes considered to be unfair treatment in enforcing segregation laws. But later a suit was filed in Federal Court seeking to overthrow the city and state bus segregation laws. Times

Racial tension also has come to the fore in Tuscaloosa, where demonstrations protested the admission of the first Negro student to the University of Alabama, and in Bessemer. There reports spread that Negroes had been buying stocks of arms and ammunition. Throughout the state White Citizens Councils have been formed to defend segregation. P. 10C

Governor Folsom has been under constant pressure to do something. He has been accused of "fiddling while his state is burning." But while some would have had him take a firm stand against any form of integration, others wished him to declare war on the Citizens Councils.

The difficulty confronting him was illustrated at this morning's session. After calling for the bi-racial commission to create a common forum for the two races, he affirmed his opposition to integrated education.

"Anyone with any sense knows that Negro and white children are not going to go to school together anywhere in Alabama any time," he said. And applause that swept the chamber all but drowned out his concluding words—"in the near future."

Voluntary terracial groups have been operating in Alabama community for years. They have worked toward better separate but equal facilities. Many voluntary groups are affiliated with the bi-racial Alabama Council on Human Relations.

That council had been urging for almost a year that Governor Folsom establish a state bi-racial commission of race problems. But the Governor was cool to the idea. He did not decide firmly to put it forward until Wednesday, after he had decided to invite the members of the Alabama Press Association to today's meeting.

Press Leaders Attend

The exact way in which he would present it to the editors was still being worked out in conferences this morning.

Of the 150 members of the Alabama Press Association invited to today's meeting, about half appeared. But the outstanding editors and publishers of the state were present.

And her 100 spectators and reporters crowded into the chamber, where Alabama's representatives decided ninety-five years ago to secede from the Union.

The extensive news coverage included live television. In the resolution supporting the Governor's proposal no one voted "nay."

Several Northern Negro reporters who have been covering the bus boycott sat side by side with whites, a rare sight in the Alabama legislature. Only one Alabama Negro publisher was present, Emery O. Jackson of

the Birmingham World. He had not been invited.

Governor Folsom apologized for not including Negro publications in his general invitation. He said he had thought that they were members of the Alabama Press Association. None of the eighteen Negro newspapers published in the state is a member.

'A Serious Problem'

"I didn't call you editors here to ask you to support my program," the Governor said. "I have asked you here to help solve a very serious problem. The whole world islooking to Alabama today—looking to see whether Alabama will do something to bring about peace between the races."

After outlining his suggested commission, the Governor threw the meeting open for comment. None spoke against the commission. Several made clear the limits within which they thought it should work.

Buford Boone, publisher of the Tuscaloosa News, who has been under sharp attack by white extremists in his community for condemning violence at the university, declared that his newspaper believed in a "moderate" approach and not the extremes recommended by the Negro press.

James Mills, editor of the Birmingham Post-Herald, said: "All of our people are frightened over what might happen, thus your idea is sound. But we must operate within the framework of traditions that our deep rooted in our state."

State Senator Albert Boutwell of Jefferson County (Birmingham), chairman of a committee that has drafted constitutiond amendments to maintain school segregation, said:

"There's too much hysteria among our people, too much misunderstanding. Our problem is combatting unenlightened agitation from sources foreign to Alabama. Rather than having the agitators convert us maybe we can convert them."

BLUNDER EXPLAINED

Advertiser

Governor's Aide Takes Blame For 'Right To Work' Statement

Wed. 5-30-56 Montgomery, Ala.

P. 1

Press Secretary Ralph Hammond took responsiboility yesterday for a news story last week crediting Gov. James E. Folsom with an attack on the Supreme Court's "Right To Work" law decision.

The court ruled that so-called "Right To Work" laws in 18 states are superseded by federal legislation regulating railway labor.

Twenty-four hours later Folsom issued a statement through Hammond threatening retaliatory action if the Federal Government "tries to cram force bills down out throats" and mentioned laws in 18 states.

The press secretary issued a prepared statement of his own yesterday explaining that he took the Governor's remoarks to have reference to the Supreme Court ruling.

However, he continued, "I learned later that the Governor had in mind the Eisenhower civil rights bill . . . as passed by the House Judiciary Committee."

Both the Supreme Court decision and the civil rights action came the same day.

Folsom called newsmen Monday to deny that he had commented on the "Right To Work" laws. He said he made last week's statement in reference to the civil rights legislation.

Hammond explained that "the Governor and I were operating by remote control" when the original statement was issued last Tuesday. Folsom was in Auburn that day for a meeting of the Auburn Board of Trustees.

IN UNIVERSITY TALK

Advertiser P. 1

Folsom Hails State Future, Defends Rep. Powell's Visit

Montgomery, Ala.

Fri. 5-11-56

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., May 10 (AP) —Gov. James E. Folsom today urged University of Alabama students to remain in this state when they graduate, and share in Alabama's golden future.

Addressing a Governor's Day audience, Folsom said "Markets are going Southward . . . industry must follow. The payrolls are coming to Alabama because we are blessed with more navigable streams and water than any other state."

He urged the students to remain in Alabama and, if possible, "organize your own business."

About 4,500 persons were on hand for the speech.

The governor touched on the visit to the executive mansion at Montgomery of Rep. Powell, Negro congressman from New York. Powell's visit at the mansion was used against Folsom in his unsuccessful race for Democratic national committeeman.

Folsom intimated that he discussed means of keeping an Alabama segregation suit out of the U.S. Supreme Court with Powell.

"I've heard a thousand stories about a social affair in my house with a Negro congressman," Folumm said. "I never answer charges during a campaign, but now I will.

Advertiser

"The congressman was in my office, to the back of the house, on a matter of business and business only. P. 4-A

"For another thing, I never drink Scotch."

Fri. 5-11-56

Folsom also said he had replied to "resolutions from the British Isles" urging more rights for Negroes during the recent racial strife in the state.

The governor said his reply was that "100 years ago it was a penitentiary offense to teach a Negro to read and that today we have one of the best educational systems for Negroes any place in the United States.

"When you resolute to free the Gold Coast colony slaves in Africa and when you do something about it, then you send me a resolution about Alabama," Folsom said he replied to the unidentified authors.

"As long as I am governor, the boys in khaki uniforms won't be sent abroad to protect these slave colonies or any other slave colonies."

Them Lying newspapers Serve As Potted Palms

Advertiser

FOLSOM'S taste runs to bourbon, but it was Scotch & soda (with Powell of Harlem) that washed him up with Alabama. P. 4-A

You have to understand Folsom's low estate with Alabama—he himself recently confirmed that he "couldn't be elected dog catcher"—to understand his conference at the Capitol yesterday with Alabama editors and publishers.

Folsom has deeply offended and estranged dominant public opinion in Alabama. This is chiefly, though not entirely, because he has systematically and sometimes sportively refused to join the resistance to the holy-rolling of the reckless, pietistical abolitionists of the North. Sat. 2-25-56

He is now paying a price for his folly. The jeers at the Coliseum well told him that the jig is up.

Montgomery, Ala.

So he is out to work his way back into the fold by taking it all back.

The editors and publishers responded to their summons, which was their duty.

It was a large gathering. The proceedings were televised. Folsom had a statewide audience. By means of the editors and publishers, Folsom was associating himself with conventional white opinion. The newspapermen were potted palms in a Folsom pageant.

He talked of many things, but finally he made the following comment:

"Anybody with any sense knows that the Negro children and the white children are not going to school together in Alabama any time in the near future—in fact, in a long time."

Thus did Folsom seek to reverse his field. That's what he wanted white Alabama to hear him say. He is trying to work his way back.

It happened, because of the boycott arrests, that there were many reporters present representing the national publications. Only one or two have a sound grasp of what is going on in Alabama.

It is too bad that only one or two of them will comprehend the meaning of Folsom's pronouncement, above quoted. Here had been the only governor in the Southern states with a dissenting race viewpoint. He was indeed, as we have often noted, the only major demagogue in Southern history, with the shortime exception of Tom Watson in Georgia, who ever successfully yoked the woolhat and the Negro.

But public opinion has so hardened in the teeth of the outside assault upon Alabama custom that Folsom has been forced to switch about.

Folsom's surrender should be well noted among the unenlightened provincials of the north who have been intellectually victimized by their superficial, supercilious, stereotyped newspapers and magazines.

Folsom's hitting of the sawdust trail has large meaning.

Senate rebuffs Folsom decisively, hint mansion fund target

News P.28

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 21—The Senate replied yesterday afternoon with deeds—instead of words—after receiving Gov. Folsom's sharply worded message demanding anew that the Legislature approve his constitutional convention resolution.

Birm. News 3-21-56

Without much debate, Senate members speedily defeated the administration sponsored constitutional amendment measure placing legislators on an annual salary and expense basis.

SPARROW

On the final showdown, the administration could muster but 12 votes in favor of the proposal. Nineteen other votes were chalked up in opposition. P.28

Its defeat, however, was even more decisive than the vote indicated. A constitutional amendment measure requires at least 21 affirmative votes to pass. The bill defeated yesterday thus fell nine votes short of enough for passage.

It was the second major rebuff handed Gov. Folsom in less than a week.

Birm., Ala.

Earlier rebuff

Last week both the House and Senate pigenholed the governor's constitutional convention resolution. (During the first special session of 1955, moreover, the same proposal was defeated overwhelmingly in both houses.)

Legislation paving the way for a constitutional convention and an amendment placing legislators on annual salary and expense were two "musts" listed by Gov. Folsom in his call summoning the Legislature yesterday. Gov. Folsom demanded anew the Legislature approve the resolution calling for a vote Aug. 28 on the question of holding a constitutional convention.

His language was similar to speeches the governor has been making in his current "report to the people" stump speeches in North Alabama.

In those speeches, moreover, the governor said in sharply worded phrases that if the Legislature does not approve the constitutional convention resolution he would call them back into special session immediately and demand approval.

'Slush fund' eyed

NOTHING WAS said on the floor of the Senate yesterday concerning the governor's threat to call House and Senate members back into session. But several upper house members indicated that if the governor does call them back they will seek to cut down sharply on his so-called "slush funds."

Bills reducing the annual appropriation for the mansion fund from $60,000 to $10,000 a year, amending the emergency fund law to prevent the governor from transferring money from that fund to the mansion fund and requiring the state to buy everything on bids, reportedly will be offered.

The Senate's defeat of the annual salary for legislators amendment was construed by several legislators as the Senate's special reply to the governor's threats.

Gov. Folsom reportedly was keenly interested in having the people of Alabama vote on an amendment placing legislators on an annual salary at the same time they vote on the administration's so-called reapportionment amendment which greatly expands both houses.

The governor reportedly wanted it submitted at the same time because he believed it would make the voters feel more kindly toward the reapportionment proposal.

Showdown vote

IN THE VOTE showdown one non-administration senator, Joe Calvin of Morgan, voted with those favoring the amendment. Sen. Richmond Flowers of Houston, an administration stalwart, shifted his vote at the last minute from yea to nay, apparently to be in position to move reconsideration.

It would appear from yesterday's vote on the annual pay proposal that the governor has lost at least 10 Senate votes in recent days.

One year ago the governor had a clincher on the Senate which enabled him to put over a number of tax boosting and other administration measures.

Here is how the Senate voted on the annual pay proposal which, if approved would have assured senators and representatives an annual salary of $1200 and an annual expense not to exceed $1200:

For the amendment—Allen, Calvin, Cantrell, Goodwin, Grisham, Lamberth, Leonard, Metcalf, Moses, Roberts, Van Antwerp and Yarbrough of Randolph—12.

Against—Boutwell, Bradford, Coleman, Cooper, Davis of Lowndes, Eddins, Englehardt, Flowers, James, Jones, Little, Newton, Reeves, Robinson, Shelton, Skidmore, Smith, Tate and Yarbrough of Autauga—19.

Fun before business

THE HOUSE was inactive today—and will continue to be inactive until Friday—largely because members voted to put pleasure before business.

One group of House members, the judiciary committee, wanted a two-day cruise aboard the state swank yacht, the Alice, on Mobile Bay and adjoining coastal waters.

Another group planned to be guests of a utility company executive at a nearby like camp.

Still others wanted to go to Birmingham to look in on the annual AEA convention.

Judiciary committee members left immediately after the House adjourned in mid-afternoon. Reportedly they were flown to Mobile in National Guard planes.

The Senate elected to remain on the job. As a result members were in session today.

The House's action in skipping two days this week caused some to wonder if the Legislature will be in position to recess or adjourn sine die by Friday.

BY A VOTE of 67 to 26—three more than the minimum required to pass a constitutional amendment through the House, the House yesterday voted final passage to the measure increasing the maximum state income tax rate on corporations from 3 to 5 per cent.

The bill's sponsor, Tuscaloosa Rep. Ryan deGraffenried, told the House that if the voters ratify the amendment in the special election Aug. 28, it will mean an additional $5 million a year for schools.

At present corporations pay a flat 3 per cent income tax rate. Individuals pay at a rate ranging from 1¼ to 5 per cent.

The bill passed by the House yesterday would apply the same scale to corporations.

Here is how the House voted on the proposal:

For the amendment—Albea, Ashworth, Bassett, Boyd, Brannon, Branyon, Brewer, Broadfoot, Brooks, Burkhalter, Cornett, Cox, Dawkins, deGraffenreid, Dement, DeSear, Dickson, Edwards of Escambia, Faulk, Ferrell, Franklin, Gilchrist, Gist, Goodwyn, Gregory, Grouby, Hall, Haltom, Hanby, Hare, Harrison, Hawkins, Hodges, Huddleston, Jenkins, Johnson of Elmore, Kelly, Killough, Lackey, Lee of Barbour, Lee of Lawrence, Locke of Choctaw, Locke of Perry, Love, McNider, Martin, Mathews, Mathison, Merrill, Money, Nice, Payne, Pirkle, Ramey, Reynolds, Richardson, Roberts, Selman, Shumate, Solomon, Speaks, Steagall, Stembridge, Taylor, Thomas, Tyson and Ward—67.

Against—Brown of Lee, Callahan, Crook, Edwards of Jefferson, Gilmer, Hain, Hardy, Harvey, Holliman, Hunt, Johnson of Tallapoosa, Kaul, Kendall, Kirkham, Lee of Barbour, McClendon, McLendon, Murphy, Oakley, Perry, Pruitt, Simon, Stokes, Summerlin.

'Put up or shut up'—

Folsom dares Legislature on segregation proposal

News Tues. 3-20-56 P.13

Birm., Ala.

BY FRED TAYLOR
News staff writer

HAMILTON, Ala., March 20—Gov. James E. Folsom has called on the Alabama Legislature to "put up, shut up or back up" on the tense racial question by authorizing his recommended constitutional convention as "the best way to solve our racial problems."

Declaring he would summon the legislators back to Montgomery "immediately" for another special session, if they adjourn the present one without submitting the constitutional convention proposal to the state's voters, Folsom said:

"I JUST WANT to see if the Legislature has got the guts to let you, the people, decide it."

The governor flung this threat to the lawmakers in speeches yesterday afternoon at Fayette and last night at Jasper, as he moved on to Hamilton in his "report to the people" stumping tour.

Indications are that members of the House and Senate, which reconvened today, will adjourn the present special session—fifth called by Gov. Folsom within 14 months—sin die by Friday.

BUT SOME of the lawmakers want the Legislature to recess over until shortly after the May 1 Democratic primary election.

Gov. Folsom told a crowd of about 500 at the Fayette County Courthouse, in his stumping tour kickoff, that he wants "to be relieved of my obligation" to uphold of his oath as governor to uphold the U. S. Constitution affecting racial segregation in public schools.

"And a constitutional convention, duly assembled and authorized by you people, the voters, is the only way that can be done," he said.

"I want you to help me put it (constitutional convention) over," Folsom told his Fayette listeners.

AND HE repeated this request to another crowd of about the same size in the Walker County Courthouse at Jasper last night.

There were about 40 Negroes—men and women—seated in the courthouse balcony at Fayette. A couple of dozen Negroes were seated on one side of the main floor audience in the Jasper courthouse, with two Negro women seated together on the other side.

And there were scores of old people seated in front rows at both places, as they listened to Gov. Folsom's promise to pay them larger pensions.

Folsom's statement that he wants "to be relieved of my obligation" to the U. S. Constitution was almost word for word what he said in a press conference in his office last Thursday.

The governor took pains to point out in each speech yesterday that "we in Alabama have not been made a party" to the antisegregation suits.

"I've worked constantly with Negro leaders in trying to keep that suit down," he added.

Folsom said that when a Negro tried to enter University of Alabama during his first term, he told Negro leaders that "Alabama isn't ready for that."

"This one," he added, in referring to Negro Co-ed Authurine Lucy's brief attendance at the University before she was expelled by trustees, "entered while I was out of office. It was too late for me to do anything about it."

"Our Negroes have been here for 300 years and they'll be here 300 more," continued Folsom. "Let's all try to pull together."

The governor said at Fayette and Jasper, in pointing out what he had said many times on the stump, that "Negro and white children in Alabama are not going to school together until we get ready for it."

In his "report" on accomplishments of his administration, Gov. Folsom cited an industrial development program which brought $390 million worth of new industries to Alabama and created 15,000 new jobs.

"The year 1955 has been a great year for the people of Alabama," he declared.

FOLSOM ALSO pointed to the highway expansion program under his administration. He said that 2000 miles of road were paved in 1955, that $35 million worth of roads started under the Persons administration were completed and $39 million worth of highways presently are under construction.

He said that plans call for paving about 100 miles of roads in each county yearly, telling the Jasper crowd that "Walker County will have this time next

year about 300 miles of farm-to-market roads built."

Folsom ripped into newspapers for criticizing him for using National Guard planes.

"WHEN THE newspapers were double-headlining me, I was flying a National Guard plane to help get a $140 million automobile plant for Muscle Shoals," he said.

"I flew the wheels off of them and I'll do it again. I'll fly the wheels, the propeller and the tail off National Guard planes, if I can get a $100 million plant for Fayette, or for Jasper or for any other place in Alabama."

While whamming the newspapers, the governor took special pains to point out that "the working press are my good buddies." He calls reporters the "working press."

Folsom pointed out that more than 40,000 persons had been added to welfare rolls through some $8 million additional provided by the Legislature. And he said he wanted to pay larger pensions.

He said that through efficient operation, ABC Board revenues increased $1,544,000 last year, while $112,000 was being lopped off costs of operating the state's legalized alcoholic beverage system.

As to Alabama's efforts in behalf of education, Gov. Folsom said "we're the top state in the nation in the proportion of contributions to our schools."

AT ONE POINT, he lauded the Legislature, declaring "we've got a great Legislature."

But on the segregation question, he added "we hear a big hue and cry about whites going to schools with Negroes. The Legislature has voted to nullify (reference to the recently adopted interposition resolution). And I'm going to see that the Legislature does something about a constitutional convention that will help us solve our racial problems."

The governor was accompanied by Mrs. Folsom and a number of his cabinet members. He brought a laugh from the Jasper audience when he began speaking without notes.

"My wife carried my speech off with her," he said, in explaining she had driven from Fayette via her former home at Berry. "Finney, go get it."

O. H. Finney Jr., his executive secretary, went to the governor's car on a nearby street and brought it to the governor.

FOLSOM DREW MORE applause from the Jasper audience than he got from the Fayette crowd. But response at both lacked the enthusiasm accorded him during his 1954 campaign speeches.

The governor was introduced at Fayette by that county's veteran Rep. James Branyon. State Sen. Reuben Newton introduced him at Jasper. Both legislators, strong administration supporters, lauded Folsom's leadership and accomplishments of his administration.

State Finance Director Fuller Kimbrell, Asst. Finance Director Ed Pepper, Public Safety Director Bill Lyerly, Adjt. Gen. W. D. Partlow Jr. were among cabinet members traveling with the governor the first day of his speaking tour.

OTHERS INCLUDED State Commerce Director Lonnie Gentry, Dr. J. S. Snoddy, head of the Department of Pensions and Security; State Labor Commissioner L. D. Barnette; Geoffrey Birt, state publicity director, and Finney.

A number of local officials turned out at both Fayette and Jasper. Fayette Probate Judge Clyde C. Cargile, Mayor Guthrie Smith and County Commissioner Albert Stovall, a Republican, were among those on hand at Fayette.

Walker Probate Judge Lecil Gray, Circuit Judge Roy Mayhall, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, and a number of others turned out at the Jasper meeting. Among these were State Sen. Reuben Newton and Reps. T. K. Selman and Alonzo Shumate.

Mrs. Folsom was accompanied to the Fayette and Jasper meetings by her mother, Mrs. E. M. Moore; Mrs. Bob Folsom, wife of the governor's brother, who was helping with the sound effects; Mrs. Lowell Barnes and Mrs. Truman Simpson. All except Mrs. Bob Folsom were from Berry.

The familiar Toll Grinders (formerly the Corn Grinders), led by Roland Johnson of Cullman, helped whoop it up with hillbilly music.

"let the people decide at the polls" whether they favor nullification.

"The only way we can nullify the Supreme Court decision is through a convention assembled by the people," Folsom said. "And that resolution they passed calling the decision null and void is actually null and void itself."

On another subject, Gov. Folsom said Sen. Estes Kefauver's upset victory over Adlai Stevenson in the Minnesota presidential primary Tuesday "means he's (Kefauver) strong in the midwest."

"I don't know what he's doing, but if I was him I'd keep on doing it," Folsom said regarding Kefauver's victory.

Asked if he thought the outcome of the Minnesota Primary had dimmed Stevenson's chances, Folsom said, "According to the papers he's not the front runner any more."

On the same subject, Folsom declared emphatically he would support the Democratic Party's nominee, whoever he might be, "with every ounce of strength I've got."

Gov. Folsom, returning to the segregation subject, also repeated his earlier statement that he would call another special session of the Legislature if no action was taken during the current session on his plan for a convention.

"I want to gently remind them that they've established a platform and they ought to carry it out," Folsom said. "I want them to let the people decide."

THE GOVERNOR said there is "naturally . . . a fundamental difference between races and tribes since the beginning of time. There is a difference in the fundamental laws of nature regarding the animal kingdom.

"The great masses of Alabama Negroes do not fear their white brothers as much as they do some of their over-anxious leaders. Likewise the great masses of the white people do not fear the masses of the colored people as much as they fear some of the extremist white agitators.

"I SAY to the great masses of both races, let us approach our problems in the spirit of calmness, understanding, debate and deliberation.

"Especially do I call on each of us individually and collectively to approach our problems without fear of one race or the other race."

BEFORE VOTERS

Advertiser

Folsom Signs Measure For Segregated Parks

Wed. 4-18-56 P. 1

Montgomery

In an action which almost passed unnoticed, Gov. James E. Folsom signed into law Monday a highly significant measure aimed at preserving the separation of the races at parks and playgrounds in Alabama.

La.

The new law, however, will become operative only if a proposed amendment to the state constitution is ratified by the voters in the special election Aug. 28.

If that amendment is approved, the act signed by Folsom Monday will automatically go into effect. It would authorize cities, counties, towns and other subdivisions of the state to either sell or give away parks, playgrounds, other recreational facilities and public housing projects.

Two other Southern states—Mississippi and South Carolina—have already enacted such laws, and an official of the Alabama Citizens' Council said yesterday he knew of one case where a park and swimming pool had been sold to a civic club near Vicksburg, Miss. at a price of $1.

Advertiser

The only restriction in the measure is that such transfers must first be approved by the voters of the area involved in a local referendum.

P. 2-A

The bill was sponsored in the Legislature during the recent special session by Clarke County Reps. Emory McNider and Marion Bradford.

Nine Georgia Parks Leased To Citizens

ATLANTA, April 17 (AP) — State Parks Director Roy Chalker said today he has leased nine Georgia state parks to private citizens in a move to safeguard segregation.

The leases were negotiated for 12 months under recent "private park" legislation which eliminated necessity for advertising for bids.

Chalker explained that he and Gov. Marvin Griffin signed the leases for the parks at an average price of $2,000 per year. He said he planned to lease two or three more parks.

The Georgia Legislature recently passed a law authorizing short-term leasing of the parks as a method of avoiding federal court integration decisions aimed at public parks. However, a federal court in Virginia recently held that Negroes should be admitted to state-owned parks, regardless of whether the parks were operated by the state itself or by citizens leasing the parks.

And while the measure makes no reference to the race question, under its provisions, a city could give a park to an individual or group and it would immediately become a private facility and not subject to the U.S. Supreme Court's desegregation decrees.

IN NULLIFICATION RESOLUTION

Advertiser P. 1

Folsom Charges Alabama Legislature Violated Oath To U.S. Constitution

Fri. 3-23-56 Montgomery, Ala.

Gov. James E. Folsom charged yesterday in a press conference that members of the Alabama Legislature "individually and collectively" violated their oath to uphold the U.S. Constitution when they passed the Nullification Resolution.

The governor, back in his office after a three-day stumping tour of Northwest Alabama, resumed his insistence that the Legislature

Governor Folsom pleads for calmness and understanding

News P. 1 Wed. 2-22-56

Birmingham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 22—(AP)—Gov. James E. Folsom says the "worldwide attention" given the racial disturbances at the University of Alabama "has been very much overplayed."

He called on whites and Negroes yesterday to "approach our problems in the spirit of calmness, understanding, debate and deliberations."

Avoid Strife Is Theme Of Racial Meet Tuesday

South Alabamian P.

White And Negro Citizens Meet To Discuss Issue

Jackson, Ala.

Precedent was broken Tuesday night of this week when white and Negro citizens of Clarke County met in the court house at Grove Hill to discuss the racial problem.

Phoenix 3-8-56

Approximately 100 Negroes from all over the county and more than that many Whites came together in a special meeting. Purpose of the meeting was to allow each race the opportunity to express to the other openly their convictions and beliefs and desires in connection with the harmonious relationship between the two races, so that if trouble should arise from outside sources the people within the county would understand each other and not become involved in any strife because of that trouble.

Represented in the white group were members of the Clarke County delegation to the State Legislature, county officials, city officials, ministers, school teachers lawyers, newspaper men and business men and farmers.

O. C. Helms, county agent and chairman of the meeting kicked off the proceedings with the opening talk in which he outlined the purpose of the meeting. He cited the progress that has been made in Clarke county by both races adhering to the principle of segregation and asked for continued harmony and progress under the same principle.

Gerald Bradford, State Senator from this district, spoke for the legislative delegation, who came from Montgomery Tuesday afternoon for the meeting. He emphasized the fact that if any trouble arises in Clarke county it will be fostered by forces outside the state of Alabama, and he urged the colored people to recognize it as such.

Jacob Thorn of Jackson represented the Clarke County Board of Education and spoke briefly on plans of the board to make improvements in educational facilities for both white and colored just as soon as money is available to do so. He brought several exultations of approval from the colored section when he emphasized the desire of the board to have separate schools and teachers for each race and to make definite improvements in the colored schoils so that better opportunities might be offered Negro children in securing an education on par with that of the white children.

W. W. Andrews, mayor of Jackson, spoke briefly for the mayors of the county and reiterated what had already been said, citing particularly the promotion of harmony through segregation.

Coma Garrett, Jr., Probate Judge, presided at the meeting and was selected to speak for the county officials. H made a strong plea for segregation of the races in peace and harmony and pledged the support of county officials in keeping down racial strife.

Attorney Jack Adam endorsed the principles set out by the other speakers in a talk for the attorneys.

The Negro group was asked to retire to another room to deliberate what had been said. They were instructed to select several from their number to make brief talks to the assembly, giving their views on the question.

Rev. J. B. Dixon was selected by the group to speak for them first. He said that they had all agreed that they did not want any strife between their people and the white people, that they only wanted their own schools, teachers churches, and an opportunity to earn a livlihood and live in peace as God intends for His people to do.

Others speaking for the Negro group included school principals, business men and farmers. Without exception they expressed the desire for separate schools and churches and segregation in general, but emphasized their desire for better school facilities and better educational opportunities. They expressed appreciation for the opportunity of meeting the white people to discuss thir problems and their belief that as long as problems are approached in this manner, racial strife can be avoided in Clarke County.

The meeting was opened with an invocation by Rev. Charles Granade, pastor of the Grove Hill Baptist Church and closed with benediction by Rev. Dixon.

Cite Segregation In Judge's Death

Defender P. 16

Sat. 4-14-56

MONTEGOMERY, Ala. — An Alabama Supreme Court justice, who reportedly was "having a devil of a time over segregation," shot himself to death here last week.

Chicago, Ill.

His maid, Mrs. Lorine Lewis, found the body when she arrived at 7:30 a. m. Wednesday to prepare breakfast.

Justice James J. Mayfield, clothed except for a shirt and shoes, was in bed with his head propped up with two pillows.

SHOT OVER EAR

Coroner J. B. Kirpatrick ruled that the 45-year-old jurist had taken his own life with a .22 caliber automatic pistol from which one shot had penetrated his head over the right ear.

The maid, questioned by police said:

"Mayfield told me Monday that he was having a devil of a time over segregation and that some man was trying to get his job away from him."

Mayfield was a former University of Alabama professor and son of a former state Supreme Court justice. He had served two years of an unexpired term on the high court bench and was seeking renomination in the May 1 primary.

His death automatically gave the Democratic nomination to his only opponent, State Sen. James S. Coleman, jr., of Greene County.

Mayfield was elected to the court with the support of Gov. James Folsom. He was said to have been waging an uphill battle in his bid for renomination against forces opposed to the governor's anti-segregation views.

Although Mayfield had made speeches favoring racial segregation, he was often pressed to explain how he could reconcile such personal views with his position in the Folsom camp.

Local And State Efforts Urgent In Dealing With Racial Problems

News P. 16

Fri. 5-16-56

Current racial problems vary widely by communities and states. Obvious as that reality is it needs to be repeatedly emphasized. It means that studies of the problems, efforts to deal with them constructively, call for effective endeavor at local and state levels, where there is first-hand familiarity with actual conditions.

President Eisenhower, in his press conference Wednesday, indicated he did not think much of the idea that he call a White House conference of white and Negro leaders to consider the general situation. He said he wants more than an expression of views, that he desires a real investigative body. He said he had in mind a commission created by Congress.

B'ham, Ala.

We recognize, of course, the concern of the nation as a whole and of the national government as to these pressing problems. But we question the usefulness now of either a White House discussion conference or a congressional investigative commission. With conditions different in different places, local and state efforts to work out constructive programs would seem to us to have much more likelihood of success.

Sen. Sparkman, commenting on the President's proposal, said he thought Mr. Eisenhower "would be better advised to ask the governors of states where there are tensions to set up bipartisan commissions to look into this matter."

Gov. Folsom has proposed creation of a biracial commission in Alabama, although the Legislature has not acted on the plan.

We believe that community as well as state efforts along such lines are basic needs in seeking to solve these problems.

In his introduction to a special New York *Times* report on the integration issue in the South, John N. Popham, Southern regional correspondent, wrote: "The impact of the problem has not fallen evenly upon the whole South. It is not just one problem, but hundreds of problems, and these problems often exist side by side in the same state, the same community, the same group of persons." In that kind of a situation, many different approaches are needed and those who know most about a particular community, state and problem or set of problems can, of course, be especially useful in meeting it. The Supreme Court itself has, of course, recognized differences in these conditions by communities in giving the federal district courts wide responsibility in passing on legal matters having to do with implementation of its decision against segregation in the schools.

Mr. Popham also wrote: "The *Times* survey shows a need for leadership at every level from Washington to Main Street. It emphasizes the harm that can come from emotional outbursts by the leaders of either race.

"And it restates the conviction of many race relations experts in the region. They

believe that, in the end, any regional reconstruction of race relations will have to be hammered out across the table in thousands of scattered school districts; that it must always be shaped to the needs and prejudices of the whites and Negroes who must live with it."

We would not say that investigative action or a discussion meeting on the national level could not ever be useful, but just now we regard local and state efforts to find solutions of local and state problems in this connection as more likely to be helpful.

National approaches of this kind, at this time, might add to confusion, misunderstanding and tension.

★ Tell It ★

To Old Grandma

Advertiser Aug. 4-10-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Out-Bloc The Folsom Bloc

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I have read your column headed "Name's McKAY—Howdy." P. 4-A

I, and thousands of others I am sure, would like to have Rep. Charles McKay represent Alabama in the national committee, but I am afraid that Gov. Folsom will be elected by his colored brothers and the Y'All Come votes with some to spare.

History often repeats itself. As a young boy I used to watch Mom call, "Chick, Chick," and the chicks would come running to get something without scratching for it. Dad could go out and call the pigs and they would come squealing for something without rooting for it.

Once there was a donor in Washington who gave out doles. Was he ever defeated at the ballot box? No.

Once we had a governor we didn't like, and called him ugly names. He promised to give no more of this and more of that and said, "Y'All Come." He was elected governor again.

Once there was a decision rendered for us to live and abide byA little dose here, a little dose there until we have it everywhere.

We should face the facts as they face us, by organizing, working and voting in a bloc, to defeat NAACP and their helpers.

Some may say I am a Democrat or I am a member of the White Citizens Council. I am both.

Dothan, Ala. J. C. CHAMBLESS.

Misquoted

Editor, The Advertiser:

I received today a copy of your paper of April 1 in which is printed an article containing statements credited to me which I did not make. Some of them verge on libel and slander, and I hope you will give equally prominent space to correction or denial.

I did not say, as your paper says I did, that a general feeling toward the Montgomery situation in Columbia is one of "contempt and disgust for white Montgomery."

I did not say, "Take the case of Stephens College, for example."

I did not say that "Stephens is a hotbed of racial agitation."

The paragraph regarding efforts of a few Stephens College instructors to obtain food service at a soda fountain here for Negroes is so hopelessly twisted that I am at a loss to know how any competent reporter could have produced it from what I said. The incident did not occur "a short time ago," and I did not say that it did.

I did not say "a Negro reverend" I know went to the top brass at Stephens and demanded they stop letting their teachers do that. As far as I know they have stopped. In the first place I do not call a minister, black or white, a 'reverend.' In the second lace, I do not know this man. In the third place I do not refer to college administrators as 'top brass.' In the fourth place, the minister's action, as it was reported to me, was not a demand to the college head or any other college administrator, but rather a suggestion to an instructor who was active in the racial equality effort that the move to force food service at a place which was unwilling to serve Negroes was not in the best interests of either the Negroes or the white people.

I did not say that a former president of the college—your reporter neglected to obtain his first name and misspelled his last name—lost his job because of his "liberal" views toward race mixing at Stephens College. The gentleman in question resigned, as I recall it, after being given a leave of absence with full pay. So far as I know the question of race mixing at Stephens College was never discussed. I resent very deeply the scurrilous attribution to me.

I did not say, "At Stephens they are urging whites and Negroes to mingle quickly and without hesitation, although I'm sure it would raise hell if a Negro tried to eat in one of Stephens' dining halls."

If your reporter had made an honest—or capable—effort to evaluate the racial situation in Columbia, which he told me was his mission, he would have said in his story, as I told him, that Columbia has at least one first-class eating place downtown, to say nothing of those on the University of Missouri campus, in which Negroes are served exactly as white people.

He would have said, as I told him, that Negroes, in certain circumstances, are accepted as guests at some of Columbia's better lodging places.

He would have told you that, when they are members of groups in which both races work together—and we have many of them in Columbia—they sit down together at meals in Columbia's best public dining rooms.

He would have said, as I told him, that Columbia has an orderly process of integration in its school system that is progressing satisfactorily.

He would have said, as I told him, that Columbia is to vote within a few weeks upon a program of slum clearance and housing with which we hope to improve the living conditions of our citizens, a large proportion of whom are Negroes, who live in sub-standard housing.

He would have said, as I told him, that Negroes attend University of Missouri athletic contests, sitting where they wish; eating popcorn and drinking Cokes at the refreshment stands with both white students and white citizens of Columbia.

Perhaps there is some explanation of why your reporter asked me for aid in developing a story on race relations and then turned out a piece which misquotes me, sentence after sentence and paragraph after paragraph. I don't know what it is.

I will appreciate it if you will let me know at your earliest convenience when you will provide proper correction or retraction in this matter, and if you will send me three copies of the newspaper in which the retraction is made.

J. P. HAMEL.

Managing Editor *The Columbia Daily Tribune*, Columbia, Mo.

¶ The Advertiser *cheerfully prints this letter. But after a thorough scrutiny of the disclaimers, Reporter Steve Lesher stands on the substance of the interview as printed. Stephens, a fine institution, is in a delicate position as almost half its girl students are from the South. Stephens has never had a Negro student.—Ed.*

★ Tell It ★

To Old Grandma

Advertiser

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Aug. 2-14-56

The Soft Core

P. 4-A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — After hearing Sen. Eastland's staunch defense of home, motherhood and Lister Hill, I am convinced that our politicians, the soft core of the resistance movement, will retreat every step of the way until the last school in Alabama is integrated. Montgomery,

If the Citizens Council is anything more than a carnival sideshow of imported breastbeaters, they can best prove it by drawing up articles of faith to which all pro-segregationists can subscribe, and pledge themselves to oppose actively any candidate for public office who refuses to endorse these articles. Ala.

FORD McK. MacELVAIN.

Mob Rule In Lowndes Too

LaFayette, Ala.

Editor, The Advertiser:

Mob rule cannot be condoned. It cannot be condoned in Tuscaloosa any more than it can be condoned in the rural counties of Alabama. We must face the facts. Mob rule was in force at the University last week. Mob rule was *also* in force in Lowndes County last week.

The Child Welfare Worker of the Department of Public Welfare in Lowndes County was on a routine mission of mercy in an isolated section of the county last week. This lady is a graduate of Agnes Scott College in Decatur, Ga., and a graduate student of the Universities of Mississippi and Alabama. She is a state and federal employe. For eight years she has carried out her assignments giving help to the white and colored unfortunates of Lowndes County.

Alone and unprotected on a rural road, she passed a colored school just dismissing for the day. Two teen-aged Negro boys refused to move from the road as she was passing. When she slowed to a stop, a rock was thrown at her car by a Negro girl and another Negro girl spit on the ground at her feet. She was surrounded by a group of "hostiles." This occasion, as much as the celebrated autherine Lucy case, calls for serious thinking by citizens of all races. These Negro children would not have acted in such a maner if their parents had not been subjected to outside propaganda. The progress for better racial relations which is the work of more than three generations is being nullified by foreign agitators who do not give a fig for the workable status-quo.

This incident in Lowndes County, remote as it may seem, has all the elements of tragedy in its content that the Tuscaloosa incident has. This "happening" however, will most assuredly not reach the public press as its celebrated counterpart did. Why? Because the NAACP will not recognize it for its undertones of Negro violence, and it will never be printed in the Detroit, Chicago, or New York newspapers.

L. J. POWELL.

Lowndesboro, Ala.

Folsom Is Half Right

Editor, The Advertiser:

I agree with Jim Folsom when he says that 98% of the people in Alabama are against "mob rule." In fact, I would say that 99% are against it and that same 99% are also against putting a Negro in a white school.

Pine Level. W. T. BARNETT.

Blackout Boycott News

Editor, The Advertiser:

I read Joe Azbell's columns Sunday and Monday. Part of it was amusing and the rest was good horse sense. If let alone, everything would settle down and be as it used to be.

Newspapers and television are giving too much publicity to the disturbing situation. The leaders are eating it up, seeing themselves on television and being on the front page of the newspapers. If all the publicity would stop, they would see that no one cares one way or the other.

Both white and colored people have worked together and been good to each other. Let's see how quick all this disturbance can be stopped. Give less publicity to the agitators, then they will see that the white and colored people have lived together in peace of mind and have settled their own affairs. Peace of mind is all that matters now.

ESTHER BROWN.

Montgomery RFD.

Folsom Takes Stump Monday To Make 'Report to People'

Journal & Constitution P. 15-A
Atlanta, Ga.

Sizzling Political Campaign Seen; Governor Cites 'Mobocracy' Issue

Sun. 3-18-56

By FRED TAYLOR
Staff Writer, The Birmingham News
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 17—Gov. James E. Folsom, warming up for a sizzling political campaign by declaring the issue at stake in Alabama today is "democracy against mobocracy" (mob rule), is preparing to take the stump Monday to make his promised "report to the people."

He will tee off with courthouse addresses at Fayette and Jasper, in a two-a-day speech-making swing through northwest Alabama that will formally launch his campaign for Democratic national committeeman from this state. And he is expected to be busy several weeks on this stumping tour that will take him into a majority of the 67 counties.

Convention Plan

Gov. Folsom also is expected to plump for his newly advanced plan for a constitutional convention as the "most effective and forceful means" of solving Alabama's racial problems.

Despite the governor's recent declaration that he's not interested in anyone else's campaign and will stay out of all other races, his candidacy for the key Democratic post automatically makes him the central figure in this state's party and public office camps.

Folsom has adopted what he calls a "no slate, no hate, uninstructed and undecided" platform on which he is seeking election of Alabama's official connecting link with the Democratic National Committee.

But since he has close friends and political appointees running for four state offices, including two Supreme Court judgeships and the presidency of the Public Service Commission, slates were speedily forming. The governor's adherents, quite naturally, are looking to him as the bellwether.

Gov. Folsom long has advocated a constitutional convention as the most effective way to bring about legislative reappointment. With a Supreme Court advisory opinion having cleared the way, the Legislature passed and submitted a constitutional amendment for ratification or rejection by the state's voters next Nov. 1. This would reshuffle House and Senate membership. Folsom can be expected to bear down hard for this in his stumping tour.

It was only this week that Gov. Folsom proposed a constitutional convention to rewrite the state's basic law and give the people a chance to voice their "wishes and desires concerning the preservation of our traditional way of life."

The governor pointed out that Negro co-ed Autherine Lucy, recently expelled from University of Alabama, has asked for a federal court order to readmit her. And he warned that this might bring on more rioting and mob violence at the university.

Gov. Folsom's constitutional convention proposal as the best way to solve racial problems brought a blistering attack on the chief executive by Jefferson Sen. Albert Boutwell. He asserted the governor's efforts in behalf of maintaining segregation were belated and charged that the people have been "blindfolded, misled and confused." He also pointed out that the governor offered no specific suggestions as to how the racial problems could be solved.

It was in a separate statement that Gov. Folsom declared that the political issue in Alabama at this time "is democracy against mobocracy," adding that "I stand firmly on the side of democracy." "Law and order is going to prevail," said the governor. "Mobocracy will be consumed by its own evils within. I believe that a great majority of our sound-thinking people in Alabama believe in preserving our peaceful way of life through the Democratic processes, and not through mob rule."

Indirectly Hits Griffin

He added that "the University of Alabama took its stand against mobocracy by expelling a student who led mobs. Thus, the university outlawed mobocracy."

Gov. Folsom was referring to action of university trustees in expelling Leonard Wilson, 20-year-old student from Selma, who was identified as one of the students taking part in mob violence at the school over presence of the Negro coed.

Gov. Folsom also took an indirect poke at Georgia Gov. Marvin Griffin, recently a guest of the Alabama chief executive, for the tone of a speech Griffin delivered at a White Citizens Council meeting near Abbeville last week. He did not call Gov. Griffin by name, but described him as "a very distinguished public official of a sister state."

ALABAMA GOVERNOR ASKS SANE APPROACH TO RACIAL ISSUES

Daily Tribune
Fri. 3-2-56

Montgomery, Ala., March 1 (AP)—Gov. James E. Folsom today appealed to the Alabama legislature to "help keep the rough edges" of the racial problem "smoothed off" for the good of all people. P. 3

He spoke to a joint session of the house and senate shortly after a fifth special session of the legislature in 14 months was convened.

Chicago, Ill.

The governor made his appeal for a sane approach to solving racial issues in urging support for his plan to create a biracial commission to seek amicable settlement of disputes between the races.

Governor Sits Calmly Atop Racial Storm

Herald Tribune
Montgomery, Ala.

Newsman Says Folsom Moderating Influence On Crisis In Alabama

Sun. 3-18-56

By ROBERT S. BIRD
Of The New York Herald Tribune

[The following will appear in the New York Herald *and several other major U. S. dailies this morning. It is printed simultaneously in* The Advertiser *by courtesy of the* Herald Tribune. *Alabama newspapermen will be amused by some of the hooch in Reporter Bird's study, but it is nevertheless an exceptional piece of work.—Ed.]*

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 17 — The most relaxed man in the whole state of Alabama today is the man around whom the storm of the race conflict beats most furiously. Gov. James E. Folsom, who is remembered in the North as "Kissin' Jim" and is known to all hereabouts as "Big Jim," remains totally unruffled by the winds that shake the colonnaded Capitol of Alabama.

While the outside world looks in alarm on recent events in Alabama and his own citizens cry for action from him, "Big Jim" sits enigmatically on Olympus. Or more exactly, sits most of the time in his office in the Capitol, and much of the time on the grassy bank of his favorite fishing stream.

He was just as imperturbable the other night sitting in the Executive Mansion, discussing the Alabama situation with this correspondent over champagne and T-bone steaks. In fact, he was so relaxed that when time came to sit down to dinner he unnotched his belt several inches and attacked his meat in shirt-sleeves from the lordly Chief Executive's chair at the head of the state dining table.

FOLSOM

BIRD

Mrs. Folsom, an attractive and thoroughly charming woman, had chided the Governor for insisting that our small dinner party of four (including the Governor's executive secretary) be served in the state dining room. The table was big enough to seat a regiment of hussars and the chandelier, had it been fully lighted, could have illuminated Times Square.

She suggested that the family dining room would be cosier. But the Governor overruled her with indulgent wave of hand as if to suggest that the presence of this interviewer rendered the occasion at least a semi-state affair, even if not full dress. So we merely pitched our conversation to a higher register in order to maintain communication with the vivacious Mrs. Folsom down at the far end of the table. We dined informally in the midst of elegance.

GARGANTUA

Gov. Folsom's height is well known — six feet eight inches. But that might as well read eight feet six inches because when a person of ordinary height stands beside "Big Jim" a couple of extra feet difference in his height wouldn't seem to make much difference. He is a startlingly big man.

Give such a man the personality of an overgrown, slow-talking, hard-to-get-mad country boy with lots of hidden savvy and the first lineaments of his portrait appear. Enhance that with a political genius capable of engaging the fiercest loyalties and deepest enmities; of shrugging off abject defeats, personal contumely, backfiring razzle - dazzle political stunts, and rancor toward unrelenting enemies, some high lights begin to emerge.

Touch up the picture with the hint of a brooding, introspective look in the gray eyes, and a habit of lapsing into silences which he never seems to notice —and which he finally breaks by picking up the thread of conversation where he left off. Then dress this loungy giant in well-tailored clothes, invest him with legendary personal misdeeds both bizarre and horrendous, make his political maneuvers often seem suicidal and wholly inexplicable, give him a cat's ability to land on his feet—and you have a recognizable sketch of "Big Jim" Folsom, the so-called enigma of Alabama.

'HOGWASH,' QUOTH HE

At this moment, he would appear to be the most unpopular person in the state of Alabama. It all happened since integration became an issue, and his unpopularity seems to extend even to those ordinarily loyal constituents in the rural areas who voted him into office in the fall of 1954.

With the people of the state demanding piteously that he do something to help stem the "black tide" which threatens to engulf them, he is accused by some extremists of inaction so flagrant as to warrant impeachment. He speaks with disrespect for the white Citizens Councils movement, which is organizing throughout the state to fight integration, and a result is that Folsom people are plotting his downfall. He gives a mild rebuke to Negro agitators and the cry goes up that he is really a "nigger lover" — the vilest label that can be pinned on a man here.

The desperate legislators, seeking to appease the folks back home, put through nullification and interposition legislation, along

with other measures so wild as to cause even them to smile a little nervously, and the Governor says, "Hogwash," then goes fishing.

After six weeks of traveling around Alabama, encountering passion, fear, hatred and frustration in abundance, it was quite an experience to sit down and talk about it for four hours with the most relaxed man in Alabama.

IT AIN'T GONNA RAIN

Either he's all wrong and Alabama is in a mighty bad fix, or he's a lot right and Alabama is safe; safe for itself and safe for the Union, with certain painless modifications of viewpoints still to be attained, perhaps.

At any rate, the Governor's alleged inaction is now ended. This week he intends to go out among "the people" and tell them that there is no real crisis at all here in Alabama.

He's going to tell them that there is nothing to wrry about, to watch carefully against white folks trying to stir up trouble, to calm down and sit tight and let him handle matters in his own way. He'll give his personal report to the people in his own way in the courthouse towns of all the 67 counties, he says, and he won't even talk about his own little campaign to win office as a Democratic national committeeman. He's in that race against a couple of formidable candidates, including the author of Alabama's nullification law.

POPULARITY CONTEST

In short, the Governor is about to go to his people with aid and comfort in their frustration. He is one of them and they know it. And if their aroused passions are as elemental as the good earth itself, so is his unworriedness. At least, so he suggests. Wise in all the tricks of Southern stump politicking, "Big Jim" may yet quiet down this wave of race hatred. If he does, it will be another Folsom miracle.

The experts laugh at the idea. They say he's too late; this time he has fallen flat on his face for good. He shrugs with unconcern. He may not win the committeeman post because, as he says, the wave of race hatred will not have passed until nearer the Fall election. And this committeeman showdown is to be in May. But he will draw fire away from other Folsom candidates, and away from his own legislative program. Later, he is convinced, all misunderstanding will have passed.

"I've been through it all before," he says, with weary recollection.

LET 'EM BELLOW

"Let them spleen their vent, or vent their spleen, or however you say it," he adds. "All I want is for the people to speak.

The Governor has just launched what he considers to be an ingenius bit of strategy He has called for a constitutional convention to "legalize" the "hogwash" of nullification and interposition. As it happens, the Governor has long wanted a constitutional convention for altogether other reasons, largely to further his own state legislative program, which includes reapportionment of certain counties which are generally anti-Folsom. The Legislature in the past had no intention of giving him his constitutional convention because it feels that might open the door to all kinds of Folsom law-making mischief.

HUMBUG MEDICINE?

But now they are feeling the sting of a real needle, because the Governor has got a very simple stump-talk rationalization for the convention. Nobody understands interposition anyway, and the rural folks least of all. They are backing on the theory that any medicine is better than none. But here comes "Big Jim" saying that it is humbug medicine, and the real cure is a constitutional convention "to make every thing legal.' He pretends to be surprised that legislators are nettled.

"In such a convention they can even see-seed (sic) from the union," he explains. They can authorize me to call out the National Guard against the Federal troops. Like I say there's been so much hell-raising I thought they would want to do it."

"Why," he says with a gleam in his eye, "they could require the Governor to take an oath promising not to support the Constitution of the United States. Do you know that all the state and county and local officials of Alabama are bound by oath to support the Federal government? Only a constitutional convention can release them from that oath. Let the people speak in convention assembled!"

'SAM HOUSTON DIDN'T'

Would the Governor accept release of his oath to the Federal government in such a convention?

"Sam Houston didn't he grins, "but all the other Confederate governors did."

"But would you?"

"Sam Houston didn't."

And the Governor's going to point out to his stump audiences another "important point." They seem to have overlooked the fact that the State of Alabama has not been made, up to now a party to any school integration suit. So why the rush to fret about the integration matter? And why hasn't it been made a party to such a suit. Well, the Governor's going to call attention to the fact that he's kept in pretty close touch with some of the Negro leaders who are causing trouble elsewhere in that respect.

SCOTCH AND SODA

Nothing has caused so much heart-sickness among the Folsom following as the story that went the rounds to the effect that last November he drank Scotch whisky with Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, New York's Negro Congressman. The Governor will have to meet that accusation at the courthouse steps of Alabama, and it is a good guess he will explain that Rep. Powell is one of those Negro leaders with whom it was important for him to talk —even in his office in the Executive Manison.

And there will be still other points to be hammered home. How come that people are getting so fussed about integration that they are blaming good Democrats on the Supreme Court for their troubles when the fact is the Republican President and his Republican Attorney General are responsible for prosecution of the integration suits?

The Governor, moreover, will appeal to the patriotic impulses of his sore-tried supporters, for they are just as willing to die for their country as they are to die for Dixie, and American traditions are unassailable even here, where one is assumed to be include segregation in the South.

He will hit out against "mobocracy" and take a firm stand for democratic law and order. And he will say these things standing up there on the platform in a white suit which makes him look even bigger than the giant he is. A man of the people, or perhaps a father symbol for the temporarily confused. And they will listen to this man who rode to victory in his last campaign on the emblazoned but folksy slogan, "Y'All Come!"—meaning to his inauguration as Governor.

HYPNOTIZED BIRD

It's almost hypnotic listening to him at home giving this picture of himself on the stump; sitting in his chair with head hunched down between his huge shoulders, speaking slowly as if forging in his mind the exactly right image of the platform scene that he counts on for redemption.

As he talks, Mrs. Folsom, mother of four of his six children, girlishly plump, sparkling of eye, eager of manner, listens to pater familias with pleasure in her gaze and occasionally gentle dissent. Her candidate for Democratic presidential nominee is not his. His is Harry S. Truman, period. If Mr. Truman doesn't run, then the Governor will cross that bridge when he comes to it.

The Governor was a widower when he met Mrs. Folsom in 1946 while on a speaking tour. In those days he always kissed every pretty girl he could, but he asked this one, the former Jamelle Moore to marry him. She did two years later, and it is plain that there is great warmth between them.

This may be "hogwash," but the truth is the Alabama race situation seemed a lot less inflammatory to this correspondent after the session with "Big Jim" Folsom. This much is certain, he is by design or not, a moderating influence on the crisis in Alabama.

'Rock and Roll' Becomes a Racial Issue

Courier-Journal 5-4-56

NOW we have heard everything. The White Citizens' Councils, already having credited Moscow with running both the Supreme Court and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, discovers that the N.A.A.C.P. and other subversive forces "inspired" the "rock and roll" madness currently entrancing the teen-age set and decrees that "rock and roll" has got to go.

At least down in Anniston, Ala., that is. There the busy-body agents of the Councils are checking on the owners of drugstores and restaurants and pressuring them to remove the offending records.

What good this augurs for the holy cause of white supremacy we cannot imagine, escape-minded as we are anyway about "rock and roll." But experience suggests that it could spread like wildfire and burn up quite as much W.C.C. energy as shielding Mississippi from non-racist speakers, yanking "racially subversive" books from Southern libraries, kicking out white clergymen who don't toe the racist line, in South Carolina and Georgia, firing state employees in Louisiana and South Carolina guilty of believing (and, worse, saying) that the Supreme Court is indeed supreme, boycotting newspapers and other enterprises not properly enthusiastic about the W.C.C., etc., etc.

This mad attempt to suppress all but one kind of thinking and one kind of expression in the South comes ill from a section that once phrased the nation's best concepts of freedom. It indicates that current conformity notions in the South are likely to cause more lasting damage to the South's whites (as BOOKER T. WASHINGTON said slavery did) than to its Negroes.

Not that the W.C.C. in its more ludicrous activities is too unlike other pressure groups in the nation—groups that start off with one objective and then, like the D.A.R. or the American Legion or half a dozen others, set themselves up as the anointed guardians of the nation's mores in almost every field. And like the N.A.A.C.P. in its more feckless interludes as a common scold and would-be censor of nursery tales, greeting cards, military publications, textboooks and the U. S. Navy's right to visit foreign ports.

But the W.C.C., dedicated as it is not to upholding the law of the land but to "beating" it and harassing its own critics into silence, tops the current list by far. Its antics and its tactics, and their success in many a Southern community, show how far the South has slipped since 1860.

That was when it was possible for South Carolina's most distinguished lawyer, JAMES L. PETIGRU, to be a minority spokesman for the hated Unionists and still be honored by his opponents for his independence of mind. Pointing to the Baptist church in Columbia in which the fateful Secession Convention was beginning, he said: "It looks like a church, but it is now a lunatic asylum; go right there and you will find one hundred and sixty-four maniacs within." Yet when he died in Charleston in 1863, in the full tumult of a civil war, the South-

ers of that day could and did praise the very qualities of character which had made him, though one of them, their most outspoken critic.

They could and did raise, in war-time, a glowing monument to his name. It was a deed and is a monument that honors still not PETIGRU so much as the Southerners of that day. And it stands as a silent reproach to their descendants in the W.C.C. —if any. For they are the ones who today would silence the PETIGRUS and demean their own heritage by demeaning all but those who think and speak their way.

38a 1956

It's Published In Askelon—I.

Advertiser P. 4-A
Tues. 4-17-56
Montgomery, Ala.

The Advertiser, The Monitor Observes, Has Pin-Pointed Racial Conditions Elsewhere In The U.S.

Christian Science Monitor

UNDOUBTEDLY the Southern editor who is most enjoying himself in the paradoxically very serious segregation debate gripping the South is Grover C. Hall Jr., editor-in-chief of *The Montgomery Advertiser*. He is a writer with pungency whose editorial page today may be judged every bit as interesting as it was when his father edited it and in 1928 won a Pulitzer prize for anti-Ku Klux Klan editorials.

Mr. Hall is to be classified neither as liberal nor conservative as to the Southern scene, and especially race. But he is a stickler for facts about segregation throughout the nation, and like most Southern editors, deplores Northern newspaper treatment of the race problems as if it were something indigenous only to the South.

Chicago Inquiry

IN HIS editorial columns, and through telephone interviews by members of his staff, he has succeeded in stirring up widespread interests in racial conditions in several Northern communities. These efforts he is running on his editorial page as a series under the caption, "Tell It Not In Gath, Publish It Not In The Streets of Askelon."

Mr. Hall also has attracted attention because he has patiently sought to answer the multitudinous questions of Northern newspapermen who descended on Alabama's capital city to report the Negro bus boycott. It is obvious from a variety of written comments, including those of French and English newspapermen visiting Montgomery, that what Mr. Hall has had to say, and write, has forced them to respect his pin-pointing of the fact of racial conditions elsewhere.

As to segregation in Alabama, Mr. Hall speaks carefully. But he believes that "as we have said repeatedly, there isn't going to be any general mixing of the races in Southern schools for years to come."

Remembering race riots in Chicago, Mr. Hall put reporter Tom Johnson on the phone with a tape recorder to talk with Louis P. Dennocenzo, who was described in a major editorial page feature as "president of the South Deering Improvement Association," a group "which he says has 700 members" protesting a residential influx of Negroes in the Trumbull Homes development.

'Incredibly Violent'

THE interview brought statements from Mr. Dennocenzo, a civil engineer, that as of last month, approximately 150 Chicago policemen were allocated to that area to prevent feared outbreak of violence. This, Mr. Johnson reported in Mr. Dennocenzo's words, was a round-the-clock patrol. Mr. Hall allocated four of his six editorial columns to the report. His point, of course, was obviously that Chicago, too, had a touchy race situation.

Mr. Hall noted wryly in his editorial column a Chicago report that the Trumbull Homes special detachment had been reduced "to a mere corporal's guard of 93," and added: "Alabamians, do not despair of an improvement in Chicago race relations. They seem incredibly violent to a Southerner . . ."

Mr. Hall's staff produced an article following interviews with society editors of the *New York Times*, *Herald Tribune*, and *Journal American*, the *Chicago Tribune*, *Detroit Free Press*, *Los Angeles Times*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and *Washington Post*. Again, the report ran four of *The Advertiser's* six columns, the results showing that of those papers, the *Times* had published one picture of a Negro bride, the *Herald-Tribune* four or five. None of the other papers reported they had ever printed a Negro bride's icture in the social columns. To Mr. Hall, and of course to many Southerners, this seemed an effective counterattack against charges that the Southern press handles Negro news on a segregated basis.

Los Angeles Views

IN AN editorial, Mr. Hall took one and a half columns to discuss the *New York Times* report that in Milwaukee "the racial issue has been raised against Mayor Frank P. Zeidler, who is seeking reelection." Mr. Hall talked, according to the editorial, to the *Milwaukee Journal's* acting chief editorial writer Paul Ringler, and got from him a statement that "Negroes moving into previously white areas are resented by white residents who fear that the influx will destroy their property values." The editorial said Mr. Ringler "confessed that he was genuinely baffled by the situation."

Summed up *The Advertiser*: ". . . wherever the Negro migrates in significant numbers, he encounters rejection."

When the newspaper's entertainment editor went to Los Angeles to cover the Motion Picture Academy awards, he returned to write for Mr. Hall that the people he met, on learning he was from Montgomery, asked about the boycott. "They were well educated and clear thinking people. They had definite views on the subject of segregation. Almost 100% of them had the same views as a true Southerner. The people I met are with us."

Mr. Hall put reporter Steve Lesher on the phone to talk with Columbia, Mo., Mayor Howard Lang. Noting the state university is in Columbia, and two junior colleges for women, including Stephens, Mr. Lesher reported Mayor Lang admitted he had never seen a Negro in a white theater, had not seen one in white restaurants, and that "he's sure the white hotels don't allow Negroes." Mr. Lesher wrote the mayor preferred "not to give his opinion on integration in the city."

Dearborn Report

STEPHENS' assistant dean of women, Mr. Lesher wrote, said, "I can't say if we would examine an application from a Negro firl any more closely than one from a white girl."

Reporter Tom Johnson interviewed Mayor Orville Hubbard of Dearborn, Mich., fourth largest city in the state, quoted him as saying: "I am for complete segregation, one million per cent on all levels." Mayor Hubbard was also quoted as saying "not a single Negro" lives in Dearborn because "everytime we hear of a Negro moving in—for instance we had one last year—we respond quicker than you do to a fire." But in Dearborn, wrote Mr. Johnson, 15,000 Negroes work at Ford's River Rouge plant."

Talking with John Fischer, editor of *Harper's* magazine, Mr. Johnson was told, regarding *The Advertiser's* series on non-Southern segregation: "I think that sort of thing may, in the end, have some helpful repercussions in the North, particularly if you can get your stories reprinted."

Thus far, in the opinion of newspaper observers, Mr. Hall has done an outstanding job at least of pointing up non-Dixie segregation. He proposed to James A. Wechsler, editor of the *New York Post*, that Mr. Wechsler assign *Post* reporter Murray Kempton—then in Montgomery on the boycott story—to help him, Mr. Hall, do a story on segregation in New York. Mr. Hall contended, later, he had reached an agreement with Mr. Kempton on this.

Attention Drawn

BUT Mr. Wechsler said he was assigning a Negro reporter, Ted Poston, to a New York segregation story. Mr. Hall replied that he was willing to work with Mr. Kempton or his "opposite number," Mr. Wechsler himself. But the offer was not acceptable and Mr. Hall has not made any further effort to join in a story on New York City segregation.

Mr. Hall, it can be seen, has stirred up a good deal of attention, more than any other Southern newsman recently. The Alabama Legislature has passed a resolution commending his campaign, urging other Alabama newspapers to "join in *The Advertiser's* campaign to present the Negro in his true light—as an American dilemma—in the hope that the Northern press will assume its obligation to present the racial problem in its proper perspective."

Casting The First Stone

The Hartford Courant

Grover Hall Jr., is a soft-spoken—and outspoken—newspaper editor in Montgomery, Ala. It incensed him to see dozens of Northern newspapermen arriving to cover the Autherine Lucy case. Aren't there, he said in effect, enough cases of discrimination and racial pressures up North to keep you busy? Some admitted there were pockets of prejudice well worth covering; others that most of it existed by "gentlemen's agreement," to quote the title of a novel of the past. Some denied any, of course. Mr. Hall must be mailing them clippings today.

The Detroit housing incident involving family of John W. Rouse, at 70 trying to move into a modest brick home in an all-white neighborhood, ought to bring tears of shame to the decent folk in the city. Not only is it shameful that the affair was handled by hoodlumism, without any basis of fact. It is also shameful that the defense of the family's being white was even evoked. It only underlines the tensions and prejudices that do exist. This is not the only example in Midwest of such troubles; there have been cases in the past in Cicero, Ill., for instance. In the large cities where populations are of mixed racial, religious, and national groups there is known tension.

This is not to say that it does not exist here in Hartford, too. And every community, perhaps, should heal itself first. The South remains the most vicious location of race prejudice, one where equal opportunity is openly and flagrantly denied to American citizens of a different hue. But prejudice and discrimination are far from outlawed in the North and West as well. The basic cure remains education, and its goal of tolerance.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser p. 2-E

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Sun. 4-8-56 Montgomery, Ala.

An International Problem As Well As National

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I have read in today's *Chicago Daily News* the report by Bert Collier to the effect that you are reporting in your newspaper accounts of race conflict in the United States beyond the South. Let me, as a Northerner who has worked all his life in intergroup relations, state that I think you are on the right track just so long as you do not use these accounts as justification for a do-nothing policy. Two wrongs never make a right.

In fact the problem of race relations is a national problem. For nearly 20 years I have held to this point of view in my work. There are differences of degree and, indeed, of substance among various sections of the nation but the basic problem is the same. And since the problem is a national one, the solutions must be national in nature.

But I'll go you one better. The problem is a *world* problem. Wherever one goes, there is group conflict. For the past four years I have lived and worked in Europe, in the cause of Brotherhood. I spent most of that time in a dozen major capitals of Free Europe. And in all nations of Europe there are problems of group conflict. Where did anyone ever get the idea that the South is the only section of the human family with such problems?

In Holland, for example, Catholics and Protestants and "humanists" are always at war, with three kinds of all organizations, labor, professional, school, youth, radio, newspapers, even department stores. One wonders how Holland is able to keep a government.

In Belgium, there is constant conflict between Flemish Belgium and French Belgium, with petitions always being circulated to separate the two.

France has serious problems with Italian and Polish refugee workers and with North Africans who live there. Some 500,000 (at least) colored Frenchmen (not Negroes) are victims of many kinds of discrimination.

Germany has its refugees who are not liked by natives. North and South Italians are not cordial to each other. Even Switzerland has tension between its German and French speaking people. In Geneva, for example, there are twice as many German speaking Swiss "immigrants" who are not accepted by the French Genevese. And so on, *ad infinitum*.

As for the rest of the world, I need only to mention India versus Pakistan and Israel versus the Arabs to suggest some of the conflicts. And let us not forget South Africa.

So, wherever there are people, there is group conflict. That's because it is natural for people to cluster in groups of one kind or another. And the majority or dominant group always builds up a case of superiority over its inferior minority. That's as natural as breathing. But it doesn't make any group better or worse, by virtue of birth. It only proves that people are people wherever we find them.

The striking thing, all over the world, however, is that, for one reason or another, the depressed groups are rising up and demanding equality of opportunity and justice. And there are always enough people in the dominant group, with religious ideals and who follow democratic principles, to give solid support to the demands of the minority groups.

Also, all over the world, people are telling Americans that the American Revolution really started something and the rising up of people in Africa and Asia and Europe is a continuation of what we started in 1776. That's one reason why it is so important for the United States to keep the leadership in seeing that all people everywhere have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

So, let the United States solve its own problems but give help wherever there are people without full justice, whether in the South or the North or in Europe or Asia or Africa. The tide of affairs is such that the American revolution cannot be stopped. Our forefathers started something not yet finished. In fact, it may never be finished but a lot of us need to help it along right now.

WILLARD JOHNSON.
751 S. Coop St., Barrington, Ill.

◆

Keep It Up

Editor, The Advertiser:

I wish to commend you for your series of excellent articles, "Publish It Not In The Streets Of Askelon."

I am often in the eastern cities and have carefully noted that they do have segregation and that they do not accept the colored race with open arms—as outside agitators would have us believe.

You are doing a good job on informing our people of the actual conditions in the North and East, and I hope that you will continue to do so.

E. R. LEHMANN, Vice President,
West Point Manufacturing Co.
West Point, Ga.

◆

Good Counterattack

Editor, The Advertiser:

As a long time subscriber to *The Advertiser* and regular reader of your editorial page, I wish to congratulate you upon your recent editorials, excerpts from other papers and the many letters concerning the segregation issue.

It is apparent that the NAACP and their left-wing rabble rousers were determined to cram complete and immediate segregation down our throats while we were still complacent and somewhat groggy from the initial impact of the Supreme Court decision. They were beginning to exert real pressure, but it now appears that the pressure is being lessened somewhat and I think you have the answer. The way to relieve and divert that pressure from the South is to arouse public opinion, not only in Alabama and the South, but throughout the rest of the country by turning the spotlight right back in their faces, by revealing the glaring examples of some of the segregated, poverty stricken and crime ridden sections of cities in the East and North.

The peoples of the South are beginning to rouse themselves to the danger facing them and as a recent speaker said, "When white people become aroused and make up their minds, they can be devilishly clever and determined."

Keep up your good work by continuing to turn the penetrating spotlight of truth on to some of these Northern and Eastern cities and their misguided crusaders. Let them clean up their own back yards before coming South with their "Holier Than Thou" attitude.

E. C. COKER.
Tallassee, Ala.

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Advertiser p. 2-E
Sun. 4-8-56

Stevenson Comes South

The Lee County Bulletin

Gov. Adlai Stevenson's campaign tour of Florida and *The Montgomery Advertiser's* poll of candidates for delegate to the Democratic national convention join to furnish interesting speculation.

Will Mr. Stevenson be able in Florida to reverse the tide and re-assume the position of No. 1 Demicratic candidate?

Will the Florida preferential primary reveal anything conclusive about the rank and file voter sentiment with respect to Stevenson's chances over Kefauver? Montgomery, Ala.

Will the Folsom forces in Alabama be able to capture the majority of this state's delegate places for Kefauver?

The answer to the first two questions is wrapped up in (1) how well Gov. Stevenson does in Florida and (2) whether the ever growing Republican vote down there is used to scuttle Stevenson as some believe the Minnesota Republicans helped head him off up there.

To get his campaign train back on the track Mr. Stevenson will have to defeat Sen. Kefauver by a rather handsome majority. A close vote will help Kefauver. No matter that most Florida Democratic party leaders favor Stevenson. If rank and file Democrats do not turn out in large numbers to re-fire his lagging bid that will be a sign that Adlai has had it. He says even that result would not stop him from going ahead with his bid for California's delegation. But a narrow win in Florida would be no victory at all, and most likely would result in Stevenson leaders advising him to throw in the towel.

◆

Family Squabble

The Selma Times-Journal

Angrily denying that he and other members of the state Oil and Gas Board have "personal interest" in the well-spacing bill which caused a four-day filibuster in the Alabama Senate, House Speaker Rankin Fite declared he holds no "spot leases" and would not benefit from the legislation.

Fite's denial was prompted by charges made by Senator Reuben Newton, whom the House speaker characterized as the "polecat senator from Walker County."

Not satisfied with this blast from the House floor, Fite sought out Newton and repeated his denunciation face to face.

As both of the major figures involved in this set-to are Folsomites, and as Folsomites know each other better than anyone else, *The Times-Journal* does not feel inclined to comment.

But if both of them just will keep on talking, "perhaps the people of Alabama will learn a good many things they should know.

Dixie Editor Bares North's Own Racial Crisis

Herald

Sixth in a Series

By BERT COLLIER
Herald Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Once again this beautiful city has become the capital of a civil war.

This time the weapon is the pen, mightier than swords or atom bombs, and victory most likely will go to the South.

Grover C. Hall Jr., editor-in-chief of The Montgomery Advertiser, has set out to prove that repression of Negro minorities is not strictly a Southern blight.

He has succeeded beyond his hopes.

So far Hall has spotlighted racial strife and tension in New York, Chicago and Detroit and there is much more to come.

"I could keep five reporters busy on this story if I had the staff to do it," Hall said.

Mon. 4-2-56

"I AM SIMPLY trying to demonstrate the evident, but sorrowful fact, that race disharmony follows wherever the Negro settles in significant numbers."

Hall's idea developed when the world's press descended on his city to report the disturbing and continuing boycott of the bus company by Negroes. It was an economic protest against a social custom — segregated seating — that is without parallel in this country.

There were more than a hundred regular and special writers, TV and radio commentators in this usually quiet city.

They came from England, France, Germany, Japan, Canada and Australia, as well as from most American cities.

The majority, at one time or another, found their way to the editorial sanctum of Hall, personable young editor who succeeded his late father in the job.

★ ★ ★

HALL TRIED to indoctrinate the visitors in the mores and attitudes of the Deep South, and help them cover a difficult story.

He did a good job. Ralph Hammond, press secretary for Alabama's Gov. James (Kissing Jim) Folsom; who also had problems with the writers' regiment, says the whole outlook of the visiting press changed during progress of the story.

"Many of the reporters came down with a specific assignment — to castigate Alabama for mishandling the race problem," said Hammond.

"The longer they stayed, the better insight they had into local attitudes and beliefs. Their writing became more objective, their stories temperate and understanding.

"It has been the first opportunity to get the Southern point of view before such a widespread audience."

Hall was both pleased and annoyed by developments. He agreed that the bus boycott was one of the big news stories of the decade. But he felt that important stories on race tensions remained untold in the home towns of newspapers covering the Montgomery situation so thoroughly. He decided to turn the tables and go after them.

★ ★ ★

THE ADVERTISER was just the paper to take up cudgels for the South. Born 128 years ago, in time to support Andrew Jackson for president, it lambasted the North through the pre-Civil War debates, covered Jefferson Davis' inauguration, which occurred in shouting distance of its office, and is fond of referring to Montgomery as "the first, the best and the next capital of the Confederacy."

Hall chose New York for his first target. In an open letter to James A. Wechsler, editor of the New York Post, he charged that race tension existed in that area which newspapers "with some notable exceptions merely peck at, often approaching it like a chicken gasping with the pip."

But the Southern press, said Hall, has "squatted on its hams and failed to redeem the dereliction" of its Northern colleagues.

Hall proposed to go to New York and in cooperation with the Post, root out and report race tension.

The project fell through, chiefly over a minor point that Wechsler wanted to assign Ted Poston, his capable Negro race relations expert, to the job. Hall preferred to work with Murray Kempton, the Post staffer who covered the Montgomery story. Hall and Kempton had become friends.

★ ★ ★

WECHSLER wrote Hall suggesting this hesitancy about Poston was based on race. Hall, who works daily in an atmosphere of mutual respect with a Negro editor, put this down as further proof Northern editors wilfully misunderstand the South.

However, the Post started work on its own series, which Hall reported unrest and tension in Trumbull Park, a housing development in Chicago.

Letters poured in from all parts of the world, pointing up racial dissension in likely and unlikely places. The Advertiser printed them in support of its position.

"I don't blame the Northern and foreign press for covering the Montgomery story," said Hall. "It's worth every word it got.

"But think of the fat expense accounts they would save if they kept their reporters home to cover that with which their own backyard reeks.

"We are trying to fill the journalistic gap by pointing out that where the Negro presents problems of numbers, he is rejected, candidly in the South, pharisaically in the North."

Hall has promised to carry in the Advertiser.

"Mission accomplished," said Hall.

The big payoff came when Hall began calling officials in northern cities and interviewing them (by tape recording) on racial issues.

He published these interviews under the striking Biblical quotation: "Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon." (Samuel II, 1:20).

Mayor Orville Hubbard, of Dearborn, Mich., told the Advertiser:

"I am for complete segregation, one million per cent, at all levels.

★ ★ ★

"IF A MAN works, I don't care what color he is. He ought to be paid. But I'm against all this social dream stuff."

Tell It To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

A Northerner's Tour Of Dixie

Advertiser 7-1-56

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — My name is Steve Stavis, Johns Road, Marblehead, Mass. For nearly two months I have been pursuing my trade as a salesman throughout the South.

When I say the South, I do not mean Miami or other noted resorts. I mean the South of the red earth farming areas, the Deep South of Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi. I have been to all of the big cities in each of these states. I have stayed for days at a time in each of the following cities: Montgomery, Tuscaloosa, Selma, Mobile and Dothan, Ala.; Dublin, Albany, Thomasville, Cairo and Blakely, Ga.; Hattiesburg, Vicksburg and Natchez, Miss.

Montgomery, Ala.

I am writing this, sir, because the powers that allow me to think and see and feel have undergone a change and I do not wish to leave this gentle Southern earth in silence.

Before this trip the South was a stranger to me. It wasn't so much of a stranger, however, that from my home in the North I didn't know of its Klu Klux Klans, its Huey Long and its Bilbo, its Emmett Till case. It was never a complete stranger, though, for I read of its Negroes and how badly they were treated.

Sun. 3-18-56

But I have come here now and I have seen. I wish it were possible for all thinking people in the nation to come and to see what I have seen.

They would know first of all that if the situation were reversed, that if the masses of Southern Negroes were in reality masses of Northern Negroes, the Negro, in his present Southern way of life would have less white friends and less help in the North than he now has in the South. If, on a morning not too long ago the people could have been with me, they would have seen a white farmer in Dublin, Ga., pick up the injured son of his Negro employe, and, while the father looked on, rush the boy to the hospital. During the incident, not one word was said between the farmer and the Negro father. It was as though what happened had happened before in many ways and many forms, and it would happen again and when it did the white man would again pick up the Negro boy and the boy's father would watch and there would not be a word said between them. This episode taking place in the South? No, it could not be, at least not in the South that was locked in my mind. But it did and it was as though I had wronged a man, a whole race of men in thinking what I did and I thought then that distance is not the proper atmosphere in which to pass judgment.

SHOW OF FORCE

The conflict in the South is not a conflict between the white man and the Negro in the South. It is a conflict arranged by a Northern Negro organization that now, having the power of the Sureme Court ruling behind it, is flexing its muscles and means to cram integration down the throats of the Southerners.

The NAACP is now having its day. It is acting not out of wisdom but out of an impending sense of power. If the motives of the NAACP were honest, they would know they cannot bring about integration by violence. They cannot quicken the process by defying 125 years of tradition. Their actions cannot be justified, for their actions mean violence and they must surely know that the people of the Deep South are in no mood to accept the Supreme Court ruling and have it enforced by a Northern Negro organization at one and the same time.

The thing the NAACP fears the most is that the nation may learn all too soon that the white people in the South

are now and have for the last 10 years developing by peaceful means what the NAACP hopes to do by violence. The NAACP fears that if they do not force integration now they will be exposed for what they truly are, the betrayers of the very very thing they say they are fighting for.

I have come here now and I have seen.

I know that in the Deep South there are two ways of life, the white and the Negro. The history of the white South has such hallowed depth that its family ties are the strongest in the nation. The history of the Negro South is one of scant material possession, little or no education, but a people free of worry, of conventional standards. The two ways of life are integrating to an extent even at this moment. The reason for this is not noble. It is sheer necessity. The Negro population in vast sections of the Deep South overwhelm the white population, and yet in those areas, as it is all over the South, the whites carry 90% of the tax burden. Despite this, and the fact that over 80% of the people on relief in the Deep South are Negroes, I have not visited a county in the Deep South where the Negro schools are not models to behold.

SHARING THE RESPONSIBILITY

The white Southerner knows that if his earth is ever to realize economic prosperity, the Negro has got to absorb a far greater share of the financial responsibility. And here is the heart of the local problem. While more and more Negroes are responding to a better community life, the vast majority are still rebelling against changing their way of life.

It is very true that Southern Negroes as a whole have less of everything, including less need to worry. There are very few heart attacks in Negro communities, and I have come across no Negro psychiatrists. A vast number of Negroes look forward to their Saturday night and don't worry too much about Monday. If they're hungry or sick they know they'll be taken care of.

The material and social sickness of the Negro in the Deep South will improve only as quickly and to the degree that he wants it improved. But it is improving. The NAACP cannot hurry the process, and violence will destroy all the progress that has been made so far.

It is of extreme importance for we in the North to know that the white South is much more of a friend to the Southern Negro than we have been led to believe. It is also important for us to know that the NAACP is apparently interested first in its own strength and second in the destiny of the Southern Negro. The Supreme Court wisely did not set a time for integration. Is the NAACP wiser than the Supreme Court—or are there other motives?

STEVE STAVIS.

Marblehead, Mass.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

A Tragic Gesture Of Brotherly Love

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I wish to comment on your recent editorial on racial tension, in which you state the subject has been swept under the rug here in Chicago. I will say it most certainly has been and I feel I can speak with some knowledge on this subject. I am a Christian, a Republican voter and lived on the near north side of Chicago for over 30 years, where this business has been very serious.

First, regarding the Trumbull Park housing rioting. Our previous mayor (Kennelley) encouraged the Negroes to move into this wholy white housing project, by offering them all the police protection they wanted and they got plenty, 1,500 in three shifts for two years. During the rioting that occurred from this tragic gesture of brotherly love, the worthy mayor lived in security and luxury in the most exclusive hotel on the north side. "The Chicago Beach Hotel." No Negro lives within three miles from this millionaires' domicile and this worthy ex-mayor still lives there so far as I last heard reported of him.

Our present mayor (Daley) tells us that all things have quited down at this project as only 250 extra police are necessary now, after 2½ years of protesting of this colored invasion.

The racial problem here is not primarily a matter of color of a man's skin as the local press tries to inform us. It is rather a matter of morals. During World War II some 5,000 Japanese (Neisi) moved into this neighborhood. There was no objection raised against them; they have the lowest criminal record in such crimes as dope addiction, rape, murder and theft, while the Negro has the highest. This is never mentioned in the local press.

What are the white people doing for the protection of their homes and loved ones? Simply migrating to the suburbs, outside of the city proper, where they can build and own their own homes, have their own schools and band together for their own protection.

Federal figures show that the white population increased only 4% while the Negro population increased 43% in 10 years and the Negro is drawing down 75% of the welfare funds paid out here. No wonder he is flocking here, where he can take things easy.

In closing my friend let me say imphatically that you are fighting a battle for all America, not for the Southern states alone.

JOHN MACDONALD TAYLOR.

Chicago, Ill.

Leave Well Enough Alone

Editor, The Advertiser:

Do you think those *Post* pinkos are going to play the game according to your dictates? Consort not with the likes of Weschler, Poston, Kempton, and Lehman. Confine your remarks and searchings to Chicago and Detroit. Leave New York to the holier-than-thou boys and stay away from Broadway.

And while I'm good and mad, please don't clutter up *Grandma's* pages with any more quotations from that South-hating *Time* magazine. For the past several years I've noticed your hero-worship of that slick-papered *Confidential* and it's time you quit bombarding your readers with the Luce Empire's half-truths.

BRYCE CALLAHAN.

128 Geneva St., Enterprise, Ala.

No Parlor Pink Debates

Editor, The Advertiser:

I observe the dilemma which you have been successful in involving yourself. In the old days the Caesars would bring home captive chieftains and parade them in chains to the delight of the residents of Rome. But this is the first time I have heard of one volunteering to be lead captive through the fleshpots of Harlem. It proves to me the immaturity of *The Advertiser's* editor-in-chief. Perhaps the harshest criticism is to say that he has lowered himself to the level of Mr. Wechsler. And that is pretty low.

The immaturity of the editor is such that he seems to think he can get some favorable publicity in an affair which he believes is a parlor pink debate. But the facts probably are that he and Mr. Wechsler are fanning the flames of a genocidal conflict from which may flow millions of casualties. Neither of these men nor both should seek personal publicity at such a potential cost.

If the editor wishes to redeem his faux pas he can do the following constructive things, viz:

¶ Obtain from the copyright holders, the right to publish the autobiography of Ethel Waters. This includes the picture of the securing of a beachhead by Negroes in Philadelphia, and is substantially true of their efforts in every American city. It shows the callousness of the people of these cities. Later Negroes had to fight racial attacks which were designed to drive them out of their beachheads. This is one of the great American classics of the 20th Century.

¶ Following the racial wars in Philadelphia, New York, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Los Angeles, etc., realization commenced of the fact that there had been no race riots in the South. Thereupon, Mr. Eugene Meyer of *The Washington Post* editorialized to the effect that the national government should press the South until race riots appeared therein. Reproduce that editorial. That such an editorial should have been published in the *Washington Post* is not a matter of small importance such as the appearance thereof in the *New York Post*. For *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* have influence of great mesaure.

The editor is not engaged in a pink tea affair. This is a matter for long heads and not for boy scouts. It's a long term pull, or curtains for the South.

GUY G. MOORE.

724 18th St., Arlington 2, Va.

JUDGE J. J. MAYFIELD FOUND SHOT TO DEATH

Alabama Court Justice, 45, Is Apaprent Suicide

JURIST DIES IN BED

By The United Press

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 4.—Associate State Supreme Court Justice James J. Mayfield, 45, was found shot to death in his bed Wednesday, a 22 caliber pistol clasped in his hand. Authorities said it was apparently suicide.

The judge's body was discovered in his apartment here Wednesday morning by a maid. She notified a neighbor who telephoned Gov. James E. Folsom. The Governor immediately sent Public Safety Director Bill Lyerly to the scene.

Investigation Ordered

Mr. Lyerly and Coroner M. B. Kirkpatrick agreed the death was obviously suicide, but Governor Folso ordered a thorough investigation.

The judge, the youngest member of the Supreme Court, was running for re-election in the May 1 Democratic primary against State Senator James S. Coleman Jr., Green County. The judge's death leaves Mr. Coleman as the automatic nominee.

Officers said no suicide note was left and they could give no reason for the action.

The maid, 28-year-old Lorine Lewis, said the judge had been despondent lately and appeared worried over his race for re-election.

She said Justice Mayfield told her he was "having a devil of a time over segregation, and that some man was trying to get his job."

Justice Mayfield died of a bullet wound near his right ear. He apparently had been dead several hours when the body was found.

Telephone Off Hook

Officers said a nearby radio was playing and the telephone in the bedroom was off the hook.

The maid said she arrived at the apartment at about 7 a.m. and "fixed breakfast and made coffee" before entering the bedroom to awaken the judge. When she saw the body, she said, she ran for help.

In the judge's bed were pictures of his mother and his son, James J. Mayfield Jr., about 4, who lives in Tuscaloosa with his mother, Justice Mayfield's divorced wife.

Justice Mayfield was graduated from the University of Alabama Law School and taught there following his graduation. A fervent pro-segregationist, he was elected to the court in 1954 to fill an unexpired term.

Told His Stand

In Lanett, Ala., last week, he declared he would not be bound by the U. S. Supreme Court's desegregation ruling.

Mr. Coleman, the man opposing him in the primary, said news of Justice Mayfield's death came as a "tragic shock."

Lawmakers balking—

News P.1

Folsom will face fight on session

Ins. 3-20-56

B'ham, Ala.

Bills to pare authority are said in making

BY HUGH SPARROW
News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 20—If Gov. Folsom calls the Legislature back into special session, as he has threatened, to consider again his request for a constitutional convention, it could cause him considerable trouble.

Several senators strongly indicated today that if the governor goes through with his threat to call another special session, there would be bills to cut down considerably on the governor's present benefits.

One senator said that he was considering offering a bill to reduce the governor's mansion fund

One senator said that he was considering offering a bill to reduce the governor's mansion fund appropriation from $60,000 to $10,000 a year.

REPORTS WERE in circulation also that bills would be offered to prevent the governor from transferring money from the emergency fund to the mansion fund and to require the state to buy everything on bids.

Reports of reprisal measures circulated in the Senate chamber shortly after the Senate secretary had read a sharp message from Gov. Folsom demanding anew that the Legislature act favorably on the convention resolution.

Gov. Folsom's message reiterated some of the things that he has been saying in speeches yesterday and today in his so-called report to the people.

The governor's message did not provoke a floor discussion. It was merely ordered placed in the Journal of the Senate.

The governor's message together with the threat to call the Legislature back into session to force action on the constitutional convention resolution could be the beginning of a sharp break between the legislative and executive brances.

THE LEGISLATURE already has twice refused to act favorably on the constitutional convention plan.

Both houses during the last special session turned thumbs down on a joint resolution providing for the convention.

Last similar resolutions were pigeonholed both in the Senate and the House.

In his message to the Legislature today, Gov. Folsom said:

"I believe that the Legislature of Alabama by resolution—term it "interposition," "nullification," "dissolution," "revocation" or any other name—cannot relieve the governor or any other elected or appointed official, including the Supreme Court of Alabama—of their sworn oaths," his message said.

GOV. FOLSOM reminded that heand other public officialsl have taken an oath to support the Constitutions of the United States and the state of Alabama.

"These and similar oaths are required not only of public officials but also of the board of trustees of our educational institutions and every member of our armed forces," he said.

"Such interposition or nullification resolutions having been passed were not legal and shall have no force and effect unless such action shall be approved by the sovereign people of Alabama in convention assembled for that particular purpose.

News

"Not being a party to this action and believing that such resolution accomplished nothing and only muddied the water, I did not sign it when it came to my office."

P.6

GOV. FOLSOM noted that he asked the Legislature to submit to the voters an opportunity to require a constitutional convention to tackle the racial problem, but as yet no action has been taken on it.

"Therefore, I again call upon you to show your own sincerity to those people who elected you just as they elected me by allowing them to vote on Aug. 28—with little or no additional cost to the state—on whether or not they desire this convention," he said.

"There are some among your colleagues who differ with my approaches to our problems and rather than oppose my recommendations on their merit prefer to term caution, discretion and careful consideration as being 'insincere,'" he said.

"As the chief constitutional officer of this state, I have oftentimes disagreed with many provisions of our Constitution and I have sought repeatedly to have it revised in keeping with our growth and modern advances, but in no instance have I ever refused to carry out my oath of office to uphold both the Alabama Constitution and the Constitution of the United States."

'I CAN'T CONTINUE,' SAYS MAYFIELD NOTE

Commercial Appeal

Dead Judge's Friend Told Reason For Act

Ins. 4-6-56

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., April 5.—(AP)—James J. Mayfield, associate justice of the Alabama Supreme Court, wrote a note saying "I cannot continue" before he took his own life in Montgomery Wednesday, it was revealed Thursday.

P.3

Memphis, Tenn.

A note from the judge was delivered to political reporter Bob Kyle of the Tuscaloosa News Thursday, two hours before the funeral here. Mr. Kyle was a lifelong friend of the judge.

The note, dated March 19 and written in longhand, was addressed to Mr. Kyle and The Associated Press. It was on Alabama Supreme Court stationery and had been left with a friend to be delivered "if anything happens."

The note:

"Every decision I have ever made has been honest and nonpartisan. While some people may criticize my economic beliefs none can say I have not honestly tried to do my duty.

"I have been true to the heritage of my grandfather, a Confederate cavalryman, and to my father, a justice of this court. I want to thank my friends all over the state for the confidence they have shown in me.

"My health is such that I should not have undertaken a campaign. I regret that I cannot continue. I send my love to all my family.

"(Signed) James J. Mayfield."

Judge Mayfield called Leroy Simms, Birmingham correspondent for The Associated Press, last week and arranged a breakfast meeting in Birmingham for March 28. He spent more than an hour discussing the Lanett, Ala., speech on March 29 in which he pledged his efforts to uphold segregated schools in Alabama, and criticizing the U. S. Supreme Court decision holding segregated schools illegal.

Albert Boutwell's Service To State

News P.6

BY EDMUND BLAIR
In The St. Clair News-Aegis

Birm., Ala.

I believe I can say without fear of successful challenge that no man in Alabama has risen in stature as fast and as far as Albert Boutwell, state senator from Jefferson County.

A successful lawyer, the people of Jefferson County have elected Boutwell to represent them in the State Senate for three consecutive terms. This in itself is a vote of confidence from the people of our largest county that should get a "long look" from the people of Alabama when the time comes to choose another governor.

All members of the State Senate as well as members of the lower House, political friends and enemies alike, have tremendous respect for the integrity and ability of Albert Boutwell.

Recently I was in the state capital during a legislative session. I was in conversation with a senator who opposes Boutwell in just about everything. Nevertheless as Boutwell passed, this man said, "I would not want to be in this Senate unless Albert Boutwell was here." Another senator said, "Boutwell has done more to hold down the wild spending that has been proposed than all the other members combined."

If it had not been for Sen. Boutwell and a tight band of friends who think as he does, who have thrown up many a roadblock in the path of ambitious plans of the administration, Alabama might be bankrupt now, instead of facing bankruptcy as the state's budget director warned last week when he said it was possible the state would not be able to pay its bills Oct. 4.

But Sen. Boutwell's most sterling worth to the people of Alabama has been the greatest fight he and other senators and members of the Legislature have waged to keep Alabama's schools segregated.

A man of deep convictions, Sen. Boutwell, Sen. Englehardt, Sen. Walter Givhan and others are waging a determined battle to keep this state's schools segregated. As a result of their efforts, the interposition bill, and the school placement bill, both designed to keep segregation, passed both House and Senate with flying colors.

The interpostion bill, written by Rep. Charlie McKay of Talladega County, was called "hogwash" by Alabama's governor. The governor signed neither bill, preferring to let them become law without his signature of approval — sitting on the fence, a "mugwump" as it were.

Sen. Boutwell has from the beginning of the Folsom administration waged a vigorous battle against the world spending that has brought the budget director fears the state cannot pay it's bill in October. He opposed the raise in pay for members of the Legislature which has cost the taxpayers multiple thousands of dollars that could have very well been spent wisely otherwise.

True Boutwell lives in Jefferson County. For some years, there has been a saying that no man from Jefferson County could be elected governor. To borrow Gov. Folsom's expression, I think this is a lot of "hogwash."

I don't believe the people of Alabama care where a man comes from be it Birmingham, Chisel Switch or Ishkooda. If he shows the ability, integrity and leadership that Albert Boutwell has shown, I think the people of our state would elect him governor.

If Alabama selected their candidates in convention similar to the methods used in a national convention, I would be honored, if a were a delegate, to be the first to place in nomination the name of Albert Boutwell.

I believe many thousands of other Alabamians feel the same way.

Better Reporting Of Racial Ne

Advertiser P. 4 Sun. 3-18-56

The Dallas Morning News

WHEN racial integration in public schools struck a snag in Alabama a few weeks ago the subject became a hot news story. Many Northern and Eastern newspapers assigned reporters to cover day-to-day developments for the information of their own readers.

Quite in keeping with a modern trend in journalism these correspondents have undertaken to give the reasons behind the insistence of Negro leaders upon immediate integration and the reluctance of writes to be crowded precipitately. Their reports were their evaluation of the situation based upon what they could learn in a relatively brief period.

Grover C. Hall Jr., editor of *The Montgomery Advertiser*, who has been helping these visiting correspondents cover the boycott and Lucy stories, charges that some of these articles, especially in New York, Chicago and Minneapolis newspapers, were sensational and colored.

Hall wrote to James A. Wechsler, editor of *The New York Post*, who, it will be remembered, had a hassle with Sen. McCarthy a few years ago and who advocates overnight implementation of the Supreme Court's decision.

Hall told Wechsler that Northern newspapers ignore or play down instances of anti-Negro discrimination in their own circulation areas while playing up similar instances in the South. Murray Kempton, *The Post's* reporter on racial relations, suggested to Hall an exchange of racial news between the two papers. Hall agreed. It is now up to Wechsler.

Hall's purpose is to prove that the problem is an American one, not exclusively a Southern one. Honest, factual accounts of what happens to Negroes in the North would go far to proving Hall's point, if other Northern newspapers also will print racial news in their own areas.

The experiment should help to clear the atmosphere and develop a better understanding between the people of the South and those of the North. There usually are some things to be said for both sides of any question.

CONSTITUTIONAL REVAMP

Gov. Folsom Gives 'Formula' For Solving Racial Tension

Advertiser P. 1 Wed. 3-14-56

Montgomery, Ala.

After proclaiming himself a defender of "democracy against mobocracy (mob rule)," Gov. James E. Folsom yesterday advocated a constitutional convention as the "only real" way to solve Alabama's racial problems.

Folsom sent a special message to the Legislature proposing a convention to rewrite the state's organic law to let the people voice their "wishes and desires concerning the preservation of our traditional way of life."

A constitutional convention, he said, is the "only real, effective and forceful means at our disposal to express the will of our people on these problems."

The governor accompanied his message with a resolution to submit the convention question to a statewide vote Aug. 28. If the voters approved the call, delegates would be elected at another election on Nov. 27 and the convention itself would start Dec. 11.

Arguing for speedy consideration of the resolution, Folsom pointed out that Negro coed Autherine Lucy, who has been expelled from the University of Alabama, has asked for a court order to readmit her next fall.

Her presence on the campus has already caused mob violence, and may provoke further rioting, the governor said, unless the Legislature takes "some action that is legal and constitutional to avoid any further incident."

Is another Folsom message coming?—

News P. 25 Thurs. 3-22-56

Lawmakers wonder whether to adjourn or take recess

B'ham, Ala.

BY HUGH W. SPARROW, News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 22—Legislators—especially Senate members—were looking ahead somewhat speculatively today concerning two things which could happen tomorrow.

For one thing, they were wondering whether it would be best to adjourn the present special session Friday or to declare an immediate recess until after the May Democratic primary.

Sentiment today, at least, appeared to be building up in favor of final adjournment. But Madison County legislators were working frantically to get an agreement whereby the Legislature would remain in session or at least recess until May.

SPARROW

Madison legislators didn't want the session eo end abruptly tomorrow because they are anxious to pass local legislation —which will be eligible for introduction next week — of importance in connection with Redstone Arsenal expansion plans.

Senators in particular were speculating as to whether or not Gov. Folsom would send up another of his socalled "publicity seeking" messages demanding anew that the Legislature approve a resolution calling an election to decide the question of a constitutional convention.

Gov. Folsom sent a third consecutive message to the Legislature yesterday. The House was not in session and did not receive it. But the message was read to the Senate and immediately provoked sharp retorts.

Read yesterday

THE SOMEWHAT brassy message read yesterday contended that the Legislature does not have authority to "override" the U. S. Supreme Court's racial segregation ban. The message so declared on the grounds that the governor, members of the Legislature and other state officers promised by their oaths of office to defend the state and U. S. constitutions.

The message insisted, as did others which preceded it, that the only way to set aside the moral responsibility of the state to abide by the school integration ban ruling would be for it to be done by a constitutional convention.

What three top ranking senators, James A. Coleman of Greene, Joe Calvin of Morgan and Albert Boutwell of Jefferson, had to say in reply amounted to a blistering denunciation of the governor for his actions and motives in connection with his present series of messages.

Which constitution?

SEN. COLEMAN started the discussion.

He said:

"The governor in his message refers to 'the obligation of the Legislature to uphold the constitution of the United States.'

"I would inquire which constitution the governor refers to? Does he refer to the constitution so interpreted prior to 'Black Monday' May 17, 1954? Or does he refer to the constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States on that day?

"FOR MORE THAN 60 years the doctrine of 'separate but equal' facilities was held by the Supreme Court to be a compliance with the 'equal protection' clause of the 14th amendment to the constitution of the U. S.

"On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court reversed itself and decreed that the 'separate but equal' doctrine was no longer the law of the land.

"Now, which constitution is the Legislature obligated to uphold? Is it the constitution before May 17, 1954, or the constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court on that day?

"I strongly disagree with the governor's statement that a constitutional convention in Alabama is the proper way to deal with the segregation problem."

Bid for publicity

"I WONDER who it is giving the governor advice on constitutional law?" asked Sen. Calvin.

"Who is telling him a convention can in any way change the state's relation to the federal government?

"I think it was mentioned in the newspapers that the governor wanted to be relieved of his oath of office and that he insisted the way for him to be relieved was to convene a constitutional convention.

"This, I say, is just a bid for publicity.

"The governor has referred to the Legislature's activities on the interposition resolution as 'hogwash'

"I respectfully submit that his statement that he wanted to be relieved of his oath to uphold the Supreme Court's ruling is hogwash.

"THE PROHIBITION LAW was a failure because the states did not enforce it. So it is with interposition.

"The people of Alabama have expressed themselves through bills passed by the Legislature and they will express themselves on Aug. 28 when they vote on the 'freedom of choice' amendment.

"I say that he is sending us these messages for the double purpose of obtaining publicity and befuddlement.

"I think we as legislators know the tempers of the people and I think we share their feelings when we say the people do not want a constitutional convention."

More 'hogwash'

MACON SEN. Sam Engelsion and called for a constitutional convention or reapportionment and stated that all he wanted to do was to secure reapportionment. However, within a week he issued conflicting statements declaring that he wanted a full scale constitutional convention.

Is it 'hoodwink' move?

"DOES GOV FOLSOM have any ulterior motives in trying to hoodwink the Legislature into calling a limited constitutional convention with the hope that the Constitution will permit him to succeed himself as governor or to permit him to run for U. S. senator, or some other state office immediately after he finishes his present term in office?

"Under the present Constitution he is barred from offering for public office for 12 months after the term for which he is elected has expired. Could he, therefore, have in mind altering that or other constitutional safeguards which protect our Supreme Court and other judicial offices."

Failed to uphold oath

SEN. BOUTWELL was interrupted by a question from Sen. Coleman.

The latter asked Sen. Boutwell if Gov. Folsom had failed in his oath to uphold the Constitution when he failed to fill a Circuit Court vacancy in Jefferson County which existed several months.

Replying, Sen. Boutwell said that at the time Gov. Folsom swore to uphold the Constitution of Alabama when he took his oath as governor the Constitution of Alabama provided that the governor "shall" (not may) appoint a judge from a list of three nominees when nominated by a judicial commission such as is provided in the Constitution for filling court vacancies in Jefferson.

Mandatory move

SEN. BOUTWELL pointed out that in spite of the fact that the Constitution made it mandatory that Gov. Folsom make an appointment he failed to do so. It then became necessary, he added to amend the Constitution to assure appointment to the vacancy.

The Legislature, he said, submitted a constitutional amendment which Alabama voters ratified on Dec. 6. It permitted the chief justice of the Supreme Court to make the appointment when the governor failed to make the appointment after 90 days.

"The people ratified Amendment 20 which was the only one approved out of 30 amendments submitted on Dec. 6," Sen. Boutwell said. "In this instance it was necessary for the people to provide other means of securing an appointment for a vacancy in the Circuit Court of Jefferson because of Gov. Folsom's failure to make this appointment as provided in the Constitution which he swore to uphold."

hardt interrupted to ask a question.

"Would you say it would be a 'hogwash' session if we should be called back to consider the governor's convention plan?"

"Yes," replied Sen. Calvin.

"Already we have spent more than a million and one-half dollars attending a regular session and five special sessions called by the governor so far. We have given enough time to Folsom's many demands.

"I think that if he should call us back into special session it would be the best for all concerned if we promptly adjourned the session sine die."

Encourages NAACP

SEN. BOUTWELL recalled that since he took office in January, 1955, Gov. Folsom has refused to sign any legislation which would help to preserve segregation in Alabama.

"He has followed a course of action which has encouraged the NAACP and other outside agitators to try to force integration of the races in Alabama at this time," he added.

38a 1956 ALABAMA

'PUBLISH IT NOT IN THE STREETS OF ASKELON'—VII

Advertiser P. 4-A

By Joe Azbell

City Editor, The Advertiser

Wed. 4-4-56

THE University of Wisconsin, where integration is an old hat, has dispatched two young students to Alabama to report on the Lucy incident and the bus boycott.

The Alabama assignment is being financed from a *Reader's Digest* fund furnished the U of W's School of Journalism for such reportorial chores.

AZBELL

The students who have cased Montgomery from Peacock Tract to Boguehoma are Herbert Lawson, of Stillwater, Minn., and Alfredo Cuomo of Rome, Italy.

The pair wanted to take back to Madison, Wis., a souvenir of Montgomery and a report on a date with a Montgomery Negro girl. After some consideration they discarded the idea of dating a Montgomery Negro girl.

Racially mixed couples, they reported, intermingle in student activities with no explosive reactions but a majority of the white students on the campus oppose dating Negroes.

"I count among my closest friends a mixed couple, a white girl married to a Negro man," Lawson said. "They are accepted quite normally among my friends. They have children and the children are integrated in the community quite normally."

Montgomery, Ala.

Mental Note

Q. What do you think of mixed dates?

Lawson: I think it's fine. I believe in it.

Q. What happens to a girl's reputation when she dates a Negro boy?

Lawson: It causes some criticism, I suppose, from a part of the campus, but I have never heard any big vocal reaction. None of my friends ever comment on it. They accept it.

Q. Does the girl become marked?

Lawson: There is a mental note made of it when a girl dates a Negro boy. I think something like the thought, That girl dates Negroes. But when you see the girl alone, you don't think about it. Southern students date Negroes on the campus. [Less than 2% are Southern students.]

Q. And neither of you have any inhibitions about dating a Negro girl?

Lawson: None whatsoever.

Q. Why then is the majority of the campus opposed to it?

Lawson: I think it's because they feel that mixed marriages are so hard on the children. I think the majority of Northern people agree that mixed marriages should be opposed because they are so hard on the children. But I have friends who are mixed couples and it doesn't seem to affect them in any way.

'Raised Eyebrows'

A CALL was placed to Bob Taylor, director of the University of Wisconsin News Bureau who confirmed that mixed dating does occur on the campus.

"But it is not so common that it doesn't cause raised eyebrows," he said.

"At formal events you see Negro couples together but I don't think you see mixed couples. You see the mixed couples at the informal events at the hangouts and the like. It does go on. Yes."

Q. Do you register students by races?

Taylor: No. They are not classed racially. A white student might draw as his roommate in one of the dormitories a Jewish person, an Egyptian, or a Negro.

Q. Do you know of any mixed married couples on campus?

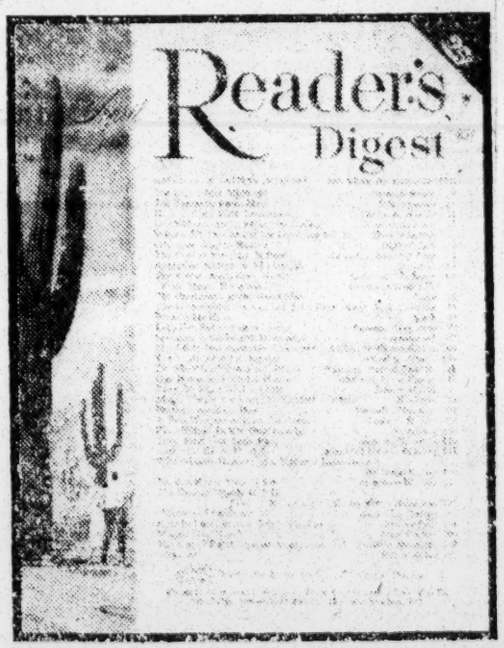
Taylor: I don't know of any on the campus but there could be. It is a big campus. I do know of some mixed couples in Madison—at least one. They are members of a socially prominent church here.

Q. Do you have any regulation at all about mixed dating.

Taylor: Oh, no. The mixed dating is up to the student personally. The entire campus is integrated.

Q. What about discrimination on the campus?

Taylor: There is none on the campus. But there are two private dormitories off campus that operate on the quota system. They allow only a certain number of students in those dormitories racially. The school authorities have talked with them about doing something about this quota system.



Herbert Lawson (left) And Alfredo Cuomo.

'What's Trumbull Park'?

THE students said that there are about 200 Negroes among the 14,000 students on the campus. They told of a boycott staged by students against a white barber who refused to cut a Negro's hair because he said the hair was "too kinky."

"The students felt he was discriminating against Negroes," Lawson said.

Q. What about communism on the campus. There was an Alabama student who went to the University of Wisconsin and returned here a confirmed Communist Party member and leader.

Lawson: There is a Marxist group—the Labor Youth League. It is on the attorney general's list. It is a mixed group. But it has little influence because everyone knows what it is.

Discussing their mission in the South, the two students said they had heard the bus boycott and the Lucy incident discussed at long length on the campus:

Q. What about Trumbull Park?

Lawson: Trumbull Park?

Q. Yes, isn't Chicago close to Madison.

Lawson: It is about 150 miles away.

Q. Didn't you know that racial violence has been waged there for 30 months with 150 policemen having to guard Negro families day and night because they moved into a white housing section?

Lawson: I have not heard about that. It hasn't been discussed.

150 Miles Away

Q. Did you know that in Milwaukee, Wis., that the mayor's race is now turning on the segregation issue because of the migration of Negroes to Milwaukee in large numbers?

Lawson: I have not heard about that.

Q. How far is Milwaukee from Madison?

Lawson: It is about 150 miles away.

The student said the social unrest in things such as the boycott and the Lucy incident and Trumbull Park were indications of the compulsion of the Negro to make progress.

Lawson said in his hometown of Stillwater, Minn., where there are only two Negroes, that there is an "amazing amount of racial prejudice although the people have not come in contact with Negroes." He added: "There once was a Ku Klux Klan there."

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. 4-A

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat. No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Mon. 4-2-56

Cusseta's Negro School

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—[In reply to a railroad man's letter criticizing the Cusseta Negro school as an easily propagandized eyesore].

We, in Cusseta, have been, and are, working hard to keep the Mt. Ebo colored school going. True, the building is old and decrepit. But it is a basically sound building, and could be repaired at not too much expense. The state of Alabama stands ready to repair it, just as soon as the Mt. Ebo Negro church, on whose property it stands, will deed that land to the state, for school purposes only. The state cannot and will not repair it while the building is on church property. So far, no argument has prevailed on the Board of Deacons to deed the land to the state. And we've met every objection or condition so far offered.

Montgomery, Ala.

These children are not forced to attend school here. Since the consolidation of public schools in Alabama, all the kids are or would be picked up by bus, and carried to the big new consolidated schools some 10 or 12 miles away. There are new well-appointed schools in LaFayette, Ala., and Fairfax, Ala., for Negro students. But, the parents feel that the young children are better off closer to home, receive more personal attention, and better teaching through the grammar school grades in this school in Cusseta. The white parents of Cusseta, of whom I am one, are realizing that we would have been better off to keep our white grade school operating after consolidation. For high school work, the consolidated schools are better, with their labs and typewriters, extensive research libraries and intermural sports. But not the grades, with overloaded teachers and crowded classrooms, in white and colored schools alike.

There is only one teacher in the Cusseta school, Mrs. Mary Lou Shealey. She is a magnificent woman, an able teacher, and a person I am proud to know. She has established a lunch room, instituted home economic classes for the older girls, besides teaching the required subjects for over 18 years. There are movies every other week, audio-visual education as it is now called. The kids get a free hot lunch every day, and audio-visual education surpassing that found in most white grade schools, plus good teaching in things beyond the textbook. We have been promised topsoil for that muddy yard, long before your letter. Now I feel that we will get it.

As a child, didn't you like to wave at the engineer on that big, beautiful monster, the train? I did.

P. O. Box 34,
Cusseta, Ala. MRS. A. A. VAJDA.

◆

Wilson Did The Job

Editor, The Advertiser:

May I have this to say in behalf of Leonard Wilson.

He and his young associates used the only implement of defense available to them when rock and eggs were employed to rid our university of the presence of the Lucy Negro and her NAACP cohorts.

It is my firm belief that if they had not done so, she would be attending classes there today.

If there is any shame in it anywhere, it lies in the fact that the grown men and women of the state of Alabama have fooled around the last 10 years with "a wait and see" attitude regarding segregation.

We let the moment arrive with the entire responsibility falling on the shoulders of those young, inexperienced boys.

No one can say they didn't do the job well, and I for one am grateful to them.

MRS. W. I. BARNETT.
Pine Level, Ala.

◆

Magazine Clean-Up

Editor, The Advertiser:

We have been living in Montgomery for less than a year and enjoy our *Advertiser* from cover to cover.

With the Martin case so fresh in our minds, and with the mention of "romance" stories in one article about her, I think it is an opportune time to revolt against the mass distribution of such literature including detective and beastly comic magazines. How may we, who disapprove of such publications, accomplish a clean-up campaign?

Montgomery. MRS. D. R. PATE.

◆

Allies In The North

Editor, The Advertiser:

There are millions of voters in the deep Northern states who are in sympathy with the people of the Deep South concerning this problem of the compulsory mixing of the African and American races by judicial fiat. The big cities in the North have the same problem that exists in Alabama.

We in New Hampshire wonder what kind of a reception Hugo Black would receive were he to visit his native state of Alabama.

I have read with interest and approval your open letter to James A. Wechsler, editor of the *New York Post*, in the March 23rd issue of *U. S. News & World Report*. Keep up the good fight.

312 Kennard Bldg.
Manchester, N. H. S. C. MARTIN.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. 4-A

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat. No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Wed. 4-4-56

The Answer Is Simple

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—As one of millions of Yanks not interested in Southern racial problems, I wish to present a simple solution to your difficulties that should satisfy everyone.

As I understand it, the whites want segregation but don't want desegregation. The Negroes don't want segregation but want desegregation.

Well for heaven's sake let them swap and everyone will be happy.

TOBIAS J. FITZPATRICK.
2641 Marion Ave., Bronx 58, N.Y.

Montgomery, Ala.

◆

Don't Be Hoodwinked

Editor, The Advertiser:

Don't be fooled by the Northern people and newspapers. They have their problems here just as well as you have in the South. In some respects more so.

I was born and raised in the South and have been a resident of Chicago for 15 years. From my observation I believe a Negro would be to advantage living in the South. From my view I have been unable to see whereby a Negro would be able to prosper or have advantages here, other than he would in the South. Certain union organizations will not accept them as members. Numerous plants and shops will not employ them, except in a minor capacity such as porters, etc. I have never seen or heard of a Negro attending a white Protestant church. I have never heard of or seen a Negro in a white barber shop or beauty parlor. In first class night clubs, restaurants and bars I have never seen a Negro.

So don't let the Yankees fool you. There is just as much discrimination in the North as there is in the South. Best wishes and good luck to you and your staff. UNRECONSTRUCTED.

Chicago, Ill.

◆

Poston Is Not Reliable

Editor, The Advertiser:

It was very good to read the AP news release from New York dated March 17 which showed that you had declined to team with Negro reporter Ted Poston of the *New York Post*.

I would say that based upon much that I have read that Ted Poston could be the least desirable person to want to be associated with on anything of this nature, unless one might put editor Weschler just below him.

There has never been anything constructive in anything I have read from the pen of this Poston. There are, of course, some quite reliable and outstanding Negro journalists and for those I do have respect, although we do not always agree.

The *Pittsburgh Courier* has a couple of good writers on its team, and it of course has some that are so biased that they cannot write any decent story touching on racial matters.

I have read *The Courier* consistently for several years now and I would say that if you could have been teamed with their George S. Schuyler, who has been with that paper now for some 30 years, some good could have come from your reports. Schuyler writes objectively as a Negro, and can say some harsh things, but generally he is quite fair with his words and certainly he has handed out much good criticism and advice for his fellow Negroes. I have often referred to him as the black Pegler, because of his hard hitting way of handling some things. He has traveled quite extensively over the years, both here and abroad, and has been able to furnish interesting stories of those travels. I often regret that I did not keep some of the series of articles put out by him. One titled "What Is Good About The South" possibly was productive of some good at that time.

In the series Schuyler took many individuals and showed their accomplishments, and in just about every case he showed that some good white man had supported the black one in his efforts to get established. Today, judging from what one reads, that is no longer possible, and that is the really sad thing about what is happening. A few years ago no one of us would have believed it if we had been told that the black man would make the progress that he has made. During that time, of course, many of us had the feeling that some one was going to upset the apple cart, either the Negro himself or some of his bleeding heart white friends. And, so it has happened.

More of our white people, in all sections, should be reading the Negro press, which shows the growing trend toward impudence, and the feeling that they are going, somehow, to put the Southern white people in their place. Well, any time the minority can rule it will establish something that has never worked out in previous history.

Reddick, Fla. N. G. SHEROUSE.

Folsom Stirs Ala. Political Fire With Committee Race

Journal & Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. Pg-F

Lines Drawn Sharply Around Forces For and Against Governor

Sun. 3-11-56

By FRED TAYLOR

Staff Writer, The Birmingham News
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 10—Alabama is living up to its reputation for producing just about the hottest political races, election after election, of any state.

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And, as could be expected, Gov. James E. Folsom again is the central figure in combination party and public office campaigns which will be fought out in the May 1 Democratic primary. There will be a runoff May 29, if necessary, to settle any of several contests.

Except for Gov. Folsom's last-minute entry as candidate for Democratic National Committeeman from Alabama, this and other political campaigns in this state would have been tame affairs.

Race Comes Alive

But this race for the key post of national committeeman—the man who serves as Alabama's official connecting link with the Democratic national governing body—came alive when Folsom qualified as candidate shortly before the deadline for filing. This job, as in all 48 states, pays no salary, but it carries with it tremendous political prestige.

Since Gov. Folsom has several other close friends and political appointees engaged in fights for state offices, slates have formed automatically for the scrap ahead, with the governor spearheading his group.

Thus, those backing and opposing the governor have lined up in formidable battle array.

Win or lose, Gov. Folsom picked his adversaries with his eyes wide open. Already qualified as candidates and running for national committeeman when the governor jumped into the race were Talladega Rep. Charles McKay Jr., Sylacauga lawyer and one of Folsom's most outspoken critics, and Roy D. McCord, Gadsden attorney.

Of the two, Rep. McKay, freshman legislator and author of Alabama's interposition resolution, which declared the U.S. Supreme Court's integration ruling "null, void and of no effect," is regarded as much the stronger. McKay also is head of the

ALABAMA

Talladega County White Citizens Council, one of the 30-odd such organizations which have sprung up rapidly in the state to help maintain segregation of the races.

The Talladega legislator immediately tore into Gov. Folsom, pointing out that he had permitted the school placement bill (a measure to help maintain classroom segregation in Alabama) and the interposition resolution to go into effect without his signature.

McKay also criticized Gov. Folsom for having entertained—and "wined and dined"—New York Negro Congr. Adam Clayton Powell at the executive mansion.

Gov. Folsom had labeled McKay's interposition resolution as "nothing but hogwash," saying it reminded him of a "hound dog baying at the moon."

Gov. Folsom sought to ease racial tensions in Alabama by placing before the Legislature a plan he worked out with a committee of editors and publishers from over the state.

It called for creation of a 25-member biracial commission to help settle racial disputes growing out of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

Folsom also planned to take the stump to campaign for legislative reapportionment — something McKay had voted against—and make a "stewardship report" to the people on his administration. This stumping tour, which the governor is expected to begin within a few weeks, will give him an opportunity to take his campaign for national committeeman into the various counties.

Before Folsom made his surprise entry into the national committeeman race, observers had become convinced he would jump into the campaign for delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago next Aug. 13.

They became convinced he would run, despite his earlier statement he would not even run for "dog catcher," when he declared "it's the duty of any governor to go with his party's delegation to the national convention to help write a platform that will be acceptable to the people.

'Working Out' Solution

"My main interest," Folsom added, "is working out a solution to our racial problem in Alabama and the South. In the event I go to the convention, you can rest assured I will be standing shoulder-to-shoulder with those from our neighboring states. We will be striving to work out a platform that will be acceptable and suitable to our region."

Slated with Gov. Folsom in the campaigns under way are state Democratic Chairman Roy Mayhall, a Jasper circuit court judge, who was an 11th-hour qualifier against veteran Alabama Supreme Court Justice Davis J. Stakely; Supreme Court Justice James J. Mayfield, who won his high court seat with Folsom's support in 1954 and who is seeking renomination against strong opposition from Greene state Sen. James Coleman Jr., Eutaw attorney and Folsom critic; Court of Appeals Judge Rowan Bone, appointed by Folsom and who has Montgomery Atty. Aubrey Cates Jr. and Birmingham Atty. William Conway as opponents; and John E. Drinkard, Cullman automobile dealer and close friend of the governor, who is seeking to unseat Jack Owen, veteran president of the Alabama Public Service Commission. Birmingham's Billy Tucker, polio-stricken former Auburn football star, also is a candidate for this post.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. 2-B

*Your name and address must be given on letter * But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion * We reserve the right to shorten letters * No poetry please * Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.*

Sun. 3-4-56

Senator Eddins Has A Taker

Montgomery, Ala.

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—In reply to Senator Eddins' absurd resolution and anticipated "mass transfer" of Negroes to other states, if he will pay me for all of my holdings here in Alabama, I will be glad to pack up and leave—today.

Tuskegee, Ala. DONALD P. HOPSON.

◆

Greeley Was A Dixiecrat

Editor, The Advertiser:

From the editorial, "The New York Herald Tribune's Enlightenment," I see that the *Herald Tribune* has pulled out their old editor Horace Greeley to show how long the *Tribune* has been in "the fight."

Mr. Greeley was no friend of the South, but I wonder if *The Tribune* remembers an editorial which I found in "The Life of St. John's Parish," by Mattie Pegues Wood. A few days after Mr. Lincoln took office Mr. Greeley wrote:

"If the cotton states shall become satisfied that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be revolutionary but it exists. Whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope never to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to another by bayonets."

Then on Dec. 17 Mr. Greeley wrote:

"If the Declaration of Independence justified the secession from the British Empire of 3,000,000 colonists in 1776, we do not see why it would not justify the secession of 5,000,000 Southerners from the Federal Union in 1861."

These two editorials would put Mr. Greeley and *The Tribune* in the states rights camp. Interesting, isn't it?

Montgomery. JACK McLEMORE JR.

◆

Kaiser Bill Also Invoked The Deity

Editor, The Advertiser:

I am one of your paper's deepest admirers and feel that only *The Advertiser*, *Journal* and Mobile's papers (sometimes) reflect the true temper of their age and geographical location in Alabama. I feel that Birmingham's scalawag rags do no justice to the faith and adherence of multiple thousands of paid subscribers with their insipid editorial policies and slanted news articles.

It seems to me that if the bus companiese continue providing service to the Negro sections for the length of time it takes the NAACP to carry their appeals to the Supreme Court, then we have 'em by the nape, e.g., should the court uphold the conviction of the ringleaders we can break up all this NAACP stuff. Should the Negro's court, on the other hand, strike down convictions and declares boycotting just and legal—oh, boy! Then we can have a field day. We can boycott these agitators right out of their pegtop clamdiggers. First we cut off their membership at the source by firing all known members and cutting off all credit to even those sympathizing with the association.

While we are about it, why not use the same grounds Congress used in declaring the communist party unlawful (conspiring to overthrow, etc.) to outlaw NAACP? I'm like Tic Forrester—the Negroes had better give up on this thing, cause they certainly can't win.

Preacher King said they would win because God is with them. Kaiser Bill said the same thing when he tried to rape the world and take what was not rightfully his from the people who had it. They even went so far as to make uniform belt buckles with the inscription, *Gott Mit Uns*. That still didn't put Jehovah on their side, and neither does saying it put Him on the side of a bunch of Negroes.

A pox upon 'em all.

KELLETT A. GOODWIN.

Auburn, Ala.

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An Expatriate's Views

Editor, The Advertiser:

I am white, was born in the South, lived in North for 38 years.

Here in the North Negroes and whites attend the same schools but they don't mix as much as one hears they do. The Negro of the South has it better by having his own schools, own section to live in. They still don't live in white sections here. Each is a proud race. If let alone we will not be rioting and hating each other.

M. E. JONES.

Cozaddale, Ohio.

AFL-CIO Blasts Ala. Riot; Urge Ike To Probe Terror

Defender Sat. 2-18-56 P. 10

Chicago, Ill.

By MARTIN MURPHY

MIAMI BEACH — (INS) — AFL-CIO President George Meany, speaking for organized labor's 15-million members, protested to President Eisenhower the racial situation in Alabama as a "disgrace to the good name of our country and our democracy."

Meany, in a telegram to Eisenhower, denounced the failure of Alabama authorities to protect the rights of Negro citizens and declared the authorities are permitting "lawless interference with civil rights."

The telegram, signed by Meany in behalf of the federation's huge membership, was drafted by the labor group's policy-making executive council which is meeting here.

OTHER DEFIANCE

The labor leader complimented Eisenhower for having the Department of Justice investigate the "defiance" of law at the University of Alabama, but said there have been other incidents of "violence and terrorism" in Alabama.

He urged the justice department investigation be broadened to include incidents involving Negro labor leader Edward Nixon and Rev. M. L. King, both of Montgomery, Ala.

At a press conference following the executive council meeting, Meany strongly denied reports that the AFL-CIO has drawn up a "blacklist of certain Republican senators."

Meany said there was "absolutely no" discussion of political candidates at the meeting of the committee on political education at which the alleged list was drafted.

Meany said he personally is reserving comment on Presidential candidates until after the nominating conventions this summer.

The political committee meeting was boycotted by Dave Beck, head of the 1,400,000-member teamsters union and M. L. Hutcheson, president of the carpenter's union.

MAKE OWN DECISION

Beck pointed out that his union has not attended political committee meetings for many years and traditionally makes its own decisions on candidates.

In other developments, Meany urged President Eisenhower to veto the Harris-Fulbright Natural Gas Bill; said he would be glad to meet with Charles L. Sligh, chairman of the board of the National Association of Manufacturers, next Wednesday if Sligh desires, and denied that the International Boxing Guild could get a charter from the AFL-CIO if it seeks one.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser 3-4-56

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Montgomery, Ala.

The Trouble Is Political

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I read the editor's statement in *U.S. News & World Report*. For the most part, I think people appreciate the problems of the South. It is just the left-wingers and politicians who are creating issues. So long as labor goons can throw their weight around and defy the law, it ill behooves the North to criticize the South.

MARGARET LYTLE.

Chicago, Ill.

Mar. 3-2-56

Action And Reaction

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have read with interest your interview in the *U.S. News & World Report* of Feb. 24. I think you will be glad to learn that you were mistaken in one statement, as you will see from the inclosed copies of *Human Events*. It, of course does not have as wide a circulation as the *U.S. News* and *Harpers* but the publisher is doing his best to acquaint the rest the country with the problems and difficulties faced by the South. Another excellent article, "Not to Be Solved On A Slide Rule," by James J. Kilpatrick was published in the May 14, 1955 issue. I regret that I haven't an extra copy to send you.

As for the problem of integration, I fear that we of the North—our forebears, rather—created it in the first place and that meddling on our part is ill-advised, especially as the South has been making efforts to solve it. It seems to me that racial relations were improving slowly—such things are better for slow growth—and steadily before the Supreme Court handed down its decision. Regrettably, the court appeared not to be aware that Newton's Third Law of Motion applies to psychological as well as physical phenomena.

New York City. RUTH A. TUTTLE.

Religious Radicalism

Editor, The Advertiser:

I notice in today's paper that one of the grocers arrested for keeping his store open on Sunday states that he will take the case clear to the Supreme Court. I was glad to see this. I am for separation of church and state, on which our country was founded.

Our Constitution guarantees religious liberty, yet this law is a discrimination against the many religions in the world which observe the Seventh Day, or Saturday as the Sabbath Day.

I am not going into the right or wrong of their choice, but regardless of this, it is their right to keep their stores open six days of the week, or including Sunday. Also it is one's right to keep their stores open seven days a week if they see fit.

Religion and church-going cannot be legislated. It is a matter of one's conscience. Besides, why close grocery stores and leave all other business open? This in itself shows how useless such a "blue law" is.

The Bible not only says do not work on the Sabbath, but it says do not seek your own pleasure. Then why not close picture shows, ball games, and any other form of pleasure? All this though, is unimportant compared with the infringement on religious liberty.

I don't understand how intelligent lawmakers, also Christians, can see this in any other light. Let's stop and consider this in a logical, intelligent way, and I think anyone with a fair amount of gray matter can see where such legislation would eventually lead. We might be back to burning people at the stake for not attending prayer-meeting, and, more radical still, at some particular church on some particular day.

Montgomery. C. B. SANDERS.

Yankee Yak

Editor, The Advertiser:

The admittance of a Negro woman to our University, which resulted in the demonstrations at Tuscaloosa, has been termed by some as "mob violence." It is apparent the users of this term are either Negroes or have pro-Negro sentiments. Call these demonstrations by any name you may, I am extremely proud of those fine people who took this resolute action to stop this Negro when it had been clearly shown there was no other way. These people of Tuscaloosa were strong enough in their convictions to accomplish that which could not be done by mere words.

To Northerners, and others of Yankee inclinations, it would seem there was an undue amount of feeling over what Yankees would think an unimportant incident—this Negro's admittance. All Southerners know her entering our University would quietly serve as a "foot-in-the-door" for Negroes in their despicable effort for racial equality. They are determined to bring about racial equality inch by inch, bit by bit, on such a gradual scale that they hope their final aim is not evident to us until it is upon us. Unsegregated buses are another step in that direction. Here and now is the time to prevent all this before the Negro gets well started on his corrupt attempt at racial equality. That is exactly what the people of Tuscaloosa realized, and instead of idly standing by, they did something about it.

The comments of the Yankee yak do not matter one iota. If the North is content to have their white population swallowed up and combined with the Negro in intermarriage it doesn't matter to us. We are proud of our people here and will not have them become a hodge-podge mixture of every origin as they have in the North. Don't let any Yankee deny this fact because I've seen it in all their leading cities.

We offer a salute to the people of Tuscaloosa who rid themselves of this infamous Negro and did a commendable service for Alabama. Our hats are off to you! EUGENE KINNETT.

Congratulations, Mr. Mayor!

Courier P. 9 Sat. 4-14-56

If the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, which has been doing some salutary thumping of Northern communities by showing that all prejudice is not restricted to the South, wishes to be impartial, it should publish the other side of the story, too (as The Courier has done in its stories about the South).

Pittsburgh, Pa.

We refer The Advertiser's star reporter and sleuth to the city of Milwaukee where Mayor Frank Zeidler has just been re-elected to a third term despite a vicious whispering campaign based on race.

We congratulate Mayor Zeidler on his victory and the people of Milwaukee for ignoring the false rumors spread about him. It is to their credit that they have re-elected a man who has been a good mayor.

As a matter of fact, the Mayor of Montgomery (Ala.) might take lessons from the Mayor of Milwaukee. Mr. Zeidler's chief crime has been to show what is described as a "normal concern" for the health and welfare of the 31,000 Negroes who live in the Milwaukee metropolitan area.

If the Mayor of Montgomery showed the same "normal concern," Montgomery might not now be furnishing the abundance of grist which the Communist propaganda mills are turning out to defame the whole of America in the eyes of the world.

Tell It To Old Grandma

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Advertiser

Needed: Responsible Negro Leadership

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Please permit me to say a word concerning the boycott called by some Montgomery Negroes against the bus company. While my residence is not here at present, my business keeps me here about half of the time, and I read *The Advertiser* regularly. It seems to me that you give more space to letters from Negro preachers and a few white people who don't seem to realize the seriousness of what is happening, than you do to the solid opinion of the community.

Adv. 12-28-55

I have talked with dozens on the subject — some of them colored friends. Without an exception the rank and file of the white are definitely against it, and nine out of 10 Negroes don't know what it's about and are simply terrorized. And as much as we regret it, some Negro churches are being used to organize and keep the boycott going. It is not true to say that violence is not being used. What about more than 20 cases of shooting into buses? What of many cases where Negroes have been beaten because they did ride the bus? Those who are the victims know what will happen to them if they continue. And yet the Negro preachers who signed the big advertisement in Sunday's *Advertiser* said they were not advocating "violence." They started the boycott and they have to take responsibility for all that goes with it.

Montgomery, Ala.

To my mind these people who organized this boycott are violating the law, and have set up an organized effort to stir the Negroes to bitterness and resentment against the white people who have been their real friends. Unfortunately, this committee of Negroes that met with the mayor and his committee, classifies everybody who doesn't yield to their demand as "anti-Negro." If there was ever a time in Montgomery when sane, responsible Negro leadership is needed it is now. Where are those Negro leaders who have prosperous businesses and have found in Montgomery a place of friendship and cooperation among both races?

One man, a Rev. King, has been quoted over and over as calling different people "unfair." He said that about the mayor, about the committee the mayor had appointed. He is listed as the head of the "Montgomery Improvement Association." I don't know what it is or who it represents. I have been told that it is the local name for the NAACP. It is certainly time for some of the older, widely respected Negro citizens of Montgomery to come forward and take a hand. I lived here several years. I don't believe this boycott represents the best thought of the colored people of Montgomery. It is the kind of thing with its violence, its beating people who don't do what they say, that happened in Germany with the gestapo and happens in Russia. Some of these breeders of race hatred are doing a fine service for the cause of communism.

There may be discourtesies by bus operators. That is not unusual. We meet them everywhere and it is not a matter of race. If you look for them you may find them anywhere. That Sunday ad listed under "complaints:" "Physical torture," and then told of a Negro mother with two children, and when the bus moved they fell off the seat. What possible good will come from magnifying incidents and making them appear what they are realy not?

These Negro leaders of the "Montgomery Improvement Association" are trying to do away with the state and city law governing separate spaces for White and Negro. Their plan—seemingly innocent—is to do away with separate spaces or sections for the two races. The "first come, first served" basis, does just that. They will not consent to reserved sections for each race. They will not consent to have separate buses on runs where the Negro patronage is heaviest. They want what they demand and they will not be happy without it. They have selected Montgomery as a place for the peoples of other sections to look at, and have them say they got rid of segregation in Montgomery. They want some Negro bus operators. They want the company and the mayor to give them the right to say who they may employ, whether this is done anywhere else in the South or not. Anybody who does not yield to their demand they tag as "unfair."

A lot of people I talk to are alarmed by what may come out of this. It is causing a condition that may become very serious. When anybody stirs up racial hatred they are fooling with dynamite. We have to live together down here, and we've gotten along pretty well. If we let the agitator control things we are in for trouble. The Negro preachers who signed the Sunday ad or who use their churches to inflame the people against their neighbors ought to think about what they have set in motion.

I want the Negroes to have equal facilities. I want them treated fairly and with courtesy. I want them to have just treatment in all conditions, but this is the wrong way to use "economic pressure" and spread fear among their people, and resentment toward others. We've got to live together and work together and help each other, and anything that makes that harder is not helping the welfare. We don't get very far by force. The white people are pretty solid on this subject, and after all they have some rights too.

ROBERT H. WILMER.

Birmingham, Ala.

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What's Wrong With The Constitution

Editor, The Advertiser:

The branchhead, crossroad and grassroots voters have spoken out loud at what our legislature has done in two sessions this year. They also rebuked all pressure groups from their leaders in the farm bureau, labor, schools, and courthouses. Their verdict is that we will not take orders from the inner circles.

We are now confronting another one of these specials to carry out more expensive ideas of these pro-administration cohorts under the pretext of a new constitution.

Just who, other than our governor, is quarreling about the current constitution?

If anyone should appreciate it, he ought to after being elected governor twice by a large majority.

Press statistics indicate that a new life is being born every 10 seconds. In a few short years they will be hunting an education. In my humble opinion public money is sacred and every dollar should be used for the best to the most people and any official or employe who wastefully expends it is a criminal and should be held responsible for his acts. Convening another session of the legislature is going to do nothing but be a "happy payday" to those we elected in good faith on basis of their candidacy and solicitation but whose first official act was to pull a strike against the people of this state in refusing to serve for the salaries they were elected at.

Why on earth can any man spend the voters money without competitive buying and selling and using the lowest and best bids without fear or favoritism?

Former debt paying Judge Coleman, member of the Supreme Court, who approved the 1901 constitution, says it is good, and I revere his name.

Tell It To Old Grandma

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Advertiser

Will The South Bend Or Break?

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — After glancing at the headlines of the paper on Sunday, I immediately turn to two most interesting pages of the Sunday edition, the editorial page and the page opposite it, which contains Mr. Ingram's column among others. I was very interested in his column Sunday.

He stated that the man elected president of the 1956 convention could, with a few changes, make the same speech as was made by John B. Knox. I wonder if we agree on the changes. Possibly we do.

Adv. 12-23-55

I was born and reared in the Black Belt of Alabama, but I, like a lot of others, have been forced to do a lot of thinking on the race question lately. I am afraid the Negro is not now, nor has ever been, as happy and content with his place as we Southern white people have believed. There has been peace, true, but some of it has been peace imposed by fear. Such peace always brings its dangers.

Montgomery

The Negro is a minority race and could therefore never gain control of our government, but he should much more rapidly be given a voice at the ballot box. This is the safety valve of democracy, and we Southern white people are wrong in being so afraid to use it.

Have you visited Negro rural schools in Alabama lately? You know and I know that "equality" doesn't exist. If we had been doing since 1896 what some of our urban areas have been doing since 1939 to equalize school facilities, the tension now present would be greatly relieved. The thing that hurts me most of all is the fact that we Southern people almost never take the initiative in doing anything for the Negro. The Negro has made more progress in the last 20 years than at any time in his known history. But who had to start it? The Roosevelt administration.

T. 2-6

We Southern white people may not have as much money as the Yankees, but we could go them one better and give the Negro our cooperation and good will, which would do more good and be even more appreciated.

Take the Negro bus strike. They are asking for so little. "First come, first served" is certainly not much of an innovation. Very few white people could object to it. But we are so slow in granting even this little change.

As I see it the Negro, in some measure, stands today where the French peasant stood before the Great Revolution, and we white people, to a certain extent, stand in the shoes of the French nobility. We have two choices, we can, like the British, bend with the wind, and rise stronger after the storm, or we can be stiff and brittle like the French and be broken and wounded in the conflict. Somehow, I have the feeling that the British way would be a natural for us and that way will be our choice.

Montgomery. MRS. E. R. J.

Unlawful Laws

Editor, The Advertiser:

Every one who reads or thinks nowadays has had a chance to ponder over the word *law*. In my mind, it has become a confusing thing. Every nation has a law of its own and, when that law is violated, will fight to preserve it. Then there are international laws which cause nations to unite in battle to defend them. Here in the United States we claim to have the best laws of all nations; a law of democracy.

Laws will give every individual the rights to protect themselves from injustice. Some time ago, the Supreme Court of the United States of America interpreted some of the laws of the Constitution of the United States which made the Negroes the happiest people in all the world. They hailed it as their second emancipation. The Negroes who always honor and try to keep the laws of his country saw the light of truth as it was handed down by the court went about preparing themselves for its realization.

I have been in America all of my life except the bloody days I spent overseas wading through mud, sleeping in pup tents, with the earth my couch, my elbow my pillow, and snow, sleet, and rain my often companions. Many cold nights I comforted my comrades by telling them that we were fighting for the best and the greatest country in the world.

We believed it then and I still believe it now. I then gave Uncle Sam the best I had, because, I gave him not only my life's blood and tears, but in those hours of deepest depression, I gave this country my prayers, faith, and loyalty. I gave it hoping that when we came again to the sweet old U.S.A. I would find the white man's hand and the black man's hand clasped and cemented in one spirit of love to God and Man.

I was not the only one who did just that, many others went over but all of them did not come back. Some of them died over there and I looked in some of the faces of those who slept away in the arms of Jesus, thinking that everything would be all right back here for his loved ones and for the comrades at their sides.

Can the laws of our land be so desecrated that men can make and execute laws entirely contrary to the laws of our great commonwealth? If in America men can make and execute laws contrary to laws of the Constitution, then we all can look for another Dark Age wherein peace can only be obtained by the edge of the sword.

Then all we have fought for from the Revolutionary War, Civil War, and World Wars I and II, and every dollar spent trying to bring the nations across the seas to peace will be mixing fire with gasoline. For if America fails to protect the poor and defenseless in her own land, I doubt whether other nations will feel the sincerity of efforts put forth by our country.

[THE REV.] ELIJAH J. BRAXTON.
Montgomery.

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Advertiser

Misuse Of Religion

P. 4-A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—It is unfortunate when advertisements appear in our daily papers (*Advertiser*, Dec. 29) under the name of the "Montgomery Improvement Association, Rev. M. L. King, president, calling for the people of Montgomery to open their churches and pray for what amounts to the success of the boycott against the bus company.

Mon. 1-2-56

The statement asking people to pray that the people may "move about the city of Montgomery without fear" is so untrue to the facts that it should be rebuked. The only people moving about our city in fear are those who have been terrorized with threats should they ride the buses.

Montgomery

It is a pity that churches built to worship God in should be used to stir up race bitterness. These colored preachers who ask their people to follow their lead in this senseless effort should find some other places, not God's house of worship, to keep going their propaganda.

What is the Montgomery Improvement Association? Wnat are its proposals? Who are its members? Are any white people in it? From the way it operates to divide the American people—stir up racial bitterness—it must be a delight to communists everywhere. It may be time when public officials should look into what is going on.

If my Baptist pastor should open our church for a day of prayer for such propaganda, many of us would get out.

Montgomery, Rt. 1. R. T. BONHAM.

Where Will They Strike Next

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have been reading some of the letters in *Old Grandma* concerning the bus boycott. They seem to be written mostly by Negroes or Negro sympathizers. Being neither one of these I would like to put my 2¢ in.

I am not a bus rider, but I am concerned over the bus boycott, because I know if the Negroes win this boycott, it is only the beginning. Suppose the bus company is forced to bow down to the Negro through these methods. Who will they strike next? Most likely the department stores! And what for? A seat at the white lunch counter and colored sales girls. These stores can be bowled over one at the time just as the bus company is being done now.

The Negro has tried to make this boycott appear as a strike against the bus company, but the way I see it, it's another strike against the white people to gain superiority. They have already proved it is not equal rights they want. The bus boycott is a very good example of how well the Negroes are organized, and the people that like the South the way it is had better stand up and take notice.

Why should the bus company and the 30-odd drivers that have been laid off be expected to stand this loss alone, when it is to the interest of so many. It is known that some white people are now making donations through the bus meters. Which seems like the best legal way to beat the Negroes at their own game. So what do you say we all help the bus company, who is trying to uphold the laws of our state as well as our way of life. J. P. JAMES.

Montgomery.

Let's End The Boycott

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER:

Montgomery has always had the reputation as a city of "good will, pleasant living, and cordial relations between the rates."

I, for one, think the vast majority of its people still believe this to be true, and cannot understand why the bus boycott has dragged on and on, and hasn't been settled long ere this. There is so much basis for compromise, without violating either city or state laws on segregation, if only men will meet together with "open minds and good will in their hearts."

There is no reason not to take in good faith the statements and advertisements of the Negro Improvement Association, that they are willing to compromise, and are not asking a violation of the segregation laws. The threatening ads of the Central Alabama Citizens Council, that bus fares will be increased or buses will be discontinued if the boycott is not called off, certainly do not help the situation nor tend to solve it. Threats have never solved any problem.

The committees which Mayor Gayle appointed have twice met and failed to get together on a single issue. It's up to Mayor Gayle, or the other members of our city commission, to now take the initiative, appoint entirely new committees, with no pre-conceived opinions, to meet together in "good will," and settle this issue. Every day that it drags on not only hurts the reputation of our fair city, but its economy as well. It must be settled with dignity on both sides, and there is no reason why it cannot be done. Let's re-establish Montgomery once again, as a city of "good will, pleasant living, and cordial relations between the races." Mr. Editor, perhaps you, too, can help to bring this about.

MRS. MYRON C. LOBMAN.
Montgomery.

STAND IS UNANIMOUS ON RACIAL QUESTION

Commercial Appeal

Alabama Senate Asks Court To Reverse Ruling

Wed. 3-21-56

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 20.—(UP)—The Alabama Senate Tuesday unanimously approved a resolution that in effect asked the United States Supreme Court to veto its own decrees calling for integration of the races in Southern schools.

P. 19

However, the upper chamber postponed a vote on another resolution asking Congress to apportion Southern Negroes among Northern and Western states "or wherever they are wanted." It appeared unlikely the measure would ever come to a vote in this special session of the Legislature.

Memphis, Tenn.

The resolution aimed at the Supreme Court was a House-approved measure introduced by Representative Karl Harrison of Shelby County. It passed by a unanimous vote but the senators altered the wording of the measure which will have to be approved by the House before it is sent to Gov. James E. Folsom for his signature.

The second resolution was sponsored by Senator E. O. Eddins of Marengo County and asked the Federal Government pay for transporting Negroes to other states.

Senator Ben Reeves of Pike County, who opposed the measure, said, "I don't want to send them anywhere. Some of the best friends I have in Pike County are Negroes. And I'm their friend."

Senator Harrison's resolution asked the Supreme Court modify its integration rulings because they interfere "with the social fabric of the Southern way of life."

Circuit Judge Cites Possible Penalty For Conviction On Anti-Boycott Laws

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. 2-14
Wed. 2-15-56

Organized boycotting of lawful businesses is against the law and punishable by heavy fines or stiff sentences, Circuit Judge Eugene B. Carter advised, following his charge to the grand jury this week.

Persons convicted for unlawful boycotting are jubject to a sentence of not more than six months in the county jail and fines of not more than $1,000 or not less than $100.

MAY BE DIFFICULT

Judge Carter, observing that Montgomery County has seldom been confronted with boycotts of any kind in the past and never with a boycott of city buses, said enforcement of the law may be difficult. He pointed out that the law applies to situations where persons are forced to boycott business organizations "involuntarily" through leadership or conspiracy. Simple failure to patronize a firm, even among a group, does not constitute boycotting, he said. However, persons responsible for inciting or organizing resistance to a business operation may be prosecuted, the judge added.

Judge Carter, who directed the jury to investigate acts of boycotting—emphasizing the current bus boycott—and determine violations of the law, cited Title 14, Chapter 20 of Alabama Code of 1940 which reads in part as follows:

"Two or more persons who, without a just cause or legal excuse for doing so, enter into any combination, conspiracy, agreement, arrangement or understanding for the purpose of hindering, delaying, or preventing any other persons, firms, corporation, or association of persons from carrying on any lawful business, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."

OTHER PROVISIONS

Other provisions of the code relative to boycotting make unlawful the following: "loitering or picketing, printing or circulating notice of boycott, using force or threats against persons engaging in lawful occupation, maintaining blacklists, attempt or threat to injure or destroy property of another, teaching, printing books or papers, or organizing persons to boycott . . ."

Penalties for violations of the boycotting statute are set forth in Title 14, Sect. 62 which reads as follows:

"Any persons, firm, corporation, or association of persons violating any of the sections, shall, on conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than one thousand dollars and may also be imprisoned in the county jail or sentenced to hard labor for the county for not more than six months for the first conviction, at the discretion of the court or judge trying the case; and on the second and every subsequent conviction, at the discretion of the court or judge trying the case; and on the second and every subsequent conviction, in addition to the fine which may be imposed, the convicted party must be sentenced to hard labor for not less than three months nor more than six months, to be fixed by the judge or court trying the case."

★ Tell It To Old Grandma ★

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat. No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Adv. 2-16-56

New Suit For Shores

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Lawyer Shores is about the luckiest Negro in Birmingham, now that he has found Miss Lucy and the U. of A. Before Miss Lucy, the law practice of Lawyer Shores, according to my understanding, wasn't so good.

But those days are gone now (that he has Miss Lucy) and it is wonderful to be eating regular again, have a client, and wear new clothes like other folks. And his name is on the front pages of all the papers over the nation. But he must keep busy trying every trick in the bag in order to stay in the news. He must also prove to his colored lawyer friends up North how smart he is, because if he loses his case, his bubble is busted for good.

Should Lawyer Shores win his case, and Miss Lucy returns to classes at the University, what if the other students stage a general strike and refuse to attend the same school with her. Would Lawyer Shores then get a court order ordering the school to remain open for Miss Lucy to be the one and only student at the University?

Frisco City, Ala. ROBERT LAY.

The Court Proposes, Congress Disposes

Editor, The Advertiser:

The writer has read much in the papers about the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States being the law of the land. We have even read statements by some members of the Congress who proclaim that the decision of the court is the law of the land and should be obeyed.

We will have to admit that we are not as well learned, in law, or many other subjects, possibly, as the distinguished gentlemen who have made these statements, and should not be so presumptuous as to take issue with them. But,

The fifth section of the 14th Amendment clearly states as follows: "The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article."

This section of the amendment shows without doubt, that the states in adopting the amendment delegated the power of *enforcement* to the Congress describing the manner in which Congress should enforce it. (By appropriate laws.)

Therefore, the Supreme Court is without power, in the absence of such appropriate legislation and the violation thereof, to enforce any decision they may hand down concerning the 14th Amendment, or for that matter, any other amendment where enforcement is vested in Congress.

For any member of the Senate or House of Representatives of Congress to contend that such decision or decree of the Supreme Court is the law of the United States, is for such member to contend that the Supreme Court is a superior lawmaking body than that of Congress and has the power to make, adjudge and enforce their own laws in disregard to the provisions of the Constitution. (The law, the judge and the jury.)

DAN J. BAKER.

Troy, Ala.

You've Made Your Bed, Now Lie In It

Editor, The Advertiser:

Before you condemn the Negroes, in the "Battle of the University of Alabama," consider the following facts and ask yourself if you and I aren't the ones who should be blamed?

I contributed money and lots of my time to the election of Mr. Eisenhower (approximately 18 months before his election, in a lengthy article in *Collier's* magazine, Ike stated in no uncertain words, that he believed in states rights), and so did you and millions more support and vote for him.

The President appointed Mr. Warren chief justice of the Supreme Court, a known radical when it comes to socialism and civil rights, in keeping with the times, as a reward for Warren's help in politics, with little regard as to his qualifications. But wait, Democrats, don't laugh. Before Mr. Warren could take office he had to be confirmed. I never heard or read of where Mr. Sparkman, Mr. Hill or any other Southern or Northern senator got up in Congress and raised hell because an unwise or unqualified appointment was going to be made. And remember, too, members of the Senate are far more informed than you or I.

The same situation took place under Truman, yet your Hill and Sparkman played party politics as usual and as usual you good Democrats continued to support the party, come hell or high water. Now, need I mention Mr. Roosevelt and his Supreme Court packing?

Now don't miss the point. The same applies to the Republican Party as well as the Democratic Party: When a party fails to change (when need be), then it's time to change the party.

RALPH ROBERTS,
Member Republican State Executive Committee, Eufaula, Ala.

In Support Of Senator Eastland

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Adv. 2-21-56

The Greensboro Watchman

Sen. Eastland, who again appears before an Alabama audience this week, is rapidly emerging as the foremost Southern leader of the day. Fearless and determined, he is furnishing Alabama the leadership which it so desperately needs in the miserable failure of its own.

This is a presidential election year.

In every probability, Alabama will insist on remaining Democratic—regardless of the radical position of its Democratic candidates or the wording of its Democratic platform.

But the temper of Alabama today is not what it was in 1954, or even in 1952—when, like so many sycophants, we accepted the anti-Southern leadership, on both state and national levels, as natural.

Today, the pendulum has swung back to 1948, when Alabama took the lead in the Southern fight. There have been many factors in this swing, but the most important are the Supreme Court decision, the situation at the University of Alabama, and the apostasy of that professional vulgarian, Jim Folsom.

Today, Alabama does not want Adlai Stevenson, nor the lightweight radical from New York, Harriman, nor the socialist Kefauver.

They do not represent Alabama.

But Sen. Eastland of Mississippi does represent Alabama—or at least a very large portion of it which is growing larger by the day with each new aggravation.

And those who believe as Sen. Eastland believes have a chance to do something about it. They have a chance to be heard on a national scale. To be heard, they have only to enter candidates for the Democratic convention in every congressional district in Alabama—pledged to this man from Mississippi. Against that left-wing crowd, he would sweep this state.

We know that Sen. Eastland himself cannot be nominated for the presidency, but with a formidable bloc of delegates at his command, he can do much to stop the nomination of another anti-Southern radical, and he can do much to stop the adoption of a platform aimed at the destruction of our civilization.

In Sen. Eastland, we have a man who thinks as we do. Let's back him to the hilt!

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Preserve The Federal Union

Our nation is a union of sovereign states. State sovereignty is recognized with two senators from each state in a U. S. Senate. Our nation is a union of sovereign citizens. Citizen sovereignty is recognized with a representative elected by a specified number of citizens, in the House of Representatives. This quality of sovereignty was brought about by our founding fathers who insisted that government officials are servants of the people.

U. S. citizens owe allegiance to the federal union with rights and privileges guaranteed and protected by the Supreme Court and federal courts within the states. U. S. citizens are also citizens of the states in which they live. State laws are legal only when they are not in violation of U. S. Supreme Court decisions. State court decisions are valid only when the U. S. Supreme Court says they are not in conflict with the federal constitution.

Our Legislature voting that a certain Supreme Court decision is null and void makes our federal union as phony as the Soviets' "People's Democracy." God help us to protect and preserve our federal union—the one and only hope for true world democracy.

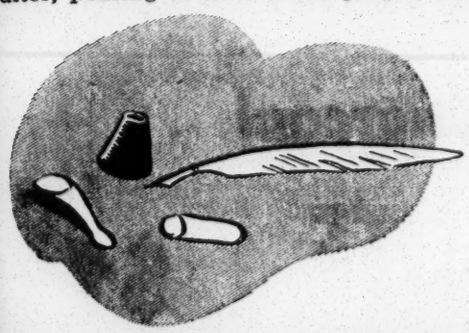
W. G. KITTS,
1216 Woodland Avenue.

Apparently John Brown Had Many Children

"John Brown's body lies a-moulding in the grave, but his soul goes marching on."

A fiery old abolitionist and arch-foe of slavery, there were no deeds too black, no acts too cruel to stay that old fanatic in his self-appointed, self-rightous mission. And his followers are legion.

Today it is stunning to see letters to the editor, pouring in from white people, vit-



riolically branding their white neighbors as "mobsters." John Brown is indeed marching on.

These overly-pious "John Browns" know that their white (mobster) neighbors would rather do without an education at the University than to attend it with a Negro. These John Browns care not that a thousand or five thousand white young people stay away, not so long as their frenzied fanatical and intolerant zeal enables them to put one Negro there.

"Call out the National Guard! Sweep the streets clean of these mobsters," they cry.

Old John Brown had a lot of children.

LAWRENCE E. McNEIL,
2 North 21st Street, Birmingham 3, Ala.

Condemnation Of Others Lies Heavy Upon Us

During the past year and half Alabama has seemed to possess a special affinity for headline news—most of which could not have, in any way, enhanced the good name of the state. The Phenix City story, the seemingly inexhaustible source of the governor's escapades and now mob violence.

I find the facts difficult to believe. The grandeur and sublimity of the rolling countryside refutes the merest possibility of the savage spectacle of a mob. The gentle, soft-spoken people belie the facts.

Having come from Pulaski, Tenn., I have always been a staunch defender of the South. Now I am forced to revise my opinions. My mind can no longer accommodate the Christian religion and so-called Southern tradition simultaneously. The South is beautiful, it is interesting and amazing, but it is too dead. The mob, the irresponsible and savage talk that one hears at one's every turn are proof of what happens when men become enslaved by prejudice and traditions.

To me, it seems that nothing here has changed since I was a small child. Some Yankee industry has moved in and government projects have put electric power in remote areas. These things have raised the standard of living for many. But what of the minds of men? Generally speaking, they remain suspended, where, long ago, they became so. Every effort is being employed to keep them there. There is a law whereby teachers may be fired for deviating from established dogma. Professors are quitting the posts because their intellectual development cannot accommodate old and stagnant thinking. Ministers have canceled speaking engagements because they are unable to squeeze their religion into the narrow, dark confines of prejudice and hatred.

John Stienbuck once said, "They have come to believe that all things passing their understanding are vicious and evil—things to be stamped out and destroyed." I believe this quotation might be applied to the thinking of the majority of Southern people.

It is the everlasting shame of this state to have one of its citizens offered free education all over the world, even the Communist world. The Communists love this situation made to order, but the condemnation of others is heavy upon us.

MRS. A. R. BRAGOZ,
14-A, Eastwood.

Should Outsiders Comment On Alabama?

Nobility of service to the community being the subject of Roscoe Drummond's column in today's (Feb. 13) Birmingham News (and as to many editorials by your staff in years gone by), it is becoming increasingly evident that your policies, if intended to be in the best interests of peace in the community, by adding fuel to embers of disorder, are serving the opposition of the interests of peace, rather than tending to promote the peace.

For instance, Walter Lippmann's column goes further toward promoting peace in the South than any of your own or of the others of your out-of-state contributors; yet, of what earthly good can it serve if it only delays and does not purport to solve the difficulty? He could have found many things in his own state, or in some other part of the world, not any another state of the U. S. other than his own, to dig with his barbs of criticism, regardless of their intention. Does not his own community need constructive criticism? And will it not appear more, that he is not trying to run our business? Does he think we cannot mind our own business? And a thousand other questions, including one for you. Do you write papers in his state, concerning matters there, you certainly do not know as much about as he does? And would the papers there print your opinions about their business?

It is suggested, rather pointedly, that you can better serve your community by expressing matters of state concern, by native Alabamians, and give us opinions of nationals on national and international matters. It will go far toward maintaining the peace of the community. As the leading newspaper and medium of public voice, you have a sacred responsibility that can make or wreck the community. The people of Alabama can govern themselves properly, only as they are properly informed.

JOHN KELTON,
Oneonta, Ala.

At Last

Editor, The Advertiser:

I was reading today that our esteemed governor had finally taken a stand, however puny, regarding the segregation issue.

Could it be that he is waking up finally to the fact that communistic agitators from without the borders of our beloved state and our beloved South are on the threshold of destroying the civilization and harmony between the peoples that go to make up the population here?

Or could it be that he realizes he is politically doomed should he continue to take the jellyfish stand he has taken.

Birmingham. W. E. BEASLEY.

Two News Stories

Editor, The Advertiser:

The incident that happened at the university when two Negro men assaulted a teen-age student was a cowardly act and certainly will not be overlooked by the students. Miss Lucy was not atacked, or assaulted even though the Northern papers and the Eastern papers said she came very near being. It seems that they know a great deal more about what happened than we do. They vastly exaggerated what actually happened, as usual. I am wondering if they will give the incident yesterday as much publicity as they did Miss Lucy. In all probability it will be entirely ignored.

Montgomery R. H. WATSON.

WCC, Friend Of The Negro

Editor, The Advertiser:

I believe the White Citizens Council is a friend of the average Negro as long as he will let it be. We want them to have their schools and churches and all rights that belong to them, as long as there is segregation.

Clayton, Ala. H. D. McDONALD.

The Evidence

Editor, The Advertiser:

In this week's *Life* magazine is a color picture of the results of integration. All who favor integration should study that picture and ask themselves if they would like to see their great-grandchildren in a similar condition. Note particularly the expression on the face of the only all-white girl in the line. That is the condition a few unenlightened old men posing as "justices" would force upon us.

Montgomery. N. Y.

Alabama Press

The Segregation Problems

(The Alabama Baptist)

The nation, and the South in particular, is faced with a grave problem which is a result of the Supreme Court's decision, declaring that segregation in our public schools is illegal. The ideal thing, from many angles, would be to see our nation comply in an orderly manner with this decision of the Supreme Court. However, the ideal is not always practical.

There are many problems facing the nation in carrying out this Supreme Court decision. There are certain problems which arise out of human nature and other areas. There are many prejudices relative to this question and these cannot be erased by a legal act. Traditions and customs cannot be thrown in reverse overnight. The interference of man's set ways has a tendency to arouse one's passions instead of his reason. These factors in this problem call for a rational approach and not a sudden action which will result in troubles for all concerned.

There are other influences which are complicating this problem, especially in the South. There are cultural factors which enter into the problem, since some of our citizens have not developed in this field to the point where they would be acceptable by those who have.

Further complicating this situation in the South is outside interference. It has been publicly stated that the Communists are aggravating the problem here in our own state. All of our citizens should recognize that this is highly possible and not be stirred up to do things which would cause regrettable results.

Then there are those who will use this touchy subject to gain politically. Coercive and subversive influences should be guarded against.

This is not a problem we can dismiss by a statement or an attitude. We believe that most of our people want to be law-abiding, yet we realize there are some things the law cannot immediately control. It is the human factor which makes it very essential to move with moderation in this grave crisis. We should not enter into hasty action in any direction. There are some things which can be accomplished better by some sudden action, then there are other things which must occur gradually lest there be more damage done than good accomplished. We urge upon our people on both sides to exercise their Christian graces and to manifest real intelligent concern for the problems which we face in this court decision.

All sides should appeal to God in prayer for guidance, thus bringing a solution to this problem through godly means instead of through some means which would be contrary to that which is right.

FEDERALS GET WARNING

State Circuit Judge Ready To Order Arrest Of 'Invading' U.S. Officers

UNION SPRINGS, Ala., Feb. 6 (AP)—A circuit judge accused government investigators of "gestapo methods" today and threatened to jail any federal officers engaged in "deliberate invasion of state sovereignty."

Circuit Judge George Wallace said he would order the arrest of "every member of the FBI or other federal police" who attempt to investigate grand juries or courts in his judicial circuit.

And in his formal charge to the Bullock County Grand Jury, he urged the jurors to request local officials to enforce state laws requiring segregated travel despite the recent interstate commerce commission ruling barring separate facilities for whites and Negroes on interstate carriers.

"The ICC has no more right to overturn a state law than the Veterans Administration has," Judge Wallace declared.

The south Alabama judge, whose circuit is composed of Bullock, Barbour and Dale counties, pointed to the recent federal investigation of grand juries in Cobb County, Ga., as an "unwarranted and deliberate invasion of state sovereignty by the federal police" and a "direct insult to the people of that county and to state sovereignty."

"If at any time, this grand jury, this court or an agency related to its makeup is investigated by the U.S. Justice Department through the Federal Bureau of Investigation or any other unit of federal police, I shall consider such investigation a gross violation of state sovereignty, and illegal, and an open insult to the people of the counties of my circuit . . .," Judge Wallace told the grand jury.

He said he would "invoke the full power and authority I possess and shall issue an order for the arrest of every member of the FBI or other federal police so involved in such investigation."

And he said if any federal agents are "physically present within my jurisdiction" they would be jailed for contempt of court "for such conduct in my considered opinion is contemptuous."

The Cobb County, Ga., investigation which drew Judge Wallace's fire followed the reversal by the U.S. Supreme Court of the conviction of Amos Reece, Negro convicted of raping a white woman.

The Supreme Court said the conviction was set aside because evidence showed no Negro had served on a Cobb County Grand Jury prior to Reece's indictment on Oct. 28, 1953.

But the justice department, after its investigation, said the current method of jury selection in Cobb County involved no illegal discrimination. The FBI report said Negroes had been included on grand juries there since August, 1954.

Communiting on the Georgia investigation, Judge Wallace said: "Unless we assert ourselves and if we continue to allow such Gestapo methods in local affairs, then surely local government in America will be dead forever."

A former member of the Legislature, Judge Wallace is a candidate for delegate to the National Democratic Convention this year. As a delegate in 1948, he refused to walk out with other delegates in protest to the racial policies of former President Harry Truman.

Less than a month ago Judge Wallace also charged the grand jury in his home county of Barbour to enforce Alabama's segregation laws.

On the same day, the grand jury indicted a white man for the slaying of a Negro. The defendant was sentenced to life in prison less than three weeks later after a trial at which Judge Wallace presided.

Arresting The Cops

Advertiser

If at any time this grand jury, this court or an agency related to its makeup is investigated by the U.S. Justice Department through the Federal Bureau of Investigation or any other unit of federal police I shall consider such investigation a gross violation of state sovereignty, and illegal, and an open insult to the people of the counties of this circuit. I shall issue an order for the arrest of every member of the FBI or other federal police so involved in such investigation . . . They will be arrested and put in jail for contempt of court.

Mon, 2-6-56

This remarkable challenge was made yesterday by Circuit Judge George Wallace before the Bullock County grand jury. In effect, it is a one-circuit nullification proclamation in keeping with the spirit of the legislature's abrogation of the Supreme Court's segregation decisions as "null, void and of no effect." For Judge Wallace is in effect nullifying the Civil Rights Act which has been interpreted as giving the FBI authority to investigate alleged violations of civil liberties, including those involving jury service.

It would be interesting to see who would prevail should Judge Wallace carry out his threat. An FBI agent, like any other cop (J. Edgar's distaste for the word notwithstanding) has no immunity from criminal law. If he breaks the law in Bullock County— by, say, an act of assault or traffic violation—he is as accountable as the next man. But, on the other hand, if an FBI agent is lawfully doing his duty under federal law, the federal courts might hold that any interference—including arrest for "contempt"—would be obstruction of justice.

The local constabulary might subject themselves to prosecution for false arrest in jailing the feds. And the judge who issued the warrant might himself be jailed and prosecuted, though this would certainly be tantamount, in these times of reasserted state sovereignty, to his election as governor if not U.S. Senator.

That the FBI has been used indiscriminately on a number of occasions recently is indisputable. One instance which comes to mind was the experience of the Mayor of Memphis, in the recent Dixon-Yates controversy. When the mayor pulled the rug from under the contenders with the statement that Memphis would build its own municipal power plant, thus obviating the need of the disputed power contract, he was promptly visited by FBI agents who questioned him sharply on his sincerity, his plans, motives, etc. Atty. Gen. Brownell called the visitation "routine." If it is, we have fallen on bad times.

Judge Wallace's statement was probably intended as nothing more than a judicial rebel yell. But morbid curiosity over the conflict of laws involved has us hoping that he will be given an opportunity to carry out his threat.

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Advertiser

'Y'All Come' Pops Up Again

The Gadsden Times

IN 1954, before "Big Jim" became Gov. James E. Folsom of Alabama, he used a homey little slogan to good advantage—"Y'All Come." Before it was over a lot of people got rather tired of hearing and reading about "Y'All Come." More folk apparently didn't mind because plenty of them came.

Mon, 2-6-56

But now it seems the phrase has become of such historical worth that it will be imprinted on 1957 license plates.

With "Y'All Come" at the bottom and "Heart of Dixie" at the top, Gov. Folsom's own heart should beat with glee with his political message designed for statewide and nationwide distribution for 12 months out of the year.

Of course, there'll be plenty of people like ourselves who will flatly refuse to serve as messagers for Mr. Folsom's cause. Whether it is political advertising in neon lights or a simple wording at the bottom of automobile tags, most persons will object to serving as objects of mobile outdoor advertising for Gov. Folsom or anyone else.

We find this business extremely objectionable, and open to the severest criticism. Mr. Folsom, we are confident, feels very warmly toward those "three little words," but his affrontery in assuming that all Alabamians share such sentimental taste is unparalleled in our memory.

Montgomery

There is a state law (Title 51, Section 708, of the Alabama Code) which refers to "defacing" automobile licenses. Fortunately the law was written solely to discourage criminal intent, for it says that an auto tag cannot, without fine, be mutilated or altered "for the purpose of deception," and there's the out.

Anyone wanting to use a dab of black paint (a simple job since the colors, black on orange, are likely to be reversed next year) or a pair of tin-clippers wil be completely within their legal rights to do a little blotting or trimming.

As a matter of fact, using a little paint or a cutting utensil, for many of us, will be following the letter of the law—ridding ourselves of dictated deception.

◆

The Last Straw

The Dothan Eagle

THE last straw has not yet been piled upon the camel's back in this ecstatically happy State of Folsomania.

But it's coming.

Bob Ingram, who does the Capitol chores for *The Montgomery Advertiser*, reports that when Alabama automobile owners line up to buy their 1957 license tags next fall they will be in for a great, big surprise.

The "Heart of Dixie" slogan will still be there, at the top. Something new will be "Y'All Come" at the bottom.

It's already in the works. The unblushing report was confirmed by Revenue Commissioner Larue Horn and again at Kilby Prison where the tags are made.

Thus, every automobile owner in Alabama will be displaying the governor's personal slogan, front and rear, and paying for the privilege. And every driver who keeps his eyes ahead will be part of one, vast captive audience.

So, you don't like it? You voted against him, or since changed your mind? You'll just scratch out "Y'All Come" or cover it with something else? Oh, no you won't. There's a law against that. It's the statute known as defacing or marring license plates.

If the governor orders the slogan as long as he's in office, you'll carry it—front and rear—through 1959. That's because he's in position to do exactly that until he goes out of office in January, 1959. His successor can do the in-

scribing for the 1960 tags, but no sooner.

Then, maybe, you can get a new message, like "He Went That-Away," but not before.

"Y'All Come!"—and the line forms on the right Oct. 1, 1956.

◆

Montgomery's Bombing

The Talladega Daily Home

RACIAL agitation and resentment of that agitation reached a regrettable climax at Montgomery last night when a bomb of some sort was hurled at the home of a Negro minister who has been a leader in the bus boycott of recent weeks.

We deplore the situation. We condemn in precisely equal measure the hoodlums who hurled the bomb and the minister who helped to bring on unbearable tension by deliberately working to create a crisis over racial segregation in public transportation.

The City of Montgomery has posted a reward of $500 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the bombers. That is an action which all right-thinking people will commend.

Under Montgomery city law segregation of the races is required in public conveyances.

The boycott began when a Negro woman was found guilty of violating that law and given a moderate fine.

From week to week the tension has mounted. The boycott leaders, this particular minister loud among them, have turned down proposal after proposal designed to meet whatever complaints Negro passengers might have had.

Their refusal to go half way in the situation made it perfectly plain that their goal was not an agreement reached in Montgomery's traditional understanding and good will between the races, but the breeding of animosity and controversy in order to attack segregation.

The incident but points up the necessity for calmness on the part of both white and Negro as Alabama charts her course for the difficult days ahead.

Alabama Edit

Advertiser P. 2-4

The Sensible Approach

The Clarke County Democrat

Clarke County citizens, at a meeting held here on Tuesday night of this week, decided to take positive steps toward maintenance of friendly relations between the whites and the Negroes of Clarke County. The group meeting here included county and city officials, legislators, leaders of farm activities, and others. Jan. 3-11-56

A few Negroes, recognized as representative members of their race, had been invited from every beat in the county, and a goodly number of those invited was present. Necessarily, the number invited from each precinct had to be limited. Montgomery, Ala.

It was the concensus of opinion at this first meeting that a vast majority of the whites desire to continue friendly relations with the Negroes and that a similar majority of the Negroes is equally desirous of maintaining friendly relations with the whites.

It would be nothing short of tragic if paid agitators and professional trouble makers were permitted to come in here and disrupt the conditions under which the two races now function so smoothly and under which the Negro race is making such rapid advancement.

As stated previously, we are definitely in favor of of a bi-racial organization in this county. It will afford a medium for bringing leading members of the two races together for friendly discussion of such problems as may exist.

Such an organization is imperative in this time of crisis. It should be composed of the best members of both races, men who are tolerant of the views of others and who will study with sympathetic understanding all problems coming before them.

As far as can be judged, the racial antagonism which is doing so much harm in other sections of the state, is conspicuously absent here. Instead, there is the same friendly spirit between the races which has existed for many years. With the two races cooperating, it can be kept that way. Let's do it.

Alabama Might Take The Lead

Daily World

Well has it been said that it is a bad wind that blows nobody good. So, coming out of the wash of the current transit debacle of Alabama's capital city, there may be some helpful suggestions for the advancement of better relations. Sat. 2-4-56

Alabama has for her governor a repeater; that is to say that he has served a previous term as chief executive of that state and has excellent advantages in improving over his former administration. Atlanta, Ga.

It must be said for Governor Jim Folsom that he made a good record at Montgomery in his first administration; that he was accessable to all the citizens of Alabama for counsel and the implementation of his offices for the good of the citizens whose taxes paid the freight. P. 6.

While Governor Folsom did not do all that he might have done for our particular racial group, he made an excellent beginning toward the ends of impartial administration of the affairs of state. 38 a ce

In the dispute between the colored citizens of Montgomery and the transit authorities, the governor has not impugned the motives of the leaders of the cause nor has he suggested violence. In the fight of Southern governors around the segregation question, he has not consorted with those who flew in the face of the court and used defiant language in their tirades against the court's decision.

In the case of Miss Autherine Lucy, who at last has received a letter favorable to her entry in the University of Alabama, the governor has not expressed any displeasure nor served notice that he would openly defy the courts.

Speakers at the local Hungry Club praised Governor Folsom and referred to him as a high type of an executive, believing in justice and fair play to all.

Governor Folsom as the chief executive of a deep South state has a laudable opportunity in these times of stress and delicate tensions; his cool headedness and the ethical methods in the employ of a native technique which he possesses might lend him to this occasion as a powerful leader, a criteria with that courageous vigor to point the way for all the South.

If given proper support the tall Governor of Alabama, who once said he wanted more Negroes to vote than were voting in Alabama, might emerge to lead the South out of the house of bondage of bias into the promised land of tolerance and human justice.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it. Advertiser P. 4-A

But That Was Different

Fri. 3-9-56

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—During the reign of Earl Warren as governor of California, there occurred riots here in Hollywood that would make the Alabama gathering look like a stiff breeze compared to a full size hurricane. Montgomery, Ala.

Opposing studio unions battled with clubs and what have you, and for a long period of time.

Herb Sorrell, leader of the rioters, cheered on his cohorts from a low flying airplane equipped with loud speaker at the "Battle in front of Warner Brothers."

People were injured, property damaged and a major highway (in front of Warner Brothers) was unsafe for neutrals who were compelled to make a wide detour since this highway had the only bridge over the river and road through the hills for a couple of miles.

Gov. Earl Warren did not intervene.

A newspaper said he had no authority to, under the law, unless requested by local officials.

Yet you will notice how *The Los Angeles Times'* cartoon points a finger at Alabama!

You might have the matter looked up as a comeback at this holier-than-thou stuff the doctrinaire press is shouting.

Hollywood, Calif. JOHN JONES.

Put Love And Service Ahead Of Fear And Hate

News P. 10

The sooner our people of this nation realize that peace and brotherhood among all peoples cannot be achieved by legislation and the passing of laws alone, but through that love made manifest by Christ, the better off all things and situations will be. There is no problem on any scale which cannot find its solution through a love and knowledge of God. There are many among us who express fear of the outcome of the current "problem" of segregation. This is truly a time of testing of the faith of Christians everywhere; many are worried as to the duties and responsibilities of others about them, to the neglect of their own. On one occasion, when Peter and John were together with the Master, Peter was extremely worried as to what John would do. Whereupon, Christ replied to Peter, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me."

If any of us truly follow Christ, we do not condemn our neighbor because he happens to differ in opinion from us, or because he happens to be of another religion or race, but through humility and love we strive to minister to his spiritual and physical needs. In the day of Christ there existed, as there does today, various "social" levels of society. Let us remember that Christ did not seek to force all peoples into one level of the world's society; He did more than that. He lived and taught and proved to the world of all generations that all people can live together in peace and understanding brought on through love of God and one another. Even though all today are not on the same social level in the eyes of men, all can meet on spiritual ground that brings love and understanding. Far too many of us are too prone to point the finger of accusation at the other fellow, forgetting that our own lives may not be above reproach in His sight who sees us all as we really are. Very few can put ourselves in the other person's place and thereby sympathize with him in his problems of life. In a sermon at Christ Church in New York, Dr. Ralph W. Sockman pointed out that "religion must help us to make the motives of love and service stronger than the motives of fear and hate." (He also added that "we of the North should show what we can do in community integration rather than merely shout to the South what it should do.")

Fayette, Ala. WILLIAM M. FULMER.

38a 1956

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser

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Thurs. 3-1-56

Let White Southerners Pray March 28, Too

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—It is to the eternal credit of Montgomery Negroes that they have resorted to prayer in their "sufferings." But one questions their sincerity in posing such deep "love" for those who "hate" them so intensely.

Montgomery, Ala.

What irony! All that the Negro of the South is or has, he owes to the white race, who by taxation provides more than 90% of his advantages, educational, civic, and other public privileges. P.4-A

"Too weak to hold water" are the belated propositions made by their "patron saint" who sits in the governor's seat in Montgomery. His recent "face-about" in what seems to be a face-saving maneuver, appears to be the "voice of Jacob, but the hand of Esau." Most surely "them lyingnewspapers" and the present "hogwash" legislature will not fall for his late schemes, but will just let him, according to the great Winston Churchill, "stew in his own juice."

Beware of his tirades against outside influences causing all our troubles in Alabama! What was the import of his entertaining at a Scotch drinking social in the governor's mansion, the arch enemy of the South and everything Southern, the Rev. Rep. out of Harlem, N.Y., Adam Powell, and riding him around over the "Cradle of the Confederacy," in a tax-provided No. 1 Cadillac?

Now this high and mighty Reverend, finding it impossible to conquer and humiliate a pure-blooded Anglo-Saxon South, orders a day of prayer, March 28, for deliverance of the Montgomery Negroes from the wickedness of their white friends.

Let them pray; they should pray! But praying "till the crack of doom" will not bring integration.

A final suggestion to our Folsom: Proclaim March 28 a day of prayer for the white people of the South. Plead with the Lord to deliver the poor, deluded, Southern Negro from the evil designs of the gold diggers and political opportunists, above the Mason & Dixon Line.

GEORGE W. CHEEK.
Selma, Ala.

◆

Lincoln's Liberation

Editor, The Advertiser:

The following is from the greatest statesman of the United States, Abraham Lincoln:

"I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and the political equality of the white and black races; that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes nor qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality; and inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white man."

MRS. E. S. HARRISON.
Tallahassee, Fla.

◆

Gospel Of Hate

Editor, The Advertiser:

The Negro ministers of Montgomery ought to meditate and ask themselves if they are preaching the truth. Namely, that the white people are their enemies and hate them. If they honestly believed that they wouldn't want to force their society on us. They don't believe that themselves, therefore they are not preaching the truth.

They know white folks are making the laws and taxing themselves to give them good schools and all the other facilities that we have. They get more relief money, 10 to one, than white. They are given good jobs where they are capable.

It is a true saying the more you help some folks, the harder they are to please and the more demanding they are.

Gantt, Ala. MRS. C. M. DARBY.

Tell It To Old Grandma

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What The Negro Stands To Lose

Advertiser P. 4-A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Inasmuch as we are Southerners, having been born and raised in Alabama, we are familiar with segregation in the South and realize the necessity of it.

For the past several years one or both of us have lived in states other than Southern: West Virginia, Kansas and Oregon. We are therefore in the position of having a bird's-eye-view of a situation with which we are familiar.

We have a high regard for the Southern Negro as an individual. We have equally high contempt for the agencies and implements such as the NAACP and the Supreme Court decision which would, through their radical and unlawful actions, cause the Southern Negro to inadvertently lose the respect and good will of his best friend—the Southern white man.

Montgomery, Ala.

EARL TENNIMON,
J. C. TENNIMON.
Salem, Oregon.

◆

No Help Wanted

Editor, The Advertiser:

Alabama does not need a bi-racial committee to speak its piece on segregation. Even a branchheader knows that.

W. T. BARNETT.
Pine Level, Ala.

◆

White Retaliation

Editor, The Advertiser:

Why don't the white people of Montgomery park their cars at least one day a week and ride the buses to go to work or shopping?

Fight the Negro with his own ideas. It would help the company stay in business.

MRS. C. A. LIVINGSTON.
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

◆

It Started With FDR

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have just read your interview in *U.S. News & World Report*.

There is no doubt that there is hypocrisy in the North. It is in the Democratic party, however. Your good friends, Franklin and Harry started it.

You must realize that there is a lot of difference between between a Southern and Northern Democrat. The strength of the Northern Democratic Party is the slums of the cities.

In the North you can tell the character of any community by the registration.

Most Northern Negroes are pawns of Democratic ward healers.

These Northern Democrats tell the Negroes that the South is behind the times and that the Democraic Party of the North does not need the South.

I wish that a lot of you intelligent Southerners could go to a slums political meeting. I am a Mason and a Rotarian. There are very few Democrats in either organization in the North.

I ejoyed the article.

CARL C. DAVIDSON.
Ellwood City, Pa.

Birmingham ministers ask calmness in racial trials

News Birmingham, Ala. Tues. 3-6-56

BY LORINE ALEXANDER, News staff writer

All people were called on yesterday to "exercise calmness, goodwill, restraint, courtesy, kindness, and sympathetic consideration for the dignity and well-being of all people in these days of race relations crises."

The appeal was made in a resolution adopted at a Birmingham Ministers Assn. meeting at the First Methodist Church.

THE MINISTERS asked that each person exert individually his influence in a peaceful way toward the solution of the complex and difficult problems "which mutually confront us."

"Let us look up prayerfully and in great faith to God who giveth wisdom and grace to all, and upbraideth not," the resolution asked.

The resolution added that "we, the ministers of Birmingham, are praying daily for God's guidance in the solution of our common problems."

THE ACUTE NEED for more nursing facilities for aged persons was emphasized in an address by the Rev. David Cady Wright. The Rev. Mr. Wright, rector, St. Mary's Episcopal Church, told the ministers that of the 66 licensed nursing homes in Alabama, not one is housed in a fireproof building, not one employs a professional dietitian, not one has dining room facilities, and only one employs graduate nurses.

Of those in Birmingham, the speaker said, there are three he would not "allow my dog to sleep in."

Under the Hill-Burton Act the government will pay two-thirds of the cost of building a privately sponsored nursing home, and for two years the money provided under this plan for Alabama has gone unused and was returned to Washington, he said.

PLANS ARE UNDER way for an 80-bed home in Jefferson County to be built under the sponsorship of seven Episcopal churches. However, 800 beds are needed in the county.

This minister urged his fellow clergymen not to forget the older members of their congregations. He told of a club in his church which meets on Mondays in a local restaurant in which members must be 65 or older.

Dr. John M. Lukens, president of the association, announced that a group would meet to continue plans to establish an inter-denominational spiritual guidance program for the University of Alabama Medical Center here.

Stop A Fire Before It Starts

(From The Christian Science Monitor)

Make no mistake; positions on the segregation issue are hardening, tensions are rising, temperatures are going up. The trouble at the moment centers in the Deep South, in the state of Alabama in the cities of Tuscaloosa and Montgomery, But rising tensions widen excitement. Higher temperatures can cause combustion. And fires spread.

For these reasons what Governor Folsom has proposed for Alabama and Adlai Stevenson has urged for the entire nation bring notes of sanity into a situation fast becoming far too emotional. They both propose biracial commissions, that for Alabama to be appointed presumably by Governor Folsom himself. And Mr. Stevension calls on President Eisenhower to name one for the whole country.

Such steps should receive the strongest possible support from every thinking person.

What might such commissions accomplish in today's situation? "Study commissions" are sometimes set up as devices to postpone definitive action. But these should not be primarily study commissions. They should provide concentrations of leadership for both races toward reasonable thinking, toward cooling tempers, and away from bitter resentments and frantic fears.

Some observers have asked whether there is time or room for compromise between hostile positions already so far advanced. There is more room but perhaps less time than one might think. Compromise, however, may not be the first business. The first necessity may be to agree to disagree for the time being.

Important as may be full abolition of segregation to some Negroes, as complete preservation of separateness may be to some whites, there is a greater value, greater to everyone, at stake. That is the unity of these United States and of the people who dwell within them.

The two races, now with some 144,000,000 whites and 16,000,000 Negroes, will have to continue living side by side, in North and South alike, for time out of mind. Are they going to live in peace and friendliness or in conflict and bitterness? Not so much how the segregation issue is finally worked out as how that working out is approached is likely to form the answer.

Respected and trusted commissions might do much to persuade the leadership of both races to compromise not on principles but on pressures, and that to push temporary advantages and win local skirmishes could lose for each the goals it seeks.

Those goals are no longer "white supremacy" in the sense some whites have meant nor racial "integration" as, no doubt, some Negroes have defined it. The goal for all is a modus vivendi in which races and individuals are neither kept apart nor forced together by law — in which voluntary association and disassociation both are given the freest play.

Judge Promises To Uphold Segregation

Supreme Court Ruling Assailed By Alabaman

Jasper, Ala., March 28 (AP) — An Alabama Supreme Court justice today pledged to uphold segregation and accused the United States Supreme Court of "twisting the Federal Constitution so as to arrive at its famous integration decision."

Justice James J. Mayfield, a candidate for re-election, said in a speech to a civic club here that he "will not stand by and see the United States Supreme Court abolish our Southern way of life."

The U. S. Supreme Court has ordered integration in the nation's public schools. Mayfield declared he has taken an oath to uphold the State Constitution, which forbids mixed schools.

Had Promised To Quit

"I have sworn to uphold the Constitution of the sovereign state of Alabama, and when I can no longer carry forth my oath of office to maintain segregation in Alabam, I shall resign," he said.

Mayfield said he had promised to withdraw from politics when he took office, but declared he was "forced back into the political areana by political opposition."

He is opposed in the May 1 primary by Senator James Coleman. Although he mentioned no names, Mayfield yesterday accused Coleman of using the White Citizens Councils of central Alabama "as a political forum."

Mayfield said:

"There is no good legal constitutional mind in the South that believes that the U. S. Supreme Court had the power to twist the Federal Constitution so as to arrive at its infamous integration decision. This is judicial legislation and usurpation of the police powers of the Southern States at its very worst.

Called 'Judicial Legislation'

"I am unalterably opposed to this type of judicial legislation and will not stand by and see the U. S. Supreme Court abolish our Southern way of life."

Mayfield reminded his listeners that Alabama has adopted a nullification resolution, and added, "When we are joined by other Southern states we will be able to assert sufficient power within the Federal Government to effect some form of relief. . . .

"As one Southern justice of a Southern supreme court, I do not feel myself bound by, nor will I be bound by, a decision that I know is morally and intellectually dishonest and based on no legal precedent or legal authority."

Two Editors Clash Over Negro Reporter

NEW YORK, March 16 (AP) — The editor of the New York Post refused today to replace a Negro reporter for a suggested series on racial discrimination in New York.

Editor James A. Wechsler said he assumed Editor-in-Chief Grover C. Hall Jr., of the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser was unwilling to work with Post reporter Ted Poston because the latter is a Negro.

"But I am sure you would not expect me to abide by Montgomery's segregation system in handing out assignments on the Post," Wechsler added.

Wechsler addressed Hall in a Post editorial.

Hall originally proposed that Post columnist Murray Kempton be assigned to him. Hall suggested racial intolerance was by no means confined to the South.

Wechsler replied that both he and Kempton considered Poston more qualified for such a survey.

Hall said that if Kempton wasn't available he would like to have Wechsler himself work with him.

Wechsler replied in today's Post:

"To the best of my recollection we have never met; I must therefore conclude that the only thing that qualifies me as a satisfactory substitute for Poston is that I am not a Negro.

EDITORIAL PAGE

Two Wisconsin collegians showed up in the shop, having come to behold race discrimination. They traveled on Reader's Digest funds. In a toll bucket interview, Joe Azbell discovered that neither student had heard of Trumbull Park or the Mayor's race in Milwaukee, though both cities are but 150 miles from their campus. "Publish It Not In The Streets Of Askelon"—VII.

PRAISING ADVERTISER

House-Approved Resolution Runs Into Snag In Senate

A House-approved resolution commending The Montgomery Advertiser for its current editorial campaign showing that racial strife is prevalent in the North as well as the South hit a snag in the Senate late yesterday when a Folsom leader sought to kill the proposal by sending it to the Rules Committee.

Sen. E. L. Roberts of Etowah, one of Gov. Folsom's leaders in the upper housee, objected to the immediate consideration of the resolution, thus sending it to the administration - dominated Rules Committee.

Several other Folsom senators were standing by and prepared to object, had not Roberts filed his protest.

MATHISON

ROBERTS

The joint resolution whipped through the House by a vote of 82-3, despite opposition from several Folsom supporters. All three opposition votes came from administration lawmakers — Speaker Rankin Rite of Marion and Reps. Bryce C. Davis of Cullman and Emmett Oden of Franklin.

Rep. G. B. Mathison of Henry County introduced the resolution, commenting that he had been prompted to do so "by the wide favorable reaction shown by the people of my county for The Advertiser's editorials."

Rep. Davis, a long-time foe of Alabama newspapers, immediately took the floor in opposition. While insisting he did not object to the resolution, he noted that The Advertiser was not read in his part of the state, adding "we do not really know what sort of job they are doing."

Reps. McDowell Lee of Barbour and Walter Emmett Perry of Jefferson immediately took to the floor in behalf of the resolution.

Lee, charging that Davis had a "personal reason" for opposing the bill, told the House "just because the gentleman from Cullman hasn't read The Advertiser should have no bearing on whether we give credit where credit is due."

"Mr. Grover C. Hall Jr., the editor, has done a very excellent job in showing people of Alabama and the nation that the race issue is a national problem, not just a southern problem," Lee declared.

Hall's remarks about segregation in explaining his vote, commented to the House:

"I think it's fine when the press of the nation falls out with each other."

The resolution sponsored by Mathison urged other Alabama newspapers "to join in The Advertiser campaign to present the Negro in his true light — as an American dilemma — in the hope that the northern press will assume its obligation to present the racial problem in its proper perspective."

The resolution declared further that the approach followed by The Advertiser would bring "greater understanding of the problem" and that it would result in "the repudiation of agitators and troublemakers in our society and the cessation of the outside attacks on the southern way of life."

Moments after the resolution was approved, Speaker Perry said that the northern press will as-

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Birmingham Ala

Some Specific Questions About The Races Are Directed Toward Whites

May I use the freedom of the press to ask some people a question or two?

Why is it that you can let our colored women come into your house and cook and care for your children? Don't you think that's mixing? Why is it that you let our colored boys go overseas to fight for you and be killed and your sons be there to, side by side? You go in the same stores, walk the same streets and there are the same taxes on the colored person's dollar as on yours.

The majority of the colored people don't want to marry out of their race. We are proud of our race. That is the reason why we fight to free it. We just want to have the same opportunity and privilege as you have. It's a shame to say this but it's true—there are dogs treated better than we are.

Why don't you put colored police on the force so that we can get our bad and filthy areas cleaned up? Your police don't care what our people do as long as it doesn't affect your race.

MRS. MARY HOLIFIELD,
319 Dexta Avenue.

Dual System Of Schools Is Needed

The recent case of violence at the University appears to me to be the result of mounting resentment against attempts by federal courts to destroy long-established racial customs in the South and to specific actions by Arthurine Lucy and her attorney.

This case points to the lack of wisdom in attempting to change local customs by court edict. It appears that a wiser procedure would have been a stricter enforcement of the "separate but equal" principle in handling all problems regarding facilities and opportunities for Negroes in the South. However, the federal courts have chosen to pursue a different course, and therefore must assume responsibility for the consequences of their rulings.

As an alumnus of the University, I regret that violence occurred on the campus. I especially deplore the actions against Dr. and Mrs. Carmichael. However, I see nothing wrong with public demonstrations of feeling, no matter how strong they may be. Had there been no demonstrations during colonial days, we probably would have still been under British rule. To this extent, I support Leonard Wilson in his activity on the campus. I think the great majority of the people in Alabama agree with his sentiments in that the University should remain all-white.

Our dual education system in Alabama should be retained. Any existing deficiencies should be corrected, but the system should not be destroyed; at least not for a long time to come.

MERROL A. GRIFFIN,
229 South Cannon, Avenue,
Sylacauga, Ala.

SPIRIT OF '56

—Burck, Chicago Sun-Times

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser 2-14-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery Ala

The Hour Is Late, But There Is Yet Time

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Your editorial Feb. 7 on the "University Tumult" was good. It is very true, as you said in the concluding parpgraph: "The rash intrusion of the federal government into Alabama affairs has to be resisted . . . it is an unhappy thing that so much of our energies have to be diverted from the more wholesome concerns of the flowering South."

The time has come when we must be not only calm but sensible about this whole business. There is resentment and hatred but there is still a great reservoir of good will among the white people and the Negroes throughout the South. The trouble has been caused by outside influences—meddlers from the fanatical organizations which thrive and make their promoters rich by stirring up class and race hatreds.

This bus boycott is a perfect example of how scheming leaders find it profitable to prey on the ignorance of thousands of unsuspecting people. It is so ridiculous that you begin to wonder how anybody could fall for it. The bus owners—the National City Lines—are big operators in cities throughout America and Canada. The boycott in Montgomery will not break them. They operate with a franchise under state and city laws.

The people who get hurt are the hundreds and hundreds of Negro employes in stores, homes, and industry who are being gouged in public meetings and in taxi fares (some of these owned by the very people who are keeping the boycott going). They listen to so-called leaders who ride in big new cars and whose sole interest is publicity and profit for themselves.

We do not need any more meetings or committees. Joe Azbell wrote a very good article in Monday's paper asking for the races to select a committee made up of "true representatives." Would a mass meeting select them or would a group who considered themselves "true representatives" select another group of the same type "true representatives?" We have had enough committees and too many meetings. The facts are crystal clear. Some want the boycott to go on for their own profit. It is even possible that to keep the thing going sympathizers may stage a mock bombing, or burn a fiery cross, etc. People will find out the truth sooner or later, and how such a thing cannot win.

No doubt the situation will get serious unless there is enough good will and common sense to return to our normal way of living. White people still like Negroes and vice versa and they will get along fine if they shut the mouths of the agitators and quit furnishing money for them to continue their rackets. We live together here in the South. We have a lot in common. It is time to be sensible before it is too late. There are good Negroes who like white people and there are white people who down in their hearts hold sincere friendship for their Negro acquaintances.

The NAACP has been bad medicine for the best interest of the Negro in the South. Through every possible channel they have carried on a campaign of propaganda against the South and its people and its customs. If it ever had any virtue it lost it by its vicious tactics. It created more bitterness and hatred in the hearts of Negroes than was ever engendered by the Civil War. The more intelligent and reasonable Negroes are now learning that if these pressures continue from the NAACP, the Negro in the South will be a stranger in a strange land—separated by these fanatical extremists—and they will find it increasingly difficult to find employment or to engage in profitable business simply because they have destroyed the foundations of good will and mutual helpfulness. It is very late, but not even now too late, for the Negro leaders to profit by what they must be learning for the good of their race.

The Citizens Councils have been organized to combat the vicious and unreasonable tactics of the NAACP and other race baiters. I am not a member and never attended a meeting, but it seems to be growing throughout every Southern state. It can be a good influence for law and order while waging an aggressive fight against every effort to force integration on the South. Fortunately it seems to be in the hands of responsible and representative citizens. It must not be spoiled by hot-heads or trouble makers. All efforts that are effective have to take organized form. Nothing can be done without organization. There will be criticisms and accusations, but the course is clear:

¶ Mold public opinion in an intelligent movement against every effort to

preserve our racial customs.

¶ Demand of public officials in every elective office a clear statement of their position.

¶ Give legal support to every individual, local, and state government in resisting all efforts toward integration.

¶ Discourage the use of churches as centers of racial meetings.

¶ Discourage violence or any type of mob activity.

¶ Discourage the defeatist attitude of those who say: "Well, it's coming eventually." It need not, and it will not if the races have the sense and the courage to preserve what the Creator made them.

Just now something can be done. Start rebuilding good will, ride your buses, and quit giving money to agitators who are getting rich through your inconvenience.

H. F. BARRINGTON.

Montgomery.

From Mr. Wechsler

GROVER C. HALL, JR.
Editor-in-Chief
The Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

Advertiser

Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Mr. Hall:

When I invited you to work with Ted Poston on the series you had proposed on race discrimination in New York. I did so because in my judgment he was best qualified by background and experience to get the full story. Poston has been covering race relations in this city for more than 20 years and if Murray Kempton or I or anyone else were to prepare a series of this sort, he would be the first man to interview. As I wrote you, Kempton entirely concurs with my estimate of Poston.

Ref. 3-17-56

I can only assume that your reply ignores my proposal that you work with Poston (and reiterates your desire to collaborate with Kempton) simply because Poston happens to be a Negro. That is your privilege. But I am sure you would not expect me to abide by Montgomery's segregation system in handing out assignments on *The Post*.

As a newspaperman I had also hoped you would realize that in offering Poston's services I did so in all good faith; the fact that he has lived as a Negro in this city for most of his adult life would surely make him more rather than less sensitive to the discriminations that survive here. In short, I was proposing an arrangement under which you would obtain maximum knowledge and perspective about the New York story. At the same time I made it clear that all the facilities of *The Post* would be at your disposal; I am sure Kempton and I and everyone else here would have done whatever we could to supplement Poston's effort to make your inquiry a fruitful one.

You say that you want to do this series with Kempton because of your "prior plans and personal relationship" with him. Yet you also say that, if he is unavailable, you would be willing to undertake the project with me. To the best of my recollection we have never met; I must therefore conclude that the only thing that qualifies me as a satisfactory substitute for Poston is that I am not a Negro.

I-1-A

I am sure you will realize on reflection that for me to replace Poston under these circumstances would be an affront to one of my most valued associates. It seems to me an unhappy consequence of the segregation position that a Southern newspaperman would prefer to get an inadequate story with the help of someone like myself rather than work with a Negro reporter who could most effectively help him.

It seems to me equally sad that you apparently cannot consider the lively prospect of publishing Poston's report side by side with yours in *The Montgomery Advertiser*—as I had offered to do in *The Post*.

I fear the world will quickly weary of our published communications; let me simply express the hope that you will reconsider your decision and come up to New York to start working with Poston on Monday.

In any case we are, of course, proceeding with our series.

Sincerely,

JAMES A. WECHSLER,
Editor, *The Post*.

★

To Mr. Wechsler (Finis)

MR. JAMES A. WECHSLER
Editor
The New York Post
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Wechsler:

Thank you for your March 15 telegram bearing on my proposal to equalize press coverage of race disharmony between New York and Alabama. I am, of course, running your statement in full in the Saturday edition of *The Montgomery Advertiser*.

I had originally proposed that I handcuff myself to your star columnist, Murray Kempton, for a week in New York as he rooted out the story of New York's racial discrimination. Kempton told me he had planned for sometime to do such a New York series, that he would be delighted to bird dog the story for me, and also that he was going to render the series regardless of whether I came to New York.

I made ready to take plane this weekend, not as an act of sniveling or frivoling, but to play a part in surrendering the South's corner on the production of news of race strife. If the story of race strife is national, then the American press has a duty to nationalize it.

Kempton assured me the story grew on trees in New York. A Nov. 8 editorial in *The New York Times* uncorked the phrase, "the explosive issue of segregation in New York's own schools."

Your Mayor Robert Wagner followed along with the statement:

"I have been increasingly concerned with the realistic situation of factual segregation in our elementary and high schools."

Plainly the story was there, informing the nation of the sorrowful but evident fact that the Negro encounters rejection wherever he migrates in significant numbers. I say compassionately, as my father wrote years ago in *The Advertiser*, it is a hard lot in life to be born a Negro.

Anyhow, my first proposal and your acceptance did not mesh. My lively, antic friend Kempton has gone silent and his ancient project is sunk without trace. Next, since you are an editor and I am an editor, I proposed a parley-at-the-summit collaboration with you. Again, you rejected my proposal.

Your alternate proposal—my reliance upon the assistance of the well known Negro reporter, Ted Poston—is obviously an inadequate arrangement for obtaining this particular story.

By the way, I have lately printed some nettling things about the news handling of race strife in Chicago (where a hundred policemen are on duty today to guard 24 Negro families at Trumbull Park) and Detroit. The response was a phone call from that austere Roman, John S. Knight, who publishes in both these cities. He said that he was directing his papers to give me anything I asked should I wish to visit either city. He was as good or better than his word, for almost instantly I had a challenging but hearty invitation from Basil Walters, who bosses Knight's *Chicago Daily News*, to come and get it, free style.

Finally, Mr. Wechsler, even though Kempton is a fugitive from me and his own project, I have the hope that our exchange of notes may have made some Southern editors and publishers wonder if the time hasn't come to rise from their inert hams and commence staffing Northern race strife to give the American people perspective on what Adlai Stevenson calls "an *American*, not a Southern, dilemma."

Give my regards to Broadway.

Yours faithfully,

GROVER C. HALL, JR.
Editor-in-Chief
The Montgomery Advertiser.

Top Show Acts May Bypass Montgomery

Courier P. 22 Sat. 3-10-56

Pittsburgh Pa.

By ISADORA ROWE, Theatre Editor

NEW YORK—All the agencies here controlling Negro acts and shows and many of the bigger white bookers are planning to bypass the embittered Montgomery, Ala., because of the strong boycott of the city's transportation system due to gross discrimination.

Both those who control white and colored talent feel that the success of any show is now in great danger as the location of the best place in town to present shows makes transportation a vital factor, thus more than half of a show's potential audience is in danger of being lost.

Keeping shows out of this city will have a dire effect on all types of business and cut off one of the more lucrative forms of revenue. One of the bigger shows have been reported to have failed at the box-office. Both scheduled for a late March showing in Montgomery is the touring all-white "Holiday on Ice." quoted as stating that virtually all business ventures are off with Set for an appearance at the Memorial Coliseum, on the outskirts more than the bus company in of town, the management of the the red due to the Negro's stand show announced here that efforts for his rights as a human being have been made to cancel the and an American.

engagement.

Shows returning from that sec-

Tell It To Old Grandma

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Everybody Is In Step But Folsom

Advertiser p.2-B

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—It seems that Jim Folsom now has a sudden urge to talk to the people. His frantic efforts in recent days to get in step with the people on segregation are amusing. Just a short time ago he was entertaining the New York Negro congressman. Just a very short while ago he was vetoing segregation bills of a local nature in Alabama. Just a few days ago he was referring to the interposition resolution passed by the legislature as "hogwash." Just a few short weeks ago he failed to sign the school placement bill. Was he thinking about the people then?

Adv. 4-1-56

Now, he wants to be Democratic National Committeeman so that he can invite "Soapy" Williams, South-hating governor of Michigan, to speak in Alabama again.

Montgomery

Now, he wants the people of Alabama to elect his slate of candidates to the judiciary so that he can have control of the courts in Alabama.

Now, he wants a constitutional convention under the guise of segregation so that he can change things to suit himself. (and who can tell what this would finally be?) and have control of the lives of our people.

Now, that he wants to set himself up as the dictator in Alabama, he feels a sudden urge to talk to the people.

The people will hear a lot of double talk, but they won't be told what the real motives of Jim Folsom are. I think, however, that the people have seen enough of this small town Caesar. They will not support his "Y'all come, Miss Lucy" ticket this time.

W. FRANK HUEY.
7900 5th. Avenue N.,
Birmingham, Ala.

◆

Penitent

Editor, The Advertiser:

I voted for Folsom for governor. I attended his meeting here at the Coliseum during the campaign. I put a contribution in the suds bucket as it was passed around at Dothan.

However, I must now admit it seems that he is proving himself to be utterly incompetent from every standpoint to serve this state.

In fact, he has shown himself to be a great detriment to our state morally, financially, racially and politically. Certainly, the legislature should give careful consideration to any plan which will extricate the people from this most unfortunate predicament in which we find ourselves.

Montgomery. R. L. B.

◆

It Works Both Ways

Editor, The Advertiser:

We should make it clear to our Northern friends that Alabama's segregation laws apply to white and Negro persons alike. White persons as well as Negroes have been arrested for violating the city and state segregation laws. Under our laws, no white person can be seated in spaces reserved for Negroes, just as Negroes cannot be seated in places reserved for whites. There is no discrimination against either the Negro or the white person.

Mobile, Ala. JNO. WILLIAMS.

◆

Segregation Is National

Editor, The Advertiser:

Your recent valuable and exceptionally clever work in furthering the cause of segregation, or I should say, prolonged segregation, should entitle *The Advertiser* to a vote of thanks and endear you to the hearts of all Southern members of the Citizens Councils.

Your contributions in presenting the facts on this subject and your brilliant and interesting manifesto in proving that segregation is not sectional but is a national problem should at once afford you free membership to all councils in the South.

You and the Advertiser have done more constructive work in the newspaper field than any other paper that I know of concerning this momentous issue, in fact it is quite remarkable that from a position of highly adverse criticism often heaped upon you and *The Advertiser*, that today the situation is reversed and you are praised and held in honor and esteem.

Montgomery. R. E. SEIBELS.

◆

The Point Is Proven

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have long subscribed to the belief that, despite the hostile publicity given our sentiments and "dealings" with colored people by northern publications and magazines like *Look*, *Life*, *Time*, etc., mere geographical location does not control people's centiments on racial discrimination. But thanks to you, Sir, that fact is being aired, as it should be.

EDGAR S. ANDERSON.
Tallahassee, Fla.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser p.4-A

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Montgomery, Ala.

Thanks From The Hub Cap Trap

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—The roar which you heard, from down Normandale way was one of approval of your editorial, "Floyd School, An Island In The Mud."

3-31-56

Those of us who own property contiguous or near to "Floyd" have but two states of mind—gloomy, from living behind doors and windows sealed against the dust, and wrathful, from watching young hopefuls trudge along muddy, pock-marked streets en route to erudition.

Your editorial has given us a third state—hopeful. Hopeful that the powers that be will help us make this corner of Montgomery actually as attractive as it promised to be.

There is one significant feature of our particular unpaved street which I think bears mentioning. We have a collection of hubcaps bounced off of passing cars—if they are uncalled for within 30 days we shall put them out for the trashman.

Also we residents along Le Bron Road (eastern boundary of school grounds) have twice paid a few dollars to have our street oiled in an attempt to quell the dust. But, the "life" of this surfacing—now that we've relieved the flow on Norman Bridge—is so short as to make paving seem cheap at any price. I for one am ready to be permanently "enhanced" rather than skin deep only at $3 per oil-job.

You are personally invited to use my chunk of pavement at any time you wish. My carpool joins me in my thanks to you. R. J. PARTRIDGE.
Montgomery.

◆

One Complaint Against The South

Editor, The Advertiser:

You are absolutely right in saying the press plays down the racial picture as it is here in the North. The one newspaper that gives full coverage and descriptions is *The Evening Bulletin*.

If all the people in Philadelphia were truthfully polled there would probably be more people in favor of segregation than in the entire state of Alabama.

When a Negro moves into an all-white neighborhood there is immediately an exodus of whites away from this area into a community that is all-white or else they move into the suburbs of this city. And Mayor Clark has accused the suburbanites of discrimination by not accepting the Negro into their communities. How long this can continue is a question. They cannot run forever nor can they continue to build new communities.

The white man has become a shell of a man through the political action of the NAACP and the cheap political bosses. He does not voice a protest. Yet every so often you hear in a whisper a hope that some one will organize a White Citizens Council such as you have in the South.

The fact that the Negro represents only 20% of the population he is accused of committing 70% of all major crimes.

The Negro gangs that roam the streets of Philadelphia have open warfare with knives, guns, every known weapon. It is so widespread it is no secret. And each community has its own gang that wages war with the next gang in another community.

The white children pay tribute to these gangs for protection and in many instances have been severely beaten.

The most heinous of all crimes has been the very, very many attacks upon the women of Philadelphia, young and old, in their homes, on the street and in the subway. It got so severe they placed police at all possible places to protect these poor unsuspecting women. The newspapers called them the Jungle Patrol.

These hypocrites who yell and shout to the rooftops about desegregation find it more convenient and more safe to live in all white communities.

This so-called minority with the shrill voice that reaches the political factions is the one who criticizes the South but never is found to be living in the colored neighborhoods. But they reach the ears of the political factions and drown out the feeble pleas of those who are being deprived of a voice in how they live or with whom.

The only complaint we ever heard of the South was that they are driving too many Negroes North.

The Negro struts around like a peacock. He has no respect for the white man's law. He holds the white man in contempt. He has nothing to fear for he believes he has the politician by the throat as evidenced by the actions of those who have been cowed into submission by these people.

Yes, you have more supporters here in the North than you realize. What they may be worth in courage and wisdom such as you display in the South is another question.

MRS. A. PAPPAS.
St. Malachy's Parrish, Philadelphia, Pa.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. 4-A

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Thurs. 3-24-88

Montgomery, Ala.

The Negro Will Be Duped Again

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—40 acres and a mule. This slogan of the carpetbaggers was extremely rife from 1865 until 1870. The intent was to qualify and vote the Negro. It succeeded in making the Republican Party. For 20 years the South struggled with the problem, lifting the Negro race to substantial citizenship. But the Negro race still remained in the Republican Party in the whole Southern region.

The Democratic Party when it came into power decided to make a stab at capturing the Negro vote, and succeeded with the desegregation of the Army and Navy, then followed it up with the FEPC, and climaxed it with the famous "opinion" of a Democratic Supreme Court. The poor Negro will be duped again, as in the carpetbag days.

P. M. CARLISLE.
1500 Grove Place, Birmingham, Ala.

Time For Realism

Editor, The Advertiser:

I thoroughly enjoyed your letter to Mr. Wechsler as reported in *U.S. News & World Report*. The point is well put, and for once, because I don't believe they can sidestep this kind of approach, the purpose may be achieved.

Let's not forget the significance of the two articles quoted from the Minneapolis and Chicago newspapers. If desegregation were achieved in the South, this sort of intimidation would be practiced on a much more massive scale in our schools, and a much more hate-compelling scale in our housing projects. Nothing but harm can come to both races, and so let's not necessarily point to "changes that should be made in the North" but expose the real danger both North and South, and try to get some realism into the national attitude toward this unending problem.

Bristol, Tenn. W. D. ARNOLD.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Montgomery, Ala.

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Thurs. 3-24-88

Advertiser P. 4-A

Segregation Flourishes In Los Angeles

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Since I sent you yesterday's news item on the intimidated witness here, I am enclosing today's and, also, the editorial version of *The Los Angeles Times*.

There is a lot of first-class hypocrisy here in our press, and public officials and the like.

The rank & file of the people feel just about as they do in my native state—Texas—that is, the race problem is not as acute as in the Deep South.

Just the same, segregation is widespread. The unions manage it. Churches manage it. Residence districts manage it—so far, except on border lines.

But to hear our public officials and press rant you would suppose this to be Boston — 1856 — when God communed with the Lowells and the Lowells spoke only to God.

Negroes take advantage of their "Barbara Frietchie" position. A friend of mine owned a first lien trust deed against one of our judges, who was a Negro. The judge paid if, as and when it pleased him, which was not often. Whenever my friend pressed for his money he was met with, "Oh, you're race conscious, aren't you." The friend, an ex-Coloradoan, finally sold the note in disgust, at a discount, because of the arrears.

I've always got a laugh out of the outcome. The man who bought belonged to another minority and promptly pressed for his legal rights, getting them.

JOHN JONES.
Box 1171, Hollywood 28, Calif.

Extension Of Remarks

Editor, The Advertiser:

Congratulations to City Editor Joe Azbell for catching so much of the drift of the stimulating and wide-ranging conservation in your office.

No offence meant to him (I talk very fast and he was only meant to take "rough notes" anyway) but I would like to re-clothe in its context one naked statement attributed to me. When I talked about it sometimes being quite a shock for English people when they first see a colored man (not "Negro," a term used in England only about America's colored citizens) I was referring specifically and exclusively to rather poorly educated English people of low economic status.

Actually, according to the sociologists, working class Englishmen tend to be zenophobic—the foreign-lookingness of a newcomer is perhaps the key, rather than the color of his skin (plus the usual economic fear of possible sources of cheap labor). As soon as you go up the educational scale in England you find all institutional pressures favoring complete non-discrimination.

All that London's midget-size West Indian problem probably proves is that when a strange group is moving into a city, public and private social service agencies ought to get busy early. The South's problem, of course, is something else again. I should like to reserve my all-too hastily garnered impressions on that until I can arrange them in some sort of readable shape for the readers of *The Economist*. But I can't leave Montgomery without thanking everyone whose time I have taken up, and especialy you, sir, for your courtesy to one member of the "Bohemian Brigade."

J. KEITH KYLE,
[Staff Correspondent, The London *Economist*.] Montgomery.

Good Going

Editor, The Advertiser:

After writing you yesterday and mailing the editorial page of *The Shreveport Times*, I picked up the *U. S. News & World Report*, read three times pages 48, 49 & 50. I think anyone in the world, whether a Northerner, Westerner or Southerner, would read with interest your letter to the editor of the *New York Post*.

I know you do not handle subscriptions, but will you please have someone put me on the list for *The Advertiser* for the next three months?

W. W. DURDEN,
Secretary-Manager
Chamber of Commerce.
Ruston, La.

Accusation Without Information

Editor, The Advertiser:

In this week's *U.S. News & World Report* I read the text of your letter to James A. Wechsler of the *New York Post*.

I believe your intentions to be in the best interest of American journalism, and am sure that Murray Kempton is the best *aid-de-camp* you could choose.

The problem of integration is national —not local. We in the North must not point accusingly at areas we have never really "lived in," without being able to look proudly to our own back yard.

RICHARD E. FISHMAN.
2000-A Mather Way,
Elkins Park, Pa.

Times Have Changed

Editor, The Advertiser:

Having lived in Montgomery for years, I am naturally interested in anything that concerns what I call my home town.

It's difficult for me to realize this bad publicity is taking place in the Cradle of the Confederacy, which our forefathers fought so hard to preserve. One would hardly believe the state had a governor, since he is doing nothing. Why does Montgomery ignore these outsiders who know nothing about the South? If this attitude had existed during Reconstruction days there would not have been a South.

The situation, to say the least, is very distressing and I sincerely hope it will soon be settled. Since members of my family life there, I'd like my name withheld.

New Smyrna Beach, Fla. M. S.

Case Dismissed

Editor, The Advertiser:

Gov. Folsom promised to give the old people a $50 a month pension without new taxes. Instead of giving us a $50 pension, he is making us pay more taxes, and we are still not getting any more than before the new taxes were placed on us. He also promised an efficient administration. The people believed him.

Why should the people of Alabama trust him again when he says to give him a constitutional convention and he will solve the segregation question in Alabama. If he is for segregation of the races in Alabama, why did he fight the "freedom of choice" amendment in the legislature, which will give us segregation in our public schools, and why did he refuse to sign the school "Placement" bill and the interposition resolution?

I pray that the people of Alabama will not be hoodwinked into letting him have a constitutional convention, which could do away with segregation of the races in Alabama, and also let him succeed himself as governor.

Attalla, Ala. C. T. NAPLES.

Tell It To Old Grandma

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Advertiser

Speaking Of The Law

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—We are hearing a great deal since the bus boycott began about "this being the law." And that "it must be enforced." And that the "bus lines must obey the law," that "they have no choice but to obey the laws."

Sat. 12-31-55

As these statements have continued to be issued I have found myself becoming "law" conscious. And it seems that I have not been alone in this for a friend of mine called me aside and spoke to me along the same lines and whispered the thought that if we were going to go by the laws of the state and the municipalities there were some laws on the statutes of Alabama that should be called to the attention of the constituted authorities and the good and law-abiding citizens of our city and state. I thereupon took it upon myself to make inquiry of the matter and I found much that needs to be called to the attention of those who are zealous for the proper enforcement of our laws.

P.A.P.

Among the laws I first came upon were the Sunday Blue Laws. At first glance the Alabama Sunday laws (Code of Alabama of 1940, as amended, Title 14, Section 420 and 421) appear to be somewhat confusing and the suspicious minded might even detect the influence of special interest groups in their making. However, we know that the Almighty moves in mysterious ways His wonders to perform, so the laws must be good and just and all right-minded, God-fearing people should insist upon their strict enforcement.

Montgomery Ala.

Moreover, if read more carefully, the pattern of the laws emerges and they do not appear nearly so confusing as at first glance. Instead of setting out these laws in full, I have broken them down into separate categories and the activities with which they deal, classifying them as non-corrupting, wholly corrupting and quasi-corrupting. The categories may not be wholly complete, as every conceivable activity cannot possibly be set forth in a statute, but I think the list will be useful as a source of ready reference to you and the Montgomery Ministerial Association, and other good citizens.

NON-CORRUPTING SPORTS AND PLEASURES

1. Fishing.
2. Dominoes, checkers and mahjong.
3. Basketball, hockey, hide and seek, and water skiing.
4. Automobile and motorcycle races.

WHOLLY CORRUPTING SPORTS AND PLEASURES

1. Gaming.
2. Shooting and hunting.
3. Horse racing.
4. Dog racing.
5. People racing.
6. Bridge, poker and old maid.
7. Boxing and wrestling. (This is dealt with under another provisions of the Code, Title 55, Section 346).

QUASI CORRUPTING SPORTS AND PLEASURES

1. Baseball. This sport is comparatively pure. It corrupts only in cities of 15,000 to 60,000 population and there only if an ordinance is adopted declaring it corrupting.

2. Football. Football corrupts everywhere but in cities of 60,000 population or over. It does not corrupt in cities of 60,000 or over unless declared corrupting by ordinance.

3. Tennis and golf. These sports appear to be absolutely corrupting outside of the limits of municipalities. They corrupt in cities of 15,000 population and over only if they are declared to be corrupting by municipal ordinance.

4. Movies. Movies corrupt absolutely outside of the limits of municipal corporations. In cities of 15,000 and up, they corrupt only if declared corrupting by local ordinance.

5. Vaudeville. Vaudeville corrupts absolutely outside of the corporate limits of municipalities and in cities of less than 60,000 population. It does not corrupt in cities of 60,000 and over unless declared corrupting by ordinance.

BLUE LAWS RE: BUSINESS ACTIVITIES

The law concerning business activities is not quite so clear as that dealing with sports and entertainment, but I will try to summarize the provisions as best I can:

1. It is unlawful to compel any child, apprentice or servant to perform any labor on Sunday "except the customary duties of daily necessity or comfort, or works of charity." Under this provision, I suppose we could make our children chop wood for the fireplace and even cook breakfast, but I am not sure whether we could make them shine our shoes or not, the Supreme Court not having yet spoken on the subject. The use of the word "charity" by itself leaves some uncertainty.

2. There seems to be no question but that the work of railroads, public utilities, etc., can go on as usual and so can the work of any manufacturing establishment which is required to be keep in constant operation.

3. Gasoline, motor fuels and motor oils can be sold, but the sale of tires and anti-freeze does not appear to be within the exceptions granted.

4. Newspapers can be sold but I find no provision which would allow them to be printed or written.

5. Drugstores can operate as usual and open stores may be kept by florist shops, fruit stands, ice cream shops and parlors, lunch stands or restaurants, delicatessens or plants engaged in the manufacture or sale of ice, provided such business establishments are not operated in conjunction with some other kind of business which is prohibited. So apparently we can buy salami or bologna on Sunday but not roast beef or pork chops. It is clear that grocery stores cannot sell apples, oranges or peas but presumably these products become kosher if sold by delicatessen or fruit stands. A man can buy his favorite blonde a corsage on Sunday but there is not much he can do about getting her a diamond ring, which I suppose is all to the good.

It is rather interesting to note the special consideration given to motorcycle and automobile racing, which can be carried on anywhere at any time unless prohibited by municipal ordinance. This would seem to be a rather illogical exception until we remember Elijah went to Heaven in a fiery chariot, so it should be all right for an automobile racer to go the same way.

Respectfully submitted,

AUBREY WILLIAMS.

Montgomery.

Bus Seating

Advertiser

Systems In 6 Other Southern Cities Differ From Our's, A Random Check Reveals

Sat. 12-31-55

By Tom Johnson

BECAUSE of an unyielding difference of opinion on what constitutes a fair and legal seating arrangement when black and white occupy the same buses, Montgomery wrangles today with an unaccustomed racial headache.

P.A.P.

For nearly a month, all but a handful of Negro commuters have refused to ride the buses of Montgomery City Lines because of what they claim is an unfair and humiliating seating arrangement. They demand a substantial change as the price for riding again.

As put by the Rev. M. L. King, the apparent spokesman for the protesting Negroes, the new arrangement must contain no reserved sections for either race on buses. Instead, he proposes that Negroes seat from the rear and whites from the front, with no reassignment of seats once the bus is filled by either race. "First come, first served," it has come to be called.

Montgomery

That means, he says, that if the Negroes completely fill the bus from rear to front, no one must be forced to give up his seat to a boarding white passenger, regardless of where he sits. The opposite is true when the bus is fully occupied by white passengers.

Ala

Attorneys for the bus company, reinforced by city legal opinion, contend such an arrangement is impossible under the existing law requiring separate and equal facilities. If a white person is forced to stand on a bus whose seats are occupied by Negroes, then obviously, they say, the white passenger does not enjoy equal facilities.

To find out whether the prevailing Montgomery seating system is usual or unique, *The Advertiser* called the bus companies in a half-dozen Southern cities—Baton Rouge, Macon, Nashville, Mobile, Birmingham, and Huntsville. These cities were selected at random.

Since the essence of the problem here seems to be over reserved sections, that was the question asked all of the bus officials. All but two—Baton Rouge and Birmingham—said the seating arrangements were "first come, first served." No reservations.

No Trouble

HOWEVER, in Huntsville, Manager Cecil Mitchell said the drivers "try to reserve" one or two seats for both races when the buses are crowded with one race. At times, white passengers take seats to the rear of Negroes on crowded buses when a seat suddenly becomes vacant. There has been no trouble he reported.

From Macon, Nashville and Mobile came identical reports and these definitions of local laws:

¶ Nashville: State law requires seating of whites from front and Negroes from rear. "Wherever they meet—that's it."

¶ Mobile: Thirty-six seats are assigned on first come, first served basis. "The first 36 who get on the bus get the seats." Negroes seat from the rear.

¶ Macon: No reserved areas, no one required to move if seating is in right direction.

Birmingham buses contain a movable placard that is placed wherever the driver thinks it is needed. If he anticipates the busload will be predominantly Negro, he places the card well forward in the bus. If white, the card is placed to the rear.

Only in Baton Rouge are there fixed reserved sections, and it is a modification of traditional Jim Crow, said Man-

ager Flynn Cauthen, formerly of Montgomery.

There, the two "longitudinal seats" that face the aisle behind the driver are designated for whites. The long seat across the rear is occupied by Negroes only. The rest of the bus is seated on a first come basis by the usual rear to front and front to rear pattern.

The Baton Rouge Solution

PRIOR to 1953, Baton Rouge's ordinance regulating segregation on buses was very similar to Montgomery's, said Cauthen. There was even a boycott, although shorter and not exactly for the same reasons.

Early in 1953, Cauthen said a "delegation from the NAACP" persuaded the seven-man City Council to abandon the Jim Crow plan and substitute one that involved no reserved seats.

For about two and one-half months, that was the plan used, until striking bus workers protested and engineered still another change—one that produced the present arrangement.

During the strike, Cauthen said the Negroes organized a boycott and, when the drivers returned to work, they stayed away—altogether for five days.

It was then that the Baton Rouge council, with the reluctant cooperation of the Negro committee, agreed to the reservation of the immediate front and rear seats.

There has been no further trouble, says Cauthen. Everybody knows the law and they all obey it.

Purely Economical

CAUTHEN expressed the greatest "sympathy" for the Montgomery City Lines, for which he worked several years. He sees it as an innocent party caught between the law on one hand, the opponents of the law on the other. He recalls his own difficulties when he grappled with a similar dilemma:

"Our problem was purely economical. We didn't enter into the sociological angle of it. We and transit companies throughout the country are suffering from lack of passengers. We took the position that we wanted the seats occupied by fare-paying passengers, regardless of color."

★ Tell It ★

To Old Grandma

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Advertiser P. 4-A Thurs. 3-15-56

No Plastic Carpetbaggers

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Your news account of "Boycott Experts From North" published in the March 9 issue calls for a frank rejoinder.

We are definitely not experts about Southern race relations on the protest of the Negro community of Montgomery against the severe segregation on the buses. We three clergymen came to Alabama to witness first-hand the situation and left wishing only that we could have stayed longer. We claim no "complete knowledge" about anything but tried in a short time to interview leaders in Montgomery representing several kinds of opinion. As a matter of fact, we came to the offices of *The Advertiser* not to be interviewed but to ascertain the views of the editor.

Above all, we do not want to appear to "hem or haw" about racism in our own northern communities. Racism is a national problem in America today and us Northerners can hardly come to Alabama with clean hands or consciences in this regard. However, just because we practice racial discrimination in the North makes such practices in the South no less immoral or irreligious. Likewise, our own Northern churches are basically white, if not completely so, and we realize that this, too, is a demonic judgment on our religion.

Montgomery, Ala.

No, we did not come to Alabama as modern William Lloyd Garrisons to start Civil War II or as plastic carpetbaggers to tell the South what to do. This is a national problem which demands calmness and charity, but it must be solved with urgency and with no vindictiveness on either side.

We would not be candid, however, if we did not state that all three of us were terribly impressed with the remarkable restraint, the courageous spirit, and wise leadership of Montgomery's Negro community. If this bus protest continues in a non-violent, Gandhian tenor, it might become one of the most important social movements of our time.

DAVID COLE,
Minister, First Universalist Church of Chicago, Ill.

ALBERT HARKINS,
Minister, First Universalist Church of Elgin, Ill.

HOMER A. JACK,
Minister, Unitarian Church of Evanston, Ill.

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Tolerance Is Not Equality

Editor, The Advertiser:

There is something the Negroes should understand and which they evidently don't. I have lived in about half of the states, North, East, South and West, my husband being in the service. I have found in no state I lived where the Negro had equality with the white person.

It is true they attend the same schools, they ride the same public conveyances, but the "equality" ends there. They live in segregated sections of town, they do not patronize the same clubs, except in some cases a municipal golf course or something of that kind. They do not eat in the same restaurants. They are tolerated but I think I can say, at least it has been my observation, that they are not liked. They are nowhere in numbers as in the South, and the worst race riots in history are in the North.

They are in for a sad disillusionment if they think by going North, or to any "unsegregated" state, they can be on a level with white people for this is not the case. Some of them should go and find out and return to tell others who seem to think of the North as a land flowing with milk and honey for the colored. Why do other sections of the country have such a hypocritical attitude? They know they do not accept the Negro as an equal. Every little incident unfavorable to a Negro in the South is played up by the agitators.

Yesterday's paper carried a news item of four Negro youths jumping on a white boy—for no reason, sending him to the hospital. The same article tells of two teen-age Negro girls jumping on two white girls—for no reason. This in New York. Imagine the hulla-baloo that would have been made of this if the situation had been reversed—in the South. So far I have heard no comment from any source on that bit of news, certainly not from the North.

MRS. J. D. LIPSCOMB.
Montgomery.

★ Tell It ★

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Advertiser P. 4-A Thurs. 3-15-56

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Montgomery, Ala.

In Defense Of Leonard Wilson

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Courage has always called for applause even among primitive and warlike peoples. The courage of a defeated foe was often praised.

Surely the red badge of courage should go to Leonard Wilson, University of Alabama student who was expelled today. For no matter how he may have erred in his judgment, no matter if—in excitement—he made statements, some of which he may regret, yet there can be no criticism of his standing by his convictions.

Leonard Wilson has been summarily punished. It is possible that he will not be permitted to complete his formal education at any university which is a member of the Association of Accredited Colleges — or whatever name such organizations take. He, therefore, is left with his mother and his part-time job at Tuscaloosa where he was helping to pay his way through school. In effect, he has been an inescapable sacrifice in the struggle to maintain segregation in our schools. This does not make him a martyr and there are no indications that he wishes to be a martyr. The net result of his expulsion, however, is that the expulsion of the Lucy woman is strengthened.

This young man has been called an egotist, a publicity seeker, a defiant trouble-maker, and other names by some who, at heart, are unwilling for their peace to be disturbed, even in order to maintain our racial customs in Alabama. Others sincerely felt that his headlong opposition hurt the cause he was trying to help. The stubborn fact remains, however, that if the vigorous protest led by Wilson and others had not occurred, the University of Alabama would now have been desegregated from top to bottom. His statements have spotlighted the ideologies prevalent among some of our college professors, which many of us have privately deplored but have not had the courage to denounce.

The Board of Trustees — whom he seems not to have criticized—of course, did the only thing they could have done under the circumstances. Yet—knowing some of them—I have no doubt that they considered the suspensions and expulsions as a very, very painful, but inescapable duty.

On sober second thought many will begin to remember that his face was turned in the right direction, although his feet stumbled. He is now being severely penalized. We should now remember that to err is human; to forgive is divine.

I would be glad to hear from any who share these sentiments.

WALLACE D. MALONE.
Dothan, Ala.

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Violence In Detroit

Editor, The Advertiser:

In reference to your editorial of March 10, "Montgomery Calling Detroit," you fail to mention one act of violence so brutal as to make Hitler look like a Boy Scout.

I refer to the horrible murder of the young white doctor on the night of July 5, 1943, at 11 p.m. The doctor was pulled from his car onto a bridge and methodically and unmercifully beaten to death by a mad, howling, savage mob of Negroes. Their excuse for this useless murder — he was white. Therefore he was their enemy. The ironical twist of this story of horror is the doctor was on a mission of mercy, racing to a seriously ill child—a Negro.

Ask your friends the Detroit editors to look in their paper morgues and they will find this story on Pg. 1; ask them too, before they try to wash Alabama's dirty linens, to wash some of their own first.

MRS. MARY L. KELLEY,
1018 S. Main St., Tuskegee, Ala.

Crowd boos Folsom's name at Montgomery

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 28—Gov. James E. Folsom's name was loudly booed last night by a large audience attending a meeting arranged by the Montgomery Citizens Council to report on how various candidates stand on the segregation issue.

Council Chairman Luther Ingalls told the crowd at the outset that Gov. Folsom, along with all other candidates residing in Montgomery, had been invited to respond to a questionnaire on segregation.

CANDIDATES, in addition, were invited to appear in person to deliver brief speeches.

Gov. Folsom, he declared, did not respond to the questionnaire and "did not show the council the courtesy of replying to the invitation to speak."

The crowd booed loud and sharp at the first mention of the governor's name. Further boos followed when Ingalls declared that the governor's action was no surprise to the council "in view of his long record against segregation."

Although Sen. Lister Hill was not present, a lengthy letter from him to the council, pledging to continue his fight to maintain racial segregation in Alabama and the South, was read by Chairman Ingalls.

Last night's meeting was held in the Montgomery City Auditorium. The crowd was estimated at between 1800 and 2000.

AMONG THOSE who appeared in person were Alabama Public Service Commission President C. C. (Jack) Owen, candidate for reelection; Rep. George Grant of the Second District and Wilbur Nolen, member of the Alabama House and opposing Grant, and John Crommelin, opposing Hill for senator.

Chairman Ingalls, in formally opening the meeting, said the Montgomery council had mailed out questionnaires to 104 candidates residing in Montgomery and the Second District.

Those questionnaires invited candidates to give a "yes" or "no" answer to these questions:

"Are you for segregation?

"Are you for mixing whites and Negroes in our schools?

"Have you or will you solicit the Negro vote?

"Do you here and now deny the Negro vote?

"Do you here and now say to the Negro that you do not want his vote?

"If elected will you uphold the Constitution of the sovereign state of Alabama?

"Are you opposed to the FEPC or any similar legislation?"

FIFTY-ONE OUT of the 104 who received the quetionnaire answered it, according to Chairman Ingalls. Several who answered the questionnaires, however, were unable to attend the meeting.

Enough speakers were on hand, nevertheless, to provide more than two hours of oratory, most of it largely repetitious. Candidates in most instances enlarged on what they had said in their written questionnaire answers.

The only non-candidate speakers were Montgomery's Mayor W. A. Gayle and City Commissioner Clyde Sellers. Both became members of the Montgomery Council after negotiations to end the bus boycott collapsed last January.

Both city officials, moreover, discussed problems arising from the bus boycott.

Chairman Ingalls told the crowd that most of the candidates failing to reply to the Council's questionaire were candidates for delegate to the Democratic National Convention from the state-at-large.

Among those who did not reply, according to the chairman, were Y. G. Allen, J. E. Brantley, Lowell J. Clemens, Dan Davis, James M. Dement, Karl C. Harrison, C. C. Horton, C. H. (Tip) Jackson, J. H. (Jack) Kelly, Leslie C. King, Ethel Ledford McPherson, Neil Metcalf, William I. O'Neal, T. E. (Ed) Rayfield, John D. Self Jr., Sen. John Sparkman and Graham Wright.

SEN. HILL did not answer the Council's questionaire but he left little unsaid as to his stand on the question of segregation in the letter read by Chairman Ingalls.

Sen Hill's letter said in part:

"I am, of course, opposed to integration in Alabama and in other states and will do all in my power to maintain segregation. The statement which I signed (the manifesto signed by other Southern senators and representatives) is a restatement of the strong stand I have taken ever since becoming a member of Congress to preserve and protect our Southern customs, traditions and way of life.

"As you know, I have been one of the Southern senators who stood in solid phalanx against the so-called civil rights bills and who by our efforts have defended these measures.

"We recall that they have tried to pass the measure that would kill the right to filibuster, the anti-lynching bill, the poll tax bill and the FEPC and other bills.

"We have fought these bills time and again on the floor of the U. S. Senate. We have not permitted a single measure to pass. I send you herewith a copy of my report against the FEPC bill."

"NOT LONG AGO," declared Mayor Gayle in his address, "Montgomery was a community that was widely praised because it was a community of peaceful people. But something has happened. We feel that outside influence have done away with these good relations.

"Since the bus boycott began we have received thousands of letters from every state and from many foreign lands. For every critical letter we have received three very favorable to the white people of Montgomery."

COMMISSIONER SELLERS said in part:

"We should not request but demand that all candidates say just how they stand, and make it so they can't straddle.

"Here in Montgomery we have been having a serious problem with the bus boycott. We should rededicate ourselves to the task of maintaining segregation.

"In the recent past we have been visited by newspaper men and magazine writers who have tried to throw up a smokescreen, namely, that segregation is a problem only for the Southern people. They knew all the time it is a world problem.

"Unless we stand together 100 per cent to main segregation in our schools and churches the Negroes will take over."

COMMISSIONER SELLERS was loudly applauded when he referred to "the nine old men" on the Supreme Court who seek to change our way of life."

He charged also that visiting newspaper men and magazine writers had been unfair to Montgomery and Alabama in their comments.

CHAIRMAN INGALLS reminded the audience that the Montgomery Council "isn't endorsing any candidates."

"All we want to do is to give you what inforamtion we have and to present speakers here so that you may make up your mind.

He told of how the questionnaries and the invitation to speak had been mailed out to all candidates residing in Montgomery.

After declaring that 51 had responded, he said:

"But there is one certain man running for public office by the name of James Elisha Folsom who did not show us the courtesy of saying whether he would come here tonight and speak and he did not answer our questionnaire.

"This is the man, remember, who has fought every effort made in Alabama to maintain segregation, while other Southern governors have been pleased to cooperate in every way to protect Sotuhern traditions."

M. G. WILLIAMS JR., a candidate for delegate from the state at large, expressed regret that "we haven't a governor in Alabama who will help us in our efforts to maintain segregation."

Carl Griffin, another state at large candidate for delegate and brother of Georgia's Gov. Griffin, said he was not "20 per cent for segregation, but 100 per cent, seven days a week, 52 weeks out of the year."

NED MOORE, delegate candidate from the Second District, expressed strong support of segregation. Roy McCord, Gadsden, candidate for Democratic National Committeeman, in a letter read by Ingalls, endorsed segregation but criticized the council for questions which he said unnecessairly reflected on Negroes.

Charles W. McKay, candidate for national committeeman and chief opponent of Gov. Folsom was not present. Ingalls told the crowd that "he is the author of the interposition resolution and his answers to the questionnarie were right down the middle."

Cliff Herren, a district delegate candidatel likewise pledged all-out stand for segregation.

Circuit Solicitor Joe Kettler of Luverne, another district delegate candidate, said he had never sought Negro votes and added that if he had to do so he would not want the honor.

Owen told the crowd that during his nine years as member of the Public Service Commission he had always stood for segregation. He cited the commission's actian in ordering segregation signs restored after the ICC abolished segregated waiting rooms in bus and railroad stations.

A long number of candidates for local offices were also heard.

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Tolerance Is Not Equality

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MRS. J. D. LIPSCOMB.

Montgomery.

'My Own Experience'

Advertiser 3-12-56

230 W. 76st

New York, 23, N.Y.

Apt. 45-1

Montgomery, Ala.

To The Editor.

Dear Sir.

I am not sure that you are interested in what I have to say, but after reading an article which appeared in one of our news papers [*The New York Post*] which I think as a Negro, I am very much interested. I Thank it is only my duty to rbing something to light, now that an opportunity has arrived.

I am not saying that I agree with the Policies, or the laws of the South, the sole purpose of this letter is simply to give you, or whome it may consurn some idea of what it's like here in this Great City of N.Y.

Sun. 3-18-56

I am happy to say that we Negroes does have quite a number of privilidges of which we are difiently deprived in the South, but I will have to confess that equality is far, far from what our great northern press would have others to believe.

P. 2-B

We are supposed to have laws that say you cannot refuse employment or housing facilities to a citicen because of race, creed, or color. Well I can tell you from my own experience, that it is the policies of many firms to refuse in their very shrewd way to employ Negroes, regardless of his ability it is also the policy of most better Class Hotels, and decent neighborhoods to give acomoditions to Negroes regardless of his ability to pay. In other words, about the only difference one can earnestly see is that in the South the policy is to say straight forward that he is against the Negro and every thing he represent. And the policy here is to deceive, conive and pretend that we are all brothers while if the truth was known, he really feel as you do in the South. I wish to thank you sir for giving your precious time to read this letter, and I do hope it will of some worthy cause for you, my country, and my people.

(Now let me make this Cristel Clear. I am not now, nor have I ever, nor Will I ever belong to the Cominest party. Nor any other rotten organization as the (Cominest Party).

(I AM AN AMERICAN).

Sincerely Yours

Jerome Crews

230 W. 76 st

N.Y.C.

Apt. 45-1.

To Mr. Wechsler

Mr. James A. Wechsler Advertiser

Editor P. 4A Thurs. 3-15-56

The New York Post

New York, N.Y.

Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Mr. Wechsler:

To hand your telegram (I'm printing it in full) embodying the invitation to proceed to New York at once to gather material for a series about the racial discrimination in the North cited by Adlai Stevenson, Mayor Robert Wagner and *The New York Times*. This racial discrimination has now been confirmed by you in assigning your able Negro reporter, Ted Poston, to do a whole series on New York discrimination. All this goes far to accentuate that discrimination against the Negro is a national, not a Southern, practice.

My original proposal was that you assign your star columnist, Murray Kempton, to guide me about New York in quest of the discrimination situations he described so vividly in my office, out of which he worked for days on the Montgomery bus boycott.

Kempton and I planned the enterprise in some detail, including his rendition of a map of New York school districts. Kempton said that he would relish working with me for a week. And let me emphasize that Kempton said he had long meant to do the story and he was going to do it regardless of whether I was able to fly up. He enjoined me, however, to arrive in the coming weekend as he was taking his family to North Carolina for the Easter holidays.

I was quite willing to work with Kempton because of our prior plans and personal relationship. I am still quite ready to fly to New York if you authorize Kempton to work with me for a week. If for some reason Kempton has abandoned his conviction that it's a good story and one that he would write regardless of my visiting New York, then perhaps you, as editor of a newspaper, would work with me, your opposite number, in the stead of Kempton, seemingly *hors d'combat*.

As for what I might write, *The New York Post* and any Southern newspaper are thrice welcome, gratis.

As for Reporter Poston coming to do a story on Montgomery race relations, by all means dispatch him. The last Negro reporter I saw in Montgomery was the enterprising Carl Rowan of *The Minneapolis Tribune*. I assisted him in every way and steered him to one exclusive that appeared on Pg. 1 of his paper. But I will not promise you that Poston or any other reporter will find anything in Montgomery that hasn't been massively treated in *The Post* and other New York papers lately.

I am ready to fly to New York this weekend if either Kempton or you, my associate in the American Society of Newspaper Editors, will handcuff himself to me for a week to root out what Adlai Stevenson says exists in New York.

Yours faithfully,

GROVER C. HALL, JR.

Editor-in-Chief

The Montgomery Advertiser.

From Mr. Wechsler

MR. GROVTR C. HALL, JR., Editor-in-Chief, *The Montgomery Advertiser*, Montgomery, Alabama Advertiser

Dear Mr. Hall: P. 4A Thurs 3-15-56

We seem to have encountered another failure of communication between North and South. Montgomery, Ala.

On Sunday evening the Associated Press called and said you had announced that you had sent me a letter suggesting in substance that we assign a reporter to cover the story of racial discrimination in New York. The AP reported you had said that conversations with *Post* Columnist Murray Kempton led you to believe there was a big untold story in this area, and that you had challenged us to get that story.

I've now received the copy of your Sunday edition containing an "open letter" to me. Since I have received no other communication from you, I assume this is the letter on which the AP story was based. From it I deduce that your proposal is a little different from the one described in the AP dispatch.

As I understand it, you propose to come to New York and get the story yourself and want me to assign Kempton to assist you.

Before receiving the edition of your paper which carried your "open letter," I had, as you know, told the AP we would undertake at once a series on race discrimination in New York and would make it available to you for simultaneous publication in *The Advertiser*. We assigned Ted Poston to start on the series immediately. Poston has covered the problem of race relations in New York for many years and has registered many distinguished achievements in that field. I have, incidentally, discussed the project with Murray Kempton, and he agrees that Poston is peculiarly well-equipped to do such a job.

We are going ahead with that series. But I certainly hope you will come up to New York to work on the same story. We will be happy to make all our facilities available to you—beginning with our voluminous clippings in our morgue which indicate the extent to which we have covered the story of race discrimination in this city in the past.

You might wish to go out with Poston and the other reporters who have been assigned to work with him, and I am sure that all of them will give you maximum cooperation. Perhaps it would be interesting to see how your notes compare with theirs on such an investigation.

After you and Poston have both completed your series, I would propose that Mr. Poston conducted a comparable first-hand study of racial discrimination in Montgomery to be similarly published in parallel columns here and in *The Post*.

I hope this suggestion appeals to you and that I will be seeing you soon.

And if this works out as I hope it will, perhaps we could look forward to a return engagement in which you and Poston conduct a comparable first-hand study of racial discrimination in Montgomery to be similarly published in parallel columns here and in *The Post*.

Sincerely.

JAMES A. WECHSLER.

Editor, *The Post*.

38a 1956

ALABAMA

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser 7-4-4

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Montgomery, Ala.
Wed. 3-7-56

The Education Of A Southerner

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — As a transplanted Montgomerian and deep-rooted Confederate . . . Living in the North for the past five years has been a revelation and education to me. I had always believed that racial relations—meaning, particularly, Negro vs. white—were always in proper balance and that friction would be unheard of, in the "Nawth." That is just not so; at least, where I have lived.

As a minister of the gospel, I come close to black and white people's pride and prejudice, and countless times I have been told quietly by "white folks:" "I am a rock-ribbed Republican, but you Southerners have the right idea about the Negro."

It pains me to see my good old Montgomery splashed over the pages of our local papers, and the impressions that are made that the colored and the white there are lined up ready to slash each other to pieces. I spend my time assuring the local gentry that Montgomery is still a peace-loving city with deepest respect for everyone.

Certainly we are in the midst of a change, but no Supreme Court decree, nor any other fiat, is going to change deep-rooted customs overnight—that is what I tell these people, too.

Please exhort your readers to read carefully William Faulkner's "A Letter To Northerners" in this week's *Life*, even as I am exhorting those in this section to do so.

Across the vale of years I carry hallowed memories of the Montgomery of the days when I used to swap banter with your great father and the popular Atticus Mullins at Turk's; with the Patersons at Old Rosemont on Dexter; down a hot-dog at Chris'; get a shoeshine and paper at Mike Green's newsstand next to Hamrick's Drug Store, Perry and Dexter; see Elly Barnes and Mr. Holt of Holt Dye Works in the *Passing Throng*.

Let's elect "Ike" again!

T. FURMAN CAUTHEN.

Columbus, Ohio.

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Save Our City

Editor, The Advertiser:

Cities, through the ages, have been conquered and destroyed—mostly from without; but not infrequently from within. To recall the names of men who have destroyed cities would not be difficult, but it would be infinitely more difficult to list those who have saved a city. Hence, the challenge here in Montgomery.

Surely those charged with the responsibility of leadership in our city recognize this fact, and are aware of the great responsibility and opportunity which is theirs. At present Montgomery is the target area, the testing ground. The eyes of the world are on us.

But is this what we want? No! Nevertheless we are on display, while the world looks on. What we are doing is applauded by some; assailed by others—televised, broadcast, scrutinized and criticized. I am sure there are thousands of Montgomerians who have begun to ask, why must our city become the show place, the guinea pig, or the battleground for other sections of the state or nation?

For us, people are praying; legislatures passing resolutions, churches collecting funds. But who wants to be the object of national pity, or rebuke? Moreover, who wants to make martyrs or criminals of any of our citizens?

If this is not what we want, what then can we do about it? Get our own house in order; Without fanfare or publicity — minus television and flash cameras—let us solve our own problem to our own best interest. Do this and we disappoint the sensation seekers. Do this and we pull the rug right out from under the communists who might have occasion to profit at our expense. And this can be done if leaders of both races, who have a desire and determination to save our city, will meet (without announcement or publicity) in an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence; in a spirit of give-and-take, and work out a fair and honorable solution to this problem. Oh, I know it isn't so simple as that; yet I still have faith in man, and in his ability to solve his most pressing problems — the current crisis in Montgomery to the contrary notwithstanding.

In a fair and just solution, we could all rejoice; lift the indictments, throw out the impending trials and court cases; refund uncashed checks and unspent cash; and send the caravan of cameramen and reporters on their westward way—or northward or eastward.

Really and truly the issues involved are so small as to be almost totally obscured by the sound and the fury; the rumors and rumors of rumor. Looking at the whole thing dispassionately, one could hardly argue against according all busriders courtesy and fair treatment.

Secondly, a seating arrangement mutually acceptable to all concerned, would—if left to the passengers—practically take care of itself. With Negroes filling in from the rear and whites from the front of the bus, both spirit and letter of the law would be observed. A "mutually acceptable" seating arrangement would need no other name; custom, common courtesy and commonsense would take care of the rest. Since all fare-paying busriders, whether child or adult, are entitled to a seat, could it not be possible to provide extra buses when the demand for more seating space is caused by school children and working people at certain hours of the day?

And as for Negro bus drivers on buses serving "predominantly Negro areas," could there not be a committee appointed to survey and study the issue and to make appropriate recommendations? This problem, I believe, could be solved without incident.

The foregoing suggestions would be a small price to pay for the very preservation of our city, ad for the restoration of racial harmony and goodwill. There need be no question of who won or lost; for saving face is not so important as saving our city. There would need be no spectacular announcements; no victory ball; no ringing of the bells—only a silent prayer: "Thank God it's over!"

True greatness and statesmanship would be the reward of those who put love of city and fellow man above personal feelings. The world would applaud their actions; God would smile upon their deeds; and historians and generations yet unkown will write and speak of them as men who saved a city.

F. E. JAMES.

Alabama State College, Montgomery.

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Wed. 3-7-56

Preachers Should Stick To Pulpits

7-4-4 *The Anniston Star*

IN PROTESTING against the arrest of a large number of the leaders in the boycott of Montgomery buses several weeks ago, the Rev. L. R. Bennett, pastor of the Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church, was quoted last week as having said: "No city in the world can afford to place in jail and make criminals of 24 of its preachers."

But it might be stated in another way to the effect that no city, and especially the Capital City of a sovereign state, well can afford to allow its citizens, be they white or black, to organize in mass assault against the laws of the city and of the state.

That is what a large number of the Negro preachers, and one or two whites as well, have done in defiance of city and state authorities at Montgomery.

Admittedly, the people of this country have been brought up to hold respect for the clergy of all races and denominations so long as they stick to their pulpits and their pastoral duties. But when they get into the realm of politics they bring about disunity in their churches and compromise their influence in the community.

Some of the ministers here, both white and colored, have lessened their standing in this way. And the Northern papers indicate that the pulpits of that part of the country have been a veritable sounding board for lectures against the South and its way of living together with its colored friends.

No body of ministers has a greater responsibility to their people than the Negro ministers of this country, especially those in this region. For there is no other segment of our population that is so given to immorality, to social disease, to violation of the criminal laws, the marital laws, the laws of contract, etc., as are the members of the Negro race. And they should be the paramount concern of the Negro ministry.

Before we even considered the question of integration in the schools and in public conveyances, it should have been the prime duty of the federal government—which in 1863 thrust the burden of an illiterate race on the Southern people—to see that they had substantial houses for home and school uses, and that their health and general welfare were protected.

But in addition to wiping out four billion dollars that the Southern planters had invested in slaves that were brought to this country by Northern exploiters, the Emancipation Act, which was largely political in concept and in execution, left it with the South to take care of the Negro and to shoulder all the other burdens incident to Reconstruction.

Moreover, instead of giving back to us more of the taxes we have paid into the federal treasury, not to mention an adverse trade balance that has lasted for generations, we have been discriminated against in every conceivable way. Also, the South has been taxed to the limit to help feed, clothe and rehabilitate the enemies of our common country abroad, and now we are threatened with the deepest humiliation of all.

Some of the preachers up North, and a few down South, now tell us that integration, which is the entering wedge to amalgamation, is the Christian way of life. But from the time of Abraham (Genesis 24-3) to the time of Ezra, chapters 9-10, who made his people divorce their foreign wives, Jehovah was trying to preserve the purity of the blood of his chosen people.

There also are some reformers who contend that this was purely a religious gesture, but the antipathy between the Jews and the Samaritans, who contended that they were descended from the Assyrians, was certainly more than religious. And the Jews, as have the Anglo-Saxons and other white races, have tried to preserve their racial integrity from time immemorial to this day.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. 4-A

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it. Tues. 2-28-56

Montgomery, Ala.

What The Negro Stands To Lose

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Inasmuch as we are Southerners, having been born and raised in Alabama, we are familiar with segregation in the South and realize the necessity of it.

For the past several years one or both of us have lived in states other than Southern: West Virginia, Kansas and Oregon. We are therefore in the position of having a bird's-eye-view of a situation with which we are familiar.

We have a high regard for the Southern Negro as an individual. We have equally high contempt for the agencies and implements such as the NAACP and the Supreme Court decision which would, through their radical and unlawful actions, cause the Southern Negro to inadvertently lose the respect and good will of his best friend—the Southern white man.

EARL TENNIMON,
J. C. TENNIMON.
Salem, Oregon.

◆

No Help Wanted

Editor, The Advertiser:

Alabama does not need a bi-racial committee to speak its piece on segregation. Even a branchheader knows that. W. T. BARNETT.

Pine Level, Ala.

◆

White Retaliation

Editor, The Advertiser:

Why don't the white people of Montgomery park their cars at least one day a week and ride the buses to go to work or shopping?

Fight the Negro with his own ideas. It would help the company stay in business.

MRS. C. A. LIVINGSTON.
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

◆

It Started With FDR

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have just read your interview in *U.S. News & World Report*.

There is no doubt that there is hypocrisy in the North. It is in the Democratic party, however. Your good friends, Franklin and Harry started it.

You must realize that there is a lot of difference between between a Southern and Northern Democrat. The strength of the Northern Democratic Party is the slums of the cities.

In the North you can tell the character of any community by the registration.

Most Northern Negroes are pawns of Democratic ward healers.

These Northern Democrats tell the Negroes that the South is behind the times and that the Democraic Party of the North does not need the South.

I wish that a lot of you intelligent Southerners could go to a slums political meeting. I am a Mason and a Rotarian. There are very few Democrats in either organization in the North.

I ejoyed the article.

CARL C. DAVIDSON.
Ellwood City, Pa.

THREE CHOICES

Advertiser

Segregation 'Compromise' Attacked By State Lawmaker

Tues. 2-28-56 P. 1

Montgomery, Ala.

A member of the Alabama Legislature warned yesterday that if the white people of the state continue to "give in and be compromised" on the race issue "we will have but three choices to make—sell our homes and get out of Alabama, be humiliated or take up our shotguns."

Rep. W. L. (Doc) Martin of Greene issued that warning in speaking in support of a resolution he had introduced to the legislative interim committee on education requesting President O. C. Carmichael to furnish to the committee the names and addresses of all students who signed a petition urging the readmission of Miss Autherine J. Lucy to the University.

Such a petition was circulated on the University campus last week and reportedly was signed by 500 students, faculty members and townspeople.

After apologizing to the committee for having referred to the Negro student as "Miss Lucy" in the resolution, Martin added:

"If we expect to keep Negroes out of our white schools, it becomes the leadership of the Legislature to take this action. Let's find out who these students are who want to go to school with Negroes, and let's let them go."

Advertiser

It was at this point that Martin warned that continued compromise on the part of the white people would leave them with but the three choices—"sell out our homes and move out of the state, stay here and be humiliated, or we can take up our shotguns."

P. 6-A

"I don't want to do any of these things, but I want to stay in an Alabama that is controlled by white people," Martin said. "It is time to let the people know that white supremacy is going to stand in Alabama."

REP. W. L. MARTIN
'Three Choices'

Martin's resolution, introduced just as the committee had completed its detailed, two-week study of school financing, touched off a flurry of debate.

Sen. Albert Boutwell of Jefferson questioned the "benefit" of such a resolution, and Sen. Ben Reeves of Pike called it "out of order and improper."

"I feel as strongly as anyone on the racial question, but I think the resolution is out of order and improper at this time," Reeves continued. "I suggest you introduce it at the next special session, and I will be for it."

Moments later the committee voted 15-7 to adjourn until 9 a.m. today, thus avoiding a vote on the Martin resolution.

The seven members who voted against adjournment—and in effect were supporting the resolution—were Martin, Reps. Charles Ramey of Hale, Jimmy Dement of Limestone and James Branyon of Fayette and Sens. Roland Cooper of Wilcox, Walter C. Givhan of Dallas and E. O. Eddins of Marengo.

Martin said later th purpose of the resolution was only "to find out who signed the petition." Earlier, Sen. Cooper in support of the resolution had noted "we aren't doing this just to kick them out of school. We just want to see who signed the petition."

The segregation uprising overshadowed action taken by the committee regarding the school crisis.

The committee, after making several amendments to a report adopted last Friday, passed a resolution recommending that Gov. James E. Folsom call a special session of the Legislature to open Wednesday of this week.

The group meets with Gov. Folsom at 9 a.m. today to present their formal report.

Earlier yesterday afternoon, the committee voted to restore the appropriations to Jacksonville and Troy State Teachers Colleges which previously had been cut. Jacksonville was given back the $30,000 slashed last week, and $20,000 was returned to Troy.

To make up for this $50,000, the committee voted to cut that amount from the Teachers Equalization Training Fund.

Later, the committee heard arguments against a cut of the civilian rehabilitation fund of $211,000, but took no action on a request to restore this appropriation in full.

Them Lying Newspapers Serve As Potted Palms

Advertiser P. 4-A

Montgomery, Ala.

FOLSOM'S taste runs to bourbon, but it was Scotch & soda (with Powell of Harlem) that washed him up with Alabama.

You have to understand Folsom's low estate with Alabama—he himself recently confirmed that he "couldn't be elected dog catcher"—to understand his conference at the Capitol yesterday with Alabama editors and publishers.

Folsom has deeply offended and estranged dominant public opinion in Alabama. This is chiefly, though not entirely, because he has systematically and sometimes sportively refused to join the resistance to the holy-rolling of the reckless, pietistical abolitionists of the North.

Jour. 2-25-56

He is now paying a price for his folly. The jeers at the Coliseum well told him that the jig is up.

P. 4-A

So he is out to work his way back into the fold by taking it all back.

The editors and publishers responded to their summons, which was their duty.

It was a large gathering. The proceedings were televised. Folsom had a statewide audience. By means of the editors and publishers, Folsom was associating himself with conventional white opinion. The newspapermen were potted palms in a Folsom pageant.

He talked of many things, but finally he made the following comment:

"Anybody with any sense knows that the Negro children and the white children are not going to school together in Alabama any time in the near future—in fact, in a long time."

Thus did Folsom seek to reverse his field. That's what he wanted white Alabama to hear him say. He is trying to work his way back.

It happened, because of the boycott arrests, that there were many reporters present representing the national publications. Only one or two have a sound grasp of what is going on in Alabama.

It is too bad that only one or two of them will comprehend the meaning of Folsom's pronouncement, above quoted. Here had been the only governor in the Southern states with a dissenting race viewpoint. He was in- forced to sw ch about.

deed, as we have often noted, the only major demagogue in Southern history, with the shortime exception of Tom Watson in Georgia, who ever successfully yoked the woolhat and the Ne- gro. But public opinion has so hardened in the teeth of the outside assault upon Alabama custom that Folsom has been

MACHINERY KEPT OILED

Racial Crisis In Alabama Promises Long Session For State's Lawmakers

Advertiser 3/4 Montgomery Ala. Sun. 3-4-56

By LYNNE BRANNEN
Associated Press Writer

Due to continuing racial crisis in the state, it's beginning to look like the Alabama Legislature will keep its current special session alive for some time to come.

There is talk that members will keep the lawmaking machinery oiled so they can respond to any challnege from tthe efforts of the National Assn. for Advancement of Colored People to break the color line.

Already a resolution is half through the Legislature to set up an anti-communist investigating committee to look into activities of any group suspected of having subversive tendencies.

The sponsor, Rep. T. K. Selman of Walker County has already suggested that Autherine Lucy, a Negro coed expelled this week from the University of Alabama, be called as the first witness.

After the conferences with NAACP attorneys in New York, the Lucy woman said she expects to return "within the next week" to renew her fight to enter the University of Alabama, an all-white college.

To meet this threat, Rep. Charles W. McKay of Talladega, has offered a bill to tighten up on entrance requirements at state institutions of higher learning. It is pending in a house committee.

McKay's bill would require each apllicant to furnish three affidavits as to "character and fitness" signed by graduates of the institution concerned who are not related to the applicant. It would require three more such affidavits before the individual could graduate and receive a diploma.

The proposed anti-communist investigation resolution is now resting in the Senate Finance Committee where it was sent because it carries a $50,000 appropriation.

It proposes that the legislative committee make "full inquiry into activities of communists and communist front organizations in this state with a view to determining whether the NAACP or any affiliated organization in this state is substantially directed, dominated or controlled by the communists or by the Communist Party."

This group would have authority to subpoena witnesses. administer oaths, take testimony and employ such clerical and stenographic help as needed.

The resolution further directs the committee to "fully investigate and take proof of all violent and tumultuous proceedings in this state at any time since May 17, 1954 (when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled segregation in public schools unlawful) whether engaged in by residents of this state or by any person or persons from elsewhere coming into this state or encouraging others to do any acts of violence or public disturbance against the laws of this state, or the rights, peace and safety of the residents of this state."

Supporters of the proposed investigation say they feel racial tension in Alabama has "mounted too fast in the last few months" not to have been inspired by outside forces.

"I believe it is the work of communists working through the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People," Selman told the House of Representatives in asking support for his resolution. It swept through the house 75-0.

Some 50 bills were dropped in the House hopper the opening day. Many of them identical with measures which have been killed one or more times in previous legislative sessions.

Governor Sits Calmly Atop Racial Storm

Advertiser P. 1 Sun. 3-18-56 Montgomery, Ala.

Newsman Says Folsom Moderating Influence On Crisis In Alabama

By ROBERT S. BIRD
Of The New York Herald Tribune

[The following will appear in the New York Herald *and several other major U. S. dailies this morning. It is printed simultaneously in* The Advertiser *by courtesy of the* Herald Tribune. *Alabama newspapermen will be amused by some of the hooch in Reporter Bird's study, but it is nevertheless an exceptional piece of work.—Ed.]*

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 17 — The most relaxed man in the whole state of Alabama today is the man around whom the storm of the race conflict beats most furiously. Gov. James E. Folsom, who is remembered in the North as "Kissin' Jim" and is known to all hereabouts as "Big Jim," remains totally unruffled by the winds that shake the colonnaded Capitol of Alabama.

While the outside world looks in alarm on recent events in Alabama and his own citizens cry for action from him, "Big Jim" sits enigmatically on Olympus. Or more exactly, sits most of the time in his office in the Capitol, and much of the time on the grassy bank of his favorite fishing stream.

He was just as imperturbable the other night sitting in the Executive Mansion, discussing the Alabama situation with this correspondent over champagne and T-bone steaks. In fact, he was so relaxed that when time came to sit down to dinner he unnotched his belt several inches and attacked his meat in shirt-sleeves from the lordly Chief Executive's chair at the head of the state dining table.

FOLSOM

BIRD

Mrs. Folsom, an attractive and thoroughly charming woman, had chided the Governor for insisting that our small dinner party of four (including the Governor's executive secretary) be served in the state dining room. The table was big enough to seat a regiment of hussars and the chandelier, had it been fully lighted, could have illuminated Times Square.

She suggested that the family dining room would be cosier. But the Governor overruled her with indulgent wave of hand as if to suggest that the presence of this interviewer rendered the occasion at least a semi-state affair, even if not full dress. So we merely pitched our conversation to a higher register in order to maintain communication with the vivacious Mrs. Folsom down at the far end of the table. We dined informally in the midst of elegance.

GARGANTUA

Gov. Folsom's height is well known — six feet eight inches. But that might as well read eight feet six inches because when a person of ordinary height stands beside "Big Jim" a couple of extra feet difference in his height wouldn't seem to make much difference. He is a startlingly big man.

P. 4-A

Give such a man the personality of an overgrown, slow-talking, hard-to-get-mad country boy with lots of hidden savvy and the first lineaments of his portrait appear. Enhance that with a political genius capable of engaging the fiercest loyalties and deepest enmities; of shrugging off abject defeats, personal contumely, backfiring razzle - dazzle political stunts, and rancor toward unrelenting enemies, some high lights begin to emerge. Sun. 3/18-56

Touch up the picture with the hint of a brooding, introspective look in the gray eyes, and a habit of lapsing into silences which he never seems to notice —and which he finally breaks by picking up the thread of conversation where he left off. Then dress this loungy giant in well-tailored clothes, invest him with legendary personal misdeeds both bizarre and horrendous, make his political maneuvers often seem suicidal and wholly inexplicable, give him a cat's ability to land on his feet—and you have a recognizable sketch of "Big Jim" Folsom, the so-called enigma of Alabama.

Montgomery Ala.

'HOGWASH,' QUOTH HE

At this moment, he would appear to be the most unpopular person in the state of Alabama. It all happened since integration became an issue, and his unpopularity seems to extend even to those ordinarily loyal constituents in the rural areas who voted him into office in the fall of 1954.

With the people of the state demanding piteously that he do something to help stem the "black tide" which threatens to engulf them, he is accused by some extremists of inaction so flagrant as to warrant impeachment. He speaks with disrespect for the white Citizens Councils movement, which is organizing throughout the state to fight integration, and a result is that Folsom people are plotting his downfall He gives a mild rebuke to Negro agitators and the cry goes up that he is really a "nigger lover" — the vilest label that can be pinned on a man here.

The desperate legislators, seeking to appease the folks back home, put through nullification and interposition legislation, along with other measures so wild as to cause even them to smile a little nervously, and the Governor says, "Hogwash," then goes fishing.

After six weeks of traveling around Alabama, encountering passion, fear, hatred and frustration in abundance, it was quite an experience to sit down and talk about it for four hours with the most relaxed man in Alabama.

IT AIN'T GONNA RAIN

Either he's all wrong and Alabama is in a mighty bad fix, or there is nothing to wrry about, he's a lot right and Alabama is watch carefully against safe; safe for itself and safe for folks trying to stir up trouble, the Union, with certain painless calm down and sit tight and let him handle matters in his own way. He'll give his people in his own way to go to his people with aid and comfort in their frustration. He is in the courthouse towns of all the 67 counties, he says, and they know it. And if their aroused passions are even little as elemental as the good earth itself, so is his unworriedness. At least, so he suggests. Wise in all ple of formidable candidates, including the author of Alabama's nullification law.

POPULARITY CONTEST

In short, the Governor is about one of them and they know it. And if their aroused passions are as elemental as the good earth itself, so is his unworriedness. At least, so he suggests. Wise in all

He's going to tell them that He's in that race against a coalition of formidable candidates, including the author of Alabama's nullification law.

the tricks of Southern stump politicking, "Big Jim" may yet quiet down this wave of race hatred. If he does, it will be another Folsom miracle.

The experts laugh at the idea. They say he's too late; this time he has fallen flat on his face for good. He shrugs with unconcern. He may not win the committeeman post because, as he says, the wave of race hatred will not have passed until nearer the Fall election. And this committeeman showdown is to be in May. But he will draw fire away from other Folsom candidates, and away from his own legislative program. Later, he is convinced, all misunderstanding will have passed. "I've been through it all before," he says, with weary recollection.

LET 'EM BELLOW

"Let them spleen their vent, or vent their spleen, or however you say it," he adds. "All I want is for the people to speak.

The Governor has just launched what he considers to be an ingenius bit of strategy He has called for a constitutional convention to "legalize" the "hogwash" of nullification and interposition. As it happens, the Governor has long wanted a constitutional convention for altogether other reasons, largely to further his own state legislative program, which includes reapportionment of certain counties which are generally anti-Folsom. The Legislature in the past had no intention of giving him his constitutional convention because it feels that might open the door to all kinds of Folsom law-making mischief.

HUMBUG MEDICINE?

But now they are feeling the sting of a real needle, because the Governor has got a very simple stump-talk rationalization for the convention. Nobody understands interposition anyway, and the rural folks least of all. They are backing on the theory that any medicine is better than none. But here comes "Big Jim" saying that it is humbug medicine, and the real cure is a constitutional convention "to make every thing legal.' He pretends to be surprised that legislators are nettled.

"In such a convention they can even see-seed (sic) from the union," he explains. They can authorize me to call out the National Guard against the Federal troops. Like I say, there's been so much hell-raising I thought they would want to do it."

"Why," he says with a gleam in his eye, "they could require the Governor to take an oath promising not to support the Constitution of the United States. Do you know that all the state and county and local officials of Alabama are bound by oath to support the Federal government? Only a constitutional convention can release them from that oath. Let the people speak in convention assembled!"

'SAM HOUSTON DIDN'T'

Would the Governor accept release of his oath to the Federal government in such a convention?

"Sam Houston didn't he grins, "but all the other Confederate governors did."

"But would you?"

"Sam Houston didn't."

And the Governor's going to point out to his stump audiences another "important point." They seem to have overlooked the fact that the State of Alabama has not been made, up to now a party to any school integration suit. So why the rush to fret about the integration matter? And why hasn't it been made a party to such a suit. Well, the Governor's going to call attention to the fact that he's kept in pretty close touch with some of the Negro leaders who are causing trouble elsewhere in that respect.

SCOTCH AND SODA

Nothing has caused so much heart-sickness among the Folsom following as the story that went the rounds to the effect that last November he drank Scotch whisky with Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, New York's Negro Congressman. The Governor will have to meet that accusation at the courthouse steps of Alabama, and it is a good guess he will explain that Rep. Powell is one of those Negro leaders with whom it was important for him to talk —even in his office in the Executive Manison.

And there will be still other points to be hammered home. How come that people are getting so fussed about integration that they are blaming good Democrats on the Supreme Court for their troubles when the fact is the Republican President and his Republican Attorney General are responsible for prosecution of the integration suits?

The Governor, moreover, will appeal to the patriotic impulses of his sore-tried supporters, for they are just as willing to die for their country as they are to die for Dixie, and American traditions are unassailable even here, where one is assumed to be include segregation in the South.

He will hit out against "mobocracy" and take a firm stand for democratic law and order. And he will say these things standing up there on the platform in a white suit which makes him look even bigger than the giant he is. A man of the people, or perhaps a father symbol for the temporarily confused. And they will listen to this man who rode to victory in his last campaign on the emblazoned but folksy slogan, "Y'All Come!"—meaning to his inauguration as Governor.

HYPNOTIZED BIRD

It's almost hypnotic listening to him at home giving this picture of himself on the stump; sitting in his chair with head hunched down between his huge shoulders, speaking slowly as if forging in his mind the exactly right image of the platform scene that he counts on for redemption.

As he talks, Mrs. Folsom, mother of four, of his six children, girlishly plump, sparkling of eye, eager of manner, listens to pater familias with pleasure in her gaze and occasionally gentle dissent Her candidate for Democratic presidential nominee is not his. His is Harry S. Truman, period. If Mr. Truman doesn't run, then the Governor will cross that bridge when he comes to it.

The Governor was a widower when he met Mrs. Folsom in 1946 while on a speaking tour. In those days he always kissed every pretty girl he could, but he asked this one, the former Jamelle Moore to marry him. She did two years later, and it is plain that there is great warmth between them.

This may be "hogwash," but the truth is the Alabama race situation seemed a lot less inflammatory to this correspondent after the session with "Big Jim" Folsom. This much is certain, he is by design or not a moderating influence on the crisis in Alabama.

FOLSOM'S REPORT

Advertiser

Race Issue May Be Overdone During North Alabama Talks

Wed. 3-21-5? P. 1

Montgomery,

By BOB INGRAM
Advertiser Staff Writer

FAYETTE, Ala., March 20—Gov. James E. Folsom, in his initial series of reports to the people, may be spending more time in explaining his stand on racial segregation than is really necessary to satisify the people of this section of the state.

In his early addresses in Fayette and Walker County, and again today in Marion, Folsom waxed long and loud on the race issue. The crowd listened politely, but they were not particularly interested was very apparent.

Coming fresh from South Alabama where the problem of the races is so tense, it is difficult to accept the reality of the situation here. Problem of the races in this party of Alabama is apparently non-existant, and for the most part these people here show only passing interest in the race development in other sections of the state.

Very few people here know or care what the Nulification Resolution is all about. The suggestion that the race issue might be a major factor in Gov. Folsom's upcoming campaign strikes them as being utterly ridiculous. And the growth of the citizens movement in Alabama has passed almost unnoticed.

Timely comments on the WCC came from an overall-clad farmer who was questioned on the subject while he stood outside the court house here awaiting the governor's arrival "What is it," he asked when queried on the WCC. "If it is what it sounds like it is then it oughta go real good up here. We sure have a lot of white citizens."

And that, in brief, is the situation here. Marion county does have a lot of white citizens. Census figures show slightly more than 500 Negro people in the county with a total population of 26,000. Only three Negro families live in the city limits of Hamilton.

A prominent Marion attorney voiced a comment that here in our county race issue will not be a factor in Gov. Folsom's campaign. "It's a little early to tell how the thing will shape up, but Folsom has always been strong here and there is no indication he will be otherwise this spring," he said, "and I am convinced that the race issue will not be of any importance in the race."

witness, refused to swear to the customary witness oath, saying, "I don't swear. It's against my religious convictions." But he poll regarding the race issue "There is no race problem here and we don't need any of the White Citizens Council chapters and all we have is white folks," Fite declared.

Advertiser

In his address here today, Folsom was in much better form than he had been Monday. With the courtroom packed, and again the audience almost entirely made up of elderly people, the governor obviously enjoyed himself and he unleashed a sharp attack on Alabama daily newspapers.

P. 2-A

He also took this occasion to give his first public explanation of the publicized Scotch and Soda incident concerning himself and the Negro Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY).

Rep. Powell, in addressing a mass meeting of the Montgomery Negroes last fall, has made mention of the fact that he had visited with the governor at the mansion and had taken a drink with him.

"I have had Negro leaders in my office as governor, just as has a lot of folks have had, and I have had Negroes in my office at the mansion if the office at the capitol was closed," Folsom said. "Powell called me and asked that he be met by a highway patrol car, but I couldn't do that because white boys drive them. So I told him I would send out an official reception car to meet him. It's not my Cadillac, but another number one."

"Powell told me he would like to come by and talk to me and I agreed. Because I knew he was one of the leaders of the Negro people, and I wanted to talk to him and try to prevent Alabama from becoming a party to any intergration suit," Folsom continued. "And I might add that I don't drink Scotch liquor, in fact, I never have. Fact is, I had rather have a drink of that old Marion County moonshine that they tell me you make mighty good up here, than an bottle of Scotch."

The crowd hearing the governor and his Corn Grinders was estimated at about 275. The court room seats 240.

In an address tonight at the new Franklin County Courthouse in Russellville, Gov. Folsom for the first time on this tour unleashed a withering attack on Black Belt legislators who "are doing all the howling, hollering and whooping about the race issue."

"I tell you that's the crowd that denied you the right to vote for President in 1948," Folsom declared, "and anybody who advocates that will also advocate mobrule."

"Why, you know what that crowd did last month?" Folsom continued. "They passed a resolution asking the federal government to move all the Negroes out of the South. Why, if all the Negroes were moved every last one of them folks who have been raising so much sand, would starve to death. They wouldn't work. I know that, because I know every one of them."

Earlier, Folsom had injected this sectional policy into his address by noting that every one of his cabinet members, except one, is from North Alabama.

"Ain't but one from south of the first time tonight, and I'm glad of it," he declared.

Tonight's crowd of about 225 included about 30 Negroes was the smallest to turn out thus far. It was also the least enthusiastic. When Folsom interrupted by applause and on each occasion, the applauding had been the public schools, initiated by Folsom's cabinet man in the rear members.

Birmingham, and Folsom declared. Also for the first time one of the governor's remarks about segregation brought a response from the crowd that was Folsom interrupted by applause and on each occasion, the applauding had been shouted "Amen." The tour will conclude tomorrow with addresses in Moulton at 1 p.m. and Cullman at 7 p.m.

It was the first such outburst since the governor began his tour 2 p.m.

THIN CRUST OF PEACE

Dixie Looks For Answer To Heal Racial Strife

By BEM PRICE

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., March 3 (AP)—Here in the self-styled "heart of Dixie," the time of racial crisis is now.

In the past three months subsurface racial tensions repeatedly have broken through the thin crust of apparent peace.

Alabama, of course, is not alone in its battle against any shift in the South's racial patterns.

There have been riots at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa over the admission of a Negro woman.

In Montgomery, a Negro boycott of the public transportation system is now in its 14th week, though 99 of the movement's leaders were indicted under an old labor law.

The number of strongly pro-segregation White Citizen Councils has grown from about 40 to more than 60 in Alabama in the last eight weeks.

The Alabama Legislature has approved a resolution declaring the U. S. Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, to be "null, void and of no effect."

In that now historic decision the Supreme Court held that segregation in public schools because of race was unconstitutional.

The voices of moderation in Alabama have been few. Gov. James E. Folsom called the nullification resolution "hogwash." He also has appealed for an interracial committee to seek means of lessening racial tensions.

Another Alabama House resolution asked for an investigation to determine whether the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People is Communist controlled.

The NAACP has been the guiding hand behind the fight against segregation throughout the South.

The running fight to maintain racial barriers was not confined to Alabama during the past week.

In Mississippi legislators also called on Congress to submit a constitutional amendment to the 48 states, declaring that the states alone have the right to regulate public schools.

In addition the Mississippi House set up a $5,000 library fund to acquire books on the races of mankind. The floor debate specified they should be books indicating the white man's superiority over the Negro.

Before this measure was sent to the Senate, however, Rep. Walter Phillips from Hancock County, warned that such a measure would border on "thought control." He said Hitler advocated a master race "and had paid the consequences."

Virginia is another state which has protested the court decision in a legislative resolution. Georgia has declared it to be "null, void and of no effect."

In Louisiana the state brought action to dissolve the NAACP under an old anti-Ku Klux Klan law.

The suit, filed by Atty. Gen. Fred S. LeBlanc, asked the state court also to ban NAACP meetings.

The law under which the suit was filed requires every type of organization to file annual membership lists with the secretary of state. This, the state charged, the NAACP has failed to do for the past three years.

LeBlanc's action came after the NAACP twice had shaken Louisiana in a matter of days. Actions brought by the NAACP ended with a federal court ruling knocking out the state's 1954 laws designed to get around the U.S. Supreme Court's ban on school segregation.

The NAACP followed this decision with a suit last Wednesday asking for integration in New Orleans public schools.

The two Alabama cases which have attracted world wide attention, of course, are those of Autherine J. Lucy, a 26-year-old Negro secretary and ex-school teacher, and the Montgomery bus boycott.

For 29 months the Lucy woman sought the right to enroll at the University of Alabama through the federal courts. She won and became the first Negro ever admitted to the 125-year-old school.

It was a short-lived victory. Riots broke out on the school's campus. The Board of Trustees suspended the Negro woman. She sought a contempt of court motion against 13 trustees and university officials. Federal Dist. Judge H. Hobart Grooms rejected the contempt motion, but ordered the Lucy woman returned to school by Monday.

Within hours after that court action, the trustees met again in secret session and ordered the Negro coed "permanently expelled" on disciplinary grounds.

The next move is up to the NAACP and there was no immediate indication when it would come or what it would be.

In New York, NAACP attorney Thurgood Marshall said "it is pretty clear in my mind what we can do," but he said it would require some "checking" first.

The Lucy woman returned to New York with Marshall after the expulsion for "rest, peace and quiet." She said she was "completely disheartened," but added that she would return to Alabama next week to renew her fight to reenter the university.

The tensions developed over the Lucy case were indicated by the fact that three university officials and an Alabama Circuit Court judge testified in federal court she might be killed if she tried to return to the campus.

Further complicating the Lucy case was a damage suit by three construction workers and a truck driver for four million dollars.

The four civil damage suits, filed in a state Circuit Court Friday stemmed directly from charges made by the Lucy woman and her attorneys in the federal court action which were droppel on the day of the hearing, last Wednesday.

The Montgomery boycott began almost immediately after the Dec. 1 arrest of a Negro woman for refusing to take a seat in the section of a bus reserved for Negroes upon orders of a bus driver.

The transportation company's business fell off an estimated 60 per cent. Bus fares were hiked from 10 cents to 15 cents to meet the increasing deficit.

Finally, a grand jury in Montgomery, a town of 125,000 with a Negro population of 46,000 indicted 99 boycott leaders for violation of a 1921 law making it illegal for two or more people to conspire to hinder a business operation. Oiriginally, the law was adopted as the result of a labor union dispute. Hearings on these boycott cases will be held March 19.

Hudson Denies Saying NAACP 'Paying' Wife

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., March 3 (AP) — The husband of Pollie Hudson today denied saying she was a "guinea pig" of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, and received money from the NAACP.

Edward Hudson, a steelworker, issued a typewritten statement asserting he never made allegations attributed to him in a Circuit Court answer to his wife's petition for a divorce.

The 23-year-old Birmingham woman applied for admission to the University of Alabama but was rejected on the grounds of her "conduct and marital record."

"I deny that my wife is being paid by anyone to my knowledge," the statement said, "and this statement is wholly false and I hereby make public my denial of each and every allegation contained therein."

Morrell Montgomery, attorney for Hudson, said, "The statements in his answer to his wife's complaint are true according to the representations he made to me."

Montgomery said he may ask for a hearing in the case at which Hudson could be questioned under oath about the allegations.

Folsom Says Legislature Will Return

Governor Planning 2nd Special Session After School Study

By BOB INGRAM

Gov. James E. Folsom in a late afternoon press conference yesterday made it clear he intended to call another special session of the Alabama Legislature in the near future.

While not specifying the date of such a session, the governor indicated he would issue his summons shortly after a legislative interim committee completes its current investigation of the financial needs of schools.

"I'm going to call a special session," Folsom said flatly. "That has never been a subject of debate."

SPECULATION ENDED

This statement brought to an immediate end growing speculation such a session might not be called. This report had gained considerable strength after Finance Director Fuller Kimbrell had told the education committee earlier in the day that no new taxes would be needed to keep schools open this year.

When Folsom was asked to comment on the Kimbrell report, he said if no legislative session was needed for education then he would call one for "other matters."

When asked to elaborate, Folsom said he still favored the creation of several interim committees to study all branches of state government and make recommendations for improvements and streamlining their operations.

RESOLUTION KILLED

A resolution to create such recess committees was killed during the special session of the Legislature which ended last week.

Kimbrell, in his long anticipated revenue report to the committee, said it now appeared the existing school taxes would produce an estimated $102,258,000 during the current year.

And while this figure is some $9 million shy of education's $111 million appropriation, Kimbrell outlined a plan which he said would insure the full operation of the schools in the state.

Under his proposal, which would make another legislative session unnecessary, the Alabama Public School Corporation would borrow $3 million.

This loan, he said, would be used to supplement funds for the third quarter of the fiscal year and would be paid back before Oct. 1 as required by law.

8 PER CENT CUT

Under the Kimbrell plan, schools would be given an 8 per cent cut in funds during the fourth quarter.

"I can't take issue with these falls during the summer, which falls when few schools are in operation.

Even with the fourth quarter cut back, Kimbrell said, education approximately $14,600,000 or only $900,000 less than the same ideas got during the same period a year ago.

Ironically, the one estimate prefaced his report which was expected to be raised statement that he was con- was left untouched—the revenue

expected from the new state withholding law. Revenue officials previously estimated this law could bring in only $1.5 million in additional revenue, and this same estimate was included in yesterday's report.

NO INCREASES

"I fully believe the schools can operate for nine months without any increase in taxes and without amending the appropriation bill," Kimbrell added.

Kimbrell also pointed out that with the $102 million in revenue the schools will still receive $17.6 million more than they received during the first nine months of last year.

Later the entire committee met with Gov. Folsom in an executive session where the school matters were discussed in detail.

At the conclusion, committee members said the governor had assured them he would call a special session if the committee so recommended.

During his press conference, Folsom also took time to answer criticism of the frequent special sessions of the Legislature.

"Although it is expensive to hold special elections and special sessions," Folsom noted, "it's the best liberty the American people ever bought."

Gov. Folsom Issues Plea For 'Calmness'

Gov. James E. Folsom yesterday called on white persons and Negroes in Alabama to "approach our problems in the spirit of calmness, understanding, debate and deliberations."

Although his statement was issued almost simultaneously with the report of the Montgomery grand jury which has been investigating the bus boycott here, the governor made no mention of the indictments returned against some 115 persons.

He noted, instead, the "worldwide attention which has been very much overplayed in regard to the recent University of Alabama situation."

That was a reference to the recent demonstrations at the University following the admittance of a Negro coed, Autherine Lucy.

The governor's statement said:

"According to press reports and communications recently received in the executive office, we have received worldwide attention which has been very much overplayed in regards to the recent University of Alabama situation.

"Naturally there is a fundamental difference between races and tribes since the beginning of time. There is a difference in the fundamental laws of nature regarding the animal kingdom.

"The great masses of Alabama Negroes do not fear their white brothers as much as they do some of their over - anxious leaders. Likewise the great masses of the white people do not fear the masses of the colored people as they fear some of the extremist white agitators.

"I say to the great masses of both races, let us approach our problems in the spirit of calmness, understanding, debate and deliberation.

"Especially do I call on each of us individually and collectively to approach our problems without fear of one race or the other race."

'BAMA LEGISLATURE FACES RACIAL ISSUE

School Money Bill Also Due At New Session

Commercial Appeal Thurs. 3-1-56

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 29.—(UP)—The Alabama Legislature begins its fifth special session Thursday faced with two tantamount problems—balancing a school appropriation bill and creating a bi-racial commirsion to study race issues in the state.

Gov. James E. Folsom and an interim committee that completed a two-week study of school financial needs this week are expected to recommend that the Legislature dispose of the school money bill before acting on other features of Governor Folsom's six-point program encompassed in the special call issued Tuesday.

Memphis Tenn.

The interim group gave Governor Folsom almost unanimous support to his proposed 25-member bi-racial commission recommended last week by the Governor and Alabama editors and publishers.

At least one legislator said he may oppose the commission plan.

Senator Albert Davis of Pickens County, an anti-administration lawmaker and pro-segregationist, said Wednesday, "I don't think the commission will help the race situation any, but if someone can show me where it will, I might support it."

★ Tell It ★

Advertiser Mon. 3-12-56

To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Let The Boycott Succeed

P. 4-A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Mrs. Livingston of Tuscaloosa suggested car owners should ride the bus one day each week in order to help the buses. Please allow me to point out that this would be a mistake and only serve to prolong the Negro boycott, and give him an added feeling of importance. In hurting the buses he is working against his own best interests. The buses are more important to them than any one else. They are the real economic link between them and their jobs. You and I don't need them. I've been here for years and never been on one. In fact, they are a nuisance and a traffic hazard as far as I or any other motorist is concerned. So, the Negro by refusing to ride is undermining his own future job security and welfare. Let him find that out in his own slow time.

Montgomery. DAVID B. HUGHES.

Entering Wedge

Editor, The Avertiser:

Is it to be understood that our U.S. Supreme Court expects us to forego all of our state and police regulations because they might abridge the privileges and immunities of some citizen? This court decision, if the current interpretation of the 14th Amendment strikes down all state and city regulations governing the sale of liquor, gambling, age of voting, intermarriage of races, divorce, regulations as to Sunday operation of business, as well as the regulation of schools. Are we ready to be stripped of our rights to say what and how we may enjoy the privileges of living?

This recent decision is only an entering wedge to break down every regulation of our police laws. Have the majority of our states, white and black, no inviolate privileges? The 14th Amendment was passed at bayonet point, and never before has been so construed. Let there be no violence, but let our legislature and Congress clarify the matter.

Birmingham, Ala. P. M. CARLISLE.

Pincher Movement

Editor, The Advertiser:

Committees on subversive activities should investigate and ascertain just how much of a hand has communism in this issue of segregation or integration through communistic front organigations—urging and advocating people to be for integration or segregation while at the same time urging other people to be against integration or segregation, so that in the end it will result in dissension, discord and eventual revolution. LEWIS KANICK.

Washington, D. C.

Parentage Aside, A Sound Idea

Advertiser P. 4-A Tues. 2-28-56

THE ADVERTISER has previously expressed its theory of the motives that underlay Gov. Folsom's meeting with the state's editors and publishers last week. But whatever the motive, there is still the question of the merit of the suggested bi-racial commission. This commission *The Advertiser* considers a sound undertaking.

Montgomery, Ala.

Editor James Mills of the *Birmingham Post-Herald* has aptly written:

A bi-racial commission such as Gov. Folsom has proposed could be a great help toward easing present race tensions.

Its success will depend on whether top leadership from both races will be willing to serve as commission members and whether they are given broad public support.

Obviously only men of sound judgment who have the respect and confidence of the people of their respective communities should be named.

Such men are sought by the governor and to find them he has asked the help of all Alabama publishers, editors and broadcasters. This newspaper not only welcomes suggestions from its readers but urgently requests that they be made promptly.

There is no problem of more importance confronting us so let's make sure that the best minds in the state are put to work on it.

To expect the commission to work miracles or over night to come up with all the answers would be a mistake.

To expect any progress at all if lines and issues as now drawn are held rigid would be foolish.

Greatest hope lies in the fact that basic goodwill between Southern Negroes and Southern whites has roots far too deep to have been destroyed by recent pressures which have been pushing us farther and farther apart.

If the issue of segregation can be shoved aside much good might come from the commission's efforts.

The alternative is increasing friction and dangerously deeper racial ill-will.

Certainly no thoughtful citizen of either race wants that.

Amid the existing turmoil, the very act of a commission of representative white and colored citizens discussing the grievous problem is desirable.

They may not agree on a compromise, but they can agree without compromise that the problem is one for orderly discussion, not riot and reprisal.

A bi-racial commission is, if nothing more, a symbol of reason. And reason is the thing in Alabama which is today in short supply.

FOLSOM CALLS NEWSPAPERMEN FOR HUDDLE ON RACE PROBLEM

Birm. Ala. Post-Herald 2-23-56

Gov. James E. Folsom has invited Alabama editors and publishers to meet with him at 10 a.m. Friday to discuss the current racial problems which have spread throught the state.

In his invitation, Folsom said: "strongly believe editors and publishers can play a most significant role in urging our people to act with vision and understanding in facing the racial problems that lie ahead. I believe that such a meeting to discuss these matters will be of great value in shaping a harmonious future."

Opens campaign—

Sen. Coleman calls for preservation of rights

News Thurs. 3-15-56

BY FRED TAYLOR, News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 15—Preservation of "the rights reserved by the constitution to our state and the people" was called for today by State Sen. James S. Coleman Jr. of Greene as he opened his campaign for associate justice of Alabama Supreme Court. He is running for place No. 2. P. 7

"Our courts are vitally important at all times in preserving peace and order," declared Sen. Coleman, Eutaw lawyer and veteran legislator, who was voted by the Capitol press corps as the "outstanding" member of the State Senate in the 1955 session.

Birm., Ala.

"Especially is this true today when we must depend upon our courts to preserve not only peace and order but our very way of life."

IN FORMALLY launching his campaign for the associate Supreme Court judgeship to which Justice James J. Mayfield Jr. is seeking renomination, Sen. Coleman said he had been "greatly encouraged by many friends throughout Alabama" to make the race.

"In seeking this high office, I am asking the voters to enable me to help see that the rights reserved by the Constitution to our state and to the people will be preserved," Sen. Coleman's statement added.

"And, incidentally, I want to fulfill a life-long ambition that began when I was a small boy in the companionship of my grandfather, the late Thomas Wilkes Coleman, who served on this high court from 1890 to 1898.

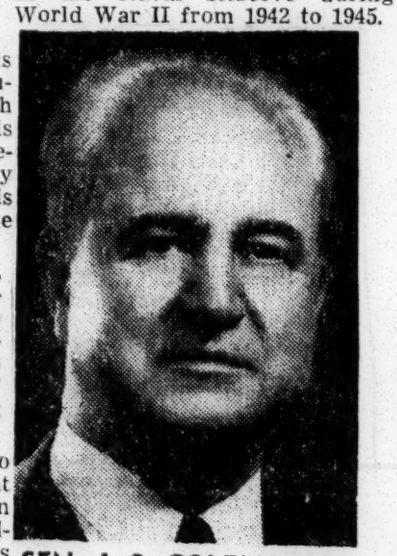
"A judge on the Supreme Court has a grave responsibility to the people in performing the duties of his office. If elected, I will do my best to serve the people of Alabama faithfully.

"The voters of Alabama may judge my fitness for this office by my record of several years in the State Senate and by my experience and practice for 22 years as a country lawyer. I respectively ask their approval."

Coleman, who was first elected to the State Senate in 1946, was elected in 1954 to serve a second term to represent Greene and Hale Counties in the Legislature. At the end of his first term, reporters covering the Legislature voted him "outstanding" freshman senator.

A World War II veteran, Sen. Coleman has engaged in general practice of law at Eutaw since being admitted to the Alabama bar in 1934. He is the son of James S. Coleman, who for 37 years was editor of The Greene County Democrat at Eutaw.

Sen. Coleman, who was graduated from the U. S. Naval Academy in 1927, subsequently attended University of Alabama law school. He saw active duty in the Naval Reserve during World War II from 1942 to 1945.



SEN. J. S. COLEMAN JR. . . . In Supreme Court race

Governor Sits Calmly Atop Racial Storm

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sun. 3-18-56

Newsman Says Folsom Moderating Influence On Crisis In Alabama

By ROBERT S. BIRD
Of The New York Herald Tribune

[The following will appear in the New York Herald *and several other major U. S. dailies this morning. It is printed simultaneously in* The Advertiser *by courtesy of the* Herald Tribune. *Alabama newspapermen will be amused by some of the hooch in Reporter Bird's study, but it is nevertheless an exceptional piece of work.—Ed.]*

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 17 — The most relaxed man in the whole state of Alabama today is the man around whom the storm of the race conflict beats most furiously. Gov. James E. Folsom, who is remembered in the North as "Kissin' Jim" and is known to all hereabouts as "Big Jim," remains totally unruffled by the winds that shake the colonnaded Capitol of Alabama.

While the outside world looks in alarm on recent events in Alabama and his own citizens cry for action from him, "Big Jim" sits enigmatically on Olympus. Or more exactly, sits most of the time in his office in the Capitol, and much of the time on the grassy bank of his favorite fishing stream.

He was just as imperturbable the other night sitting in the Executive Mansion, discussing the Alabama situation with this correspondent over champagne and T-bone steaks. In fact, he was so relaxed that when time came to sit down to dinner he unnotched his belt several inches and attacked his meat in shirt-sleeves from the lordly Chief Executive's chair at the head of the state dining table.

FOLSOM

BIRD

Mrs. Folsom, an attractive and thoroughly charming woman, had chided the Governor for insisting that our small dinner party of four (including the Governor's executive secretary) be served in the state dining room. The table was big enough to seat a regiment of hussars and the chandelier, had it been fully lighted, could have illuminated Times Square.

She suggested that the family dining room would be cosier. But the Governor overruled her with indulgent wave of hand as if to suggest that the presence of this interviewer rendered the occasion at least a semi-state affair, even if not full dress. So we merely pitched our conversation to a higher register in order to maintain communication with the vivacious Mrs. Folsom down at the far end of the table. We dined informally in the midst of elegance.

GARGANTUA

Gov. Folsom's height is well known — six feet eight inches. But that might as well read eight feet six inches because when a person of ordinary height stands beside "Big Jim" a couple of extra feet difference in his height wouldn't seem to make much difference. He is a startlingly big man.

Advertiser

Give such a man the personality of an overgrown, slow-talking, hard-to-get-mad country boy with lots of hidden savvy and the first lineaments of his portrait appear. Enhance that with a political genius capable of engaging the fiercest loyalties and deepest enmities; of shrugging off abject defeats, personal contumely, back-firing razzle - dazzle political stunts, and rancor toward unrelenting enemies, some high lights begin to emerge. P. 4-A

Touch up the picture with the hint of a brooding, introspective look in the gray eyes, and a habit of lapsing into silences which he never seems to notice —and which he finally breaks by picking up the thread of conversation where he left off. Then dress this loungy giant in well-tailored clothes, invest him with legendary personal misdeeds both bizarre and horrendous, make his political maneuvers often seem suicidal and wholly inexplicable, give him a cat's ability to land on his feet—and you have a recognizable sketch of "Big Jim" Folsom, the so-called enigma of Alabama.

'HOGWASH,' QUOTH HE

At this moment, he would appear to be the most unpopular person in the state of Alabama. It all happened since integration became an issue, and his unpopularity seems to extend even to those ordinarily loyal constituents in the rural areas who voted him into office in the fall of 1954.

With the people of the state demanding piteously that he do something to help stem the "black tide" which threatens to engulf them, he is accused by some extremists of inaction so flagrant as to warrant impeachment. He speaks with disrespect for the white Citizens Councils movement, which is organizing throughout the state to fight integration, and a result is that Folsom people are plotting his downfall. He gives a mild rebuke to Negro agitators and the cry goes up that he is really a "nigger lover" — the vilest label that can be pinned on a man here.

The desperate legislators, seeking to appease the folks back home, put through nullification and interposition legislation, along with other measures so wild as to cause even them to smile a little nervously, and the Governor says, "Hogwash," then goes fishing.

After six weeks of traveling around Alabama, encountering passion, fear, hatred and frustration in abundance, it was quite an experience to sit down and talk about it for four hours with the most relaxed man in Alabama.

IT AIN'T GONNA RAIN

Either he's all wrong and Alabama is in a mighty bad fix, or he's a lot right and Alabama is safe; safe for itself and safe for the Union, with certain painless modifications of viewpoints still to be attained, perhaps.

At any rate, the Governor's alleged inaction is now ended. This week he intends to go out among "the people" and tell them that there is no real crisis at all here in Alabama.

He's going to tell them that there is nothing to wrry about, to watch carefully against white folks trying to stir up trouble, to calm down and sit tight and let him handle matters in his own way. He'll give his personal report to the people in his own way in the courthouse towns of all the 67 counties, he says, and he won't even talk about his own little campaign to win office as a Democratic national committeeman. He's in that race against a couple of formidable candidates, including the author of Alabama's nullification law.

POPULARITY CONTEST

In short, the Governor is about to go to his people with aid and comfort in their frustration. He is one of them and they know it. And if their aroused passions are as elemental as the good earth itself, so is his unworriedness. At least, so he suggests. Wise in all the tricks of Southern stump politicking, "Big Jim" may yet quiet down this wave of race hatred. If he does, it will be another Folsom miracle.

The experts laugh at the idea. They say he's too late; this time he has fallen flat on his face for good. He shrugs with unconcern. He may not win the committeeman post because, as he says, the wave of race hatred will not have passed until nearer the Fall election. And this committeeman showdown is to be in May. But he will draw fire away from other Folsom candidates, and away from his own legislative program. Later, he is convinced, all misunderstanding will have passed. "I've been through it all before," he says, with weary recollection.

LET 'EM BELLOW

"Let them spleen their vent, or vent their spleen, or however you say it," he adds. "All I want is for the people to speak.

The Governor has just launched what he considers to be an ingenius bit of strategy. He has called for a constitutional convention to "legalize" the "hogwash" of nullification and interposition. As it happens, the Governor has long wanted a constitutional convention for altogether other reasons, largely to further his own state legislative program, which includes reapportionment of certain counties which are generally

anti-Folsom. The Legislature in the past had no intention of giving him his constitutional convention because it feels that might open the door to all kinds of Folsom law-making mischief.

HUMBUG MEDICINE?

But now they are feeling the sting of a real needle, because the Governor has got a very simple stump-talk rationalization for the convention. Nobody understands interposition anyway, and the rural folks least of all. They are backing on the theory that any medicine is better than none. But here comes "Big Jim" saying that it is humbug medicine, and the real cure is a constitutional convention "to make every thing legal.' He pretends to be surprised that legislators are nettled.

"In such a convention they can even see-seed (sic) from the union," he explains. They can authorize me to call out the National Guard against the Federal troops. Like I say, there's been so much hell-raising I thought they would want to do it."

"Why," he says with a gleam in his eye, "they could require the Governor to take an oath promising not to support the Constitution of the United States. Do you know that all the state and county and local officials of Alabama are bound by oath to support the Federal government? Only a constitutional convention can release them from that oath. Let the people speak in convention assembled!"

'SAM HOUSTON DIDN'T'

Would the Governor accept release of his oath to the Federal government in such a convention?

"Sam Houston didn't he grins, "but all the other Confederate governors did."

"But would you?"

"Sam Houston didn't."

And the Governor's going to point out to his stump audiences another "important point." They seem to have overlooked the fact that the State of Alabama has not been made, up to now a party to any school integration suit. So why the rush to fret about the integration matter? And why hasn't it been made a party to such a suit. Well, the Governor's going to call attention to the fact that he's kept in pretty close touch with some of the Negro leaders who are causing trouble elsewhere in that respect.

SCOTCH AND SODA

Nothing has caused so much heart-sickness among the Folsom following as the story that went the rounds to the effect that last November he drank Scotch whisky with Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, New York's Negro Congressman. The Governor will have to meet that accusation at the courthouse steps of Alabama, and it is a good guess he will explain that Rep. Powell is one of those Negro leaders with whom it was important for him to talk—even in his office in the Executive Manison.

And there will be still other points to be hammered home. How come that people are getting so fussed about integration that they are blaming good Democrats on the Supreme Court for their troubles when the fact is the Republican President and his Republican Attorney General are responsible for prosecution of the integration suits?

The Governor, moreover, will appeal to the patriotic impulses of his sore-tried supporters, for they are just as willing to die for their country as they are to die for Dixie, and American traditions are unassailable even here, where one is assumed to be include segregation in the South.

He will hit out against "mobocracy" and take a firm stand for democratic law and order. And he will say these things standing up there on the platform in a white suit which makes him look even bigger than the giant he is. A man of the people, or perhaps a father symbol for the temporarily confused. And they will listen to this man who rode to victory in his last campaign on the emblazoned but folksy slogan, "Y'All Come!"—meaning to his inauguration as Governor.

HYPNOTIZED BIRD

It's almost hypnotic listening to him at home giving this picture of himself on the stump; sitting in his chair with head hunched down between his huge shoulders, speaking slowly as if forging in his mind the exactly right image of the platform scene that he counts on for redemption.

As he talks, Mrs. Folsom, mother of four of his six children, girlishly plump, sparkling of eye, eager of manner, listens to pater familias with pleasure in her gaze and occasionally gentle dissent. Her candidate for Democratic presidential nominee is not his. His is Harry S. Truman, period. If Mr. Truman doesn't run, then the Governor will cross that bridge when he comes to it.

The Governor was a widower when he met Mrs. Folsom in 1946 while on a speaking tour. In those days he always kissed every pretty girl he could, but he asked this one, the former Jamelle Moore to marry him. She did two years later, and it is plain that there is great warmth between them.

This may be "hogwash," but the truth is the Alabama race situation seemed a lot less inflammatory to this correspondent after the session with "Big Jim" Folsom. This much is certain, he is by design or not, a moderating influence on the crisis in Alabama.

Mr. Graves And The Atlanta Riot

Journal & Guide 3/16

IN our issue dated February 25 the JOURNAL AND GUIDE closed an editorial on the needless and ruthless agitation of the race question by some newspapers in the South, with a statement of which the following was part:

Sat. 3-17-56 Norfolk, Va.

"In 1906 John Temple Graves used his Evening News to create the terrible Atlanta riot. There was not one scintilla of truth in the editorials and news articles carried for days in Graves' newspaper. The result was one of the most horrible race riots in American history."

MR. JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, II, who is columnist for the *Birmingham Post-Herald*, has informed us that his father was not editor of the *Evening News* at the time of the Atlanta riot. He states that his father had disagreed with the *Evening News* on its policy months before the riot and had joined the editorial staff of the *Atlanta Georgian*, which was a moderate newspaper.

The JOURNAL AND GUIDE's authority for the reference was the volume, *Liberalism In The South*. by VIRGINIUS DABNEY. The book was published in 1932 by the University of North Carolina Press. The reference to MR. GRAVES was also carried in *The Mind of the South*, by W. J. CASH, which was published at a later date.

The error which associated MR. GRAVES, SR. with the editorship of the *Atlanta Evening News* seems to have occurred somewhere in the research done for MR. DABNEY'S book. MR. GRAVES, II, informed us that when this error was brought to MR. DABNEY'S attention, he made a prompt apology and correction which was published in several Southern newspapers. MR. CASH had died.

The JOURNAL AND GUIDE was unaware of either the error or of MR. DABNEY'S amends for it.

The JOURNAL AND GUIDE adds its own regrets and apologies to MR. GRAVES, II.

We hope that this clears the atmosphere with reference to the Atlanta riot and absolves MR. GRAVES, senior, from any connection with the personalities and the newspaper which caused it.

Boycotts, work law capture attention

News Birm. Ala. 3-28-56

Secondary boycotts and the right-to-work law were two of the main topics at the Southern States Industrial Relations conference at the Tutwiler Hotel today.

Desmond A. Barry, Houston, Tex., president of the Galveston Truck Lines, was on hand for the session.

At present he is engaged in secondary boycott litigation in Oklahoma City over his refusal to sign a contract with the Teamsters Union without a NLRB election.

His company has sued 21 trucking companies in Oklahoma City who refused to handle goods brought into the city by Galveston Truck Lines. Their refusal is based on the "hot cargo" clause in their contract, whereby they agreed not to handle business from any company the Teamsters Union termed unfair.

HOYT P. STEELE, president Benjamin Electric Manufacturing Co., Des Plaines, Ill., has been a spokesman on labor issues before several congressional commitees on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce of the U. S. on federal labor law proposals.

This year he is chairman of the Chamber's special Committee on Secondary Boycotts and has made many talks to industrial groups on this subject.

Eighteen states, including 10 in the South, now have right-to-work laws, Jonathan C. Gibson, vice president and general counsel, Santa Fe Railway System, said.

He has long been interested in the right of a person to work whether he belongs to a union or not. He contends the right-to-work law is as much a protection to the union man as to the non-union man.

"This law protects an employer from discharging an employe for being a member of a union as well as the non-union man from being barred from employment because of a 'closed shop' contract," he said.

WILLIAM B. BARTON, general counsel for the U. S. C. of C, said labor unions are making a concerted attack on the right-to-work laws on the national as well as the local level, and declared that unless business men are as alert as the union and as active this law may be nullified by amendment of the Taft-Hartley law.

Headquarters of 51 unions are in Washington, and they are concentrating on obtaining an amendment to Taft-Hartley to make any state right-to-work laws unworkable, he said.

Shown in the accompanying photo are, left to right: C. B. Mahin, Chicago, labor relations counsel; T. Maynard Smith, Atlanta, labor relations counsel; William D. Sims, Montgomery, director industrial relations of the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce, and Benjamin R. Miller, Washington, industrial relations director, American Trucking Assn.

D. A. BARRY

H. P. STEELE

J. C. GIBSON

W. B. BARTON

Tell It To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Advertiser

NAACP Has No Security In Numbers

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Next year the people of the United States are going to elect a president by a majority vote. Which means that regardless of whether he is a Democrat or Republican he will be elected by democratic rule and will be duty bound, according to political ethics, to render unto a majority that which is theirs.

Mon. 12-24-56

We in the South by a large majority want segregation in our public schools and public places and it's about time that this issue was discussed from the speaker's stand. By both presidential candidates, especially the Democrat.

There are not enough NAACP members and advocates of non-segregation to defeat either candidate for the presidency and for this reason alone if for no other it is now the time to settle for once and all time this political football, regardless of any ruling handed down by that old gang of men appointed for life to do nothing if they choose to do nothing; meddle if they choose to meddle, and reverse themselves because of a constitutional error, known as our Supreme Court. They sit there like a bunch of gowned angels guessing.

I wonder if they know that all of our major laws are taken from the Bible and this same book says that it is a sin and a shame to mix the races, and while it doesn't specifically define the word mix I submit it means overall mix. Mix in our schools and other public places and for the gutter-minded type I submit to mix the blood.

In closing I'd like to warn that the loyalty pledge in our Southern states is designed to defeat the wants, desires and needs of the South.

The Democrats won't do anything for our voters because they don't have to, and the Republicans won't do anything or can't do anything because we won't let them. ARTHUR CLEMENT.

Bay Minette, Ala.

Montgomery

Quick Police Work

Editor, The Advertiser:

Just recently my car was stolen between the hours of 1:30 and 3 a.m. Because of the alertness of the patrolmen on highway 80 it was found in less than 45 minutes. I want to publicly thank them for their wonderful service.

[MISS] IDA M. CARTER.

Waugh, Ala.

The Fight Against TB

Editor, The Advertiser:

I am taking the liberty of asking for space in which to thank your readers for their generous contributions to the fight against tuberculosis during the 1955 Christmas Seal Sale.

To all of you who bought and used Christmas Seals, may I say that the public spirit you have shown in supporting efforts to improve the health of this community gives me great hopes for the future. A civilization in which people give voluntarily for the benefit of all is strong and healthy.

To those who have not yet contributed, may I point out that TB can strike in any home, rich or poor, and wherever it strikes it brings tragic upheaval to family life. Despite the great progress that has been made in treating TB, too often it brings death. When you buy Christmas Seals you are paying for services to help keep tuberculosis away from your home and your family.

Tuberculosis can be prevented, can be cured and can be stamped out.

Happy New Year to all.

MRS. I. BERMAN.
Christmas Seal Chairman.

Montgomery.

Off The Bench

By Judge Walter B. Jones

Advertiser

Mon. 1-2-56

'An Unorthodox View Of The Civil War'

RECENTLY, I received from one of my friends in the District of Columbia, the *News Letter Of The Civil War Round Table*. In reading this News Letter, I came across a very interesting item entitled, "An Unorthodox View of the Civil War." It contains the substance of a talk Dr. Otto Eisenschiml made before the Round Table, and it will be, I am sure, of interest to my readers, whose views are probably quite different from Dr. Eisenschiml. The good doctor said that Nathan B. Forrest was the best general North or South, and that George H. Thomas and Fitz John Porter, whom he rated below Forrest, were the top Union soldiers. I quote the following from Dr. Eisenschiml's talk:

JONES

"With no clear-cut criteria, but using results which the generals achieved in relation to the forces at their command and considering the opposition with which they were confronted, Dr. Eisenschiml gave this as his own lineup:

"UNION ARMY: 4 stars, none; 3 stars, none; 2 stars, George H. Thomas and Fitz John Porter; 1 star, McClellan and Grant; and minus 1 star, Burnside and Halleck.

Montgomery

"CONFEDERATE ARMY: 4 stars, Nathan B. Forrest; 3 stars, Jackson; 2 stars, Longstreet and Joe Johnston; 1 star, Lee and Beauregard, and minus 1 star, Braxton Bragg.

"Forrest, his mind unspoiled and unsullied by education, and with a superior native intelligence, did more with the forces at his command than any other general, Confederate or Union, the speaker declared. His victory over vastly greater numbers at Brice's Cross Roads was a classic.

"As for Jackson, the ex-VMI professor with a knack for physics understood perfectly that the Confederacy could not win by matching its resources in combat with those of the North. And he waged war accordingly. Stonewall used a simple formula of physics—mass times velocity squared—to win the victories he did. When he either could not, or failed, to use this formula, as at White Oak Swamp and Cedar Mountain, he failed miserably. But Dr. Eisenschiml gave him a three star rating, topping Longstreet and Joe Johnston and two full rungs on the ladder above Lee and Old Bory.

"FEW Union generals ever went into battle on even terms with the enemy; they generally had great superiority. Thus, said the speaker, it is difficult to evaluate their abilities without knowing what they could have done if confronted with equal or greater forces. But, concerning George H. Thomas (the Rock of Chicamauga), he said, there is no debate. As for Fitz John Porter, Dr. Eisenschiml admitted that perhaps he was prejudiced because of his long study of the man. But, he asserted, Fitz Porter did go against a superior force at Gaines' Mill and defeated the Lee-Jackson combination. And he did the same thing at Malvern Hill. Two stars also for Porter.

"The speaker did not dwell on Longstreet and Joe Johnston, but ranked them above Lee and Beauregard. Lee's great fault, he declared, was that he did not know when to stop fighting. He was a fighter through and through and when he heard the Rebel Yell and the guns booming ("it is well that war is so terrible or we should grow too fond of it") he threw everything into the fray and held on. A notable example of this fault, Dr. Eisenschiml said, was Gettysburg—which should not have occurred in the first place. In any event, Lee should have withdrawn after winning the first day's battle. "When Lee was good he was wonderful. When he was bad he was awful." Another failing of the Rebel chieftain was a tendency to work without maps. Our guest excoriated Lee, the master engineer, for not having maps even of the suburbs of Richmond. Confederate forces got hopelessly lost around White Oak Swamp for lack of direction, and at the Wilderness in May, 1864, Lee lost a great opportunity of breaking Grant with Longstreet's attack simply because he had no maps to show the key road. But the "great man in gray" received high praise for other qualities which kept the Confederacy together and provided a popular figure around whom her forces could rally.

"Just as Jackson had the only clear idea in the South of how to wage war against the North, so McClellan was the only federal general who had a good plan for defeat of the Confederacy. But the Little Napoleon, on the basis of his battles with the Confederates, rated only one star on Dr. Eisenschiml's list.

"ULYSSES GRANT may have been a great general, but we have no way of knowing, said the speaker. Except at Belmont and on the first day at Shiloh did he ever have to face the enemy on anything approaching even terms. If a 200-pound boxer, well fed and with the finest equipment, lambasts into submission a hungry and meagerly equipped 100-pounder, how do you rate the 200-pounder? Grant was just that. He whipped Lee, using the equivalent of Lee's army in doing so, but does that prove him to be a master strategist and a great general? Dr. Eisenschiml did not think so. One star for the little man in the slouch hat.

Before getting into his rating of generals, Dr. Eisenschiml discussed some of the great flaws in the strategy and thinking of both the North and South. Some examples:

"1. The federal capital should have been moved at the beginning of the war to Philadelphia or some other northern point. Washington was surrounded by Confederate territory, and its defense immobilized for four years forces which could have helped end the war quickly. The Confederates made the same mistake by moving their capital from Mont-

gomery to Richmond—in the front lines —and trying to defend that point.

"2. Alexander Stephens had the only worthwhile Confederate idea about how to finance the war—by storing cotton in England and doling it out as the market required. But Davis' idea that holding and hoarding cotton in the South would bring Europe into the war on the side of the Confederacy was allowed to prevail.

"3. Lincoln had no military ability, but had plenty of common sense. Davis had ample military knowledge, but not an iota of common sense. Their combined errors made the waging of war a miserable affair on both sides.

"4. Neither the North nor the South perceived the value of propaganda, and both lost invaluable opportunities in this respect. The South, for example, could have capitalized tremendously on the North's "inhumane" action of shutting off from the Confederacy supplies of medicine, such as quinine and morphine.

"Now that he had delivered himself of his 'unorthodox view' of the war, Dr. Eisenschiml said members of the CWRT could go back to the conventional heroes and legendary events of the sixties."

Engelhardt Will Try Again

A STUDY of weekly newspapers throughout the state indicates there will be very little local legislation to cultter up the special session of the Legislature which convenes Jan. 3.

All local bills, that is those applying only to a county or city, must be advertised in a newspaper in the county which they affect, and as of now very few such bills have been advertised.

The main reason for this is obvious — with three sessions already under their belts, most lawmakers have long since taken care of their local bills.

However, several bills of some significance are being advertised by lawmakers in this section of the state.

Three measures relating to the segregation problem will apparently be introduced early in the next session — two from Marengo County, one from Macon County.

Sen. Sam Engelhardt Jr., of Macon, has advertised a measure relating to teacher tenure — it would authorize the county board of education to fire a teacher without public hearing if such teacher was a member or active in any move aimed at abolishing racial segregation.

Actually, the measure is aimed directly at Negro teachers in Macon County who might be members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Engelhardt introduced this measure during the regular session, and it passed in both houses. But Gov. Folsom vetoed it at 11:57 p.m. Sept. 2, only three minutes before the Legislature was to adjourn, leaving Engelhardt insufficient time to have the bill passed over the veto.

Meanwhile, Sen. E. O. Eddins of Marengo, will also introduce an identical bill, and will also introduce a companion measure which would require all organizations in the county to register their membership. This would include every such group except churches.

The purpose of this latter bill is easy to discern — the NAACP would be required to register its members, and membership in this group would be sufficient evidence to use in firing teachers as provided in the other bill.

Sen. Neil Metcalf of Geneva, is also advertising a bill of some importance — it would authorize a reregistration of all voters in that county.

Geneva County has long been frought with alleged election irregularities — a number of indictments came from a Grand Jury investigation following the May 1954 primary, but there were no convictions. Metcalf hopes his bill will serve to correct this situation.

Other local bills now being advertised include one to authorize the employment of an additional deputy sheriff in Bullock County, another to create a court of common pleas in Russell County, and a third relating to the filling of vacancies on the city commission in Prattville.

IN NULLIFICATION RESOLUTION

Folsom Charges Alabama Legislature Violated Oath To U.S. Constitution

Gov. James E. Folsom charged yesterday in a press conference that members of the Alabama Legislature "individually and collectively" violated their oath to uphold the U.S. Constitution when they passed the Nullification Resolution.

The governor, back in his office after a three-day stumping tour of Northwest Alabama, resumed his insistence that the Legislature "let the people decide at the polls" whether they favor nullification.

"The only way we can nullify the Supreme Court decision is through a convention assembled by the people," Folsom said. "And that resolution they passed calling the decision null and void is actually null and void itself."

On another subject, Gov. Folsom said Sen. Estes Kefauver's upset victory over Adlai Stevenson in the Minnesota presidential primary Tuesday "means he's (Kefauver) strong in the midwest."

"I don't know what he's doing, but if I was him I'd keep on doing it," Folsom said regarding Kefauver's victory.

Asked if he thought the outcome of the Minnesota Primary had dimmed Stevenson's chances, Folsom said, "According to the papers he's not the front runner any more."

On the same subject, Folsom ddclared emphatically he would support the Democratic Party's nominee, whoever he might be, "with every ounce of strength I've got."

Gov. Folsom, returning to the segregation subject, also repeated his earlier statement that he would call another special session of the Legislature if no action was taken during the current session on his plan for a convention.

"I want to gently remind them that they've established a platform and they ought to carry it out," Folsom said. "I want them to let the people decide."

Integration Vexed Jurist Bullet Killed

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 4 (UP)—James J. Mayfield, 45, an associate state Supreme Court justice of Alabama who was quoted as having a "devil of a time over segregation," was found shot to death today.

The judge's body, a .22 caliber pistol clasped in his hand, was discovered in his apartment by a maid. Authorities officially ruled it suicide.

But Gov. James E. Folsom, when informed of Mayfield's death, immediately sent Public Safety Director Bill Lyerly to the scene. Both Lyerly and Coroner M. M. Kirkpatrick agreed that the death was obviously suicide, but Folsom ordered a thorough investigation.

Officers said no suicide note was left and they could give no reason for the action.

But the maid, Lorine Lewis, 28, said the judge had been despondent lately and appeared worried over his race for re-election.

Miss Lewis said Mayfield told her he was "having a devil of a time over segregation, and that some man was trying to get his job."

The judge, the youngest member of the Supreme Court, was running for re-election in the May 1 Democratic primary against state Sen. James S. Coleman Jr.

Negroes Want Equality, Not School Integration

We have read the papers and have heard parents say, "I don't want my children to be educated with children of the opposite race." Both Negroes and whites have said it.

It is not that we, the children of the Negro race, want to go to school with the whites, but we do want equality. We are not able to take the same vocations as they because we do not have the proper facilities.

In most cases when white girls or boys finish high school, they can immediately get good jobs typing, bookkeeping, etc. These experiences help them immensely in college. But the Negro has to wait until he enters college before he can handle a typewriter or learn to keep books.

In colonial days the Negro did not receive an education, but as times passe he found it possible to put schools int operation and Negroes were satisfied wit what they had. But now we are in a stag where different vocations are very neces sary in getting a good job.

I believe if we had equality in our education and a lot of other things, we would be satisfied and not worried with the talk of integration. I also believe that with God's help we will find what we are seeking for, equality!

JO ANN BENNETT,

Bessemer, Ala

CAPITOL ROUNDUP

Black Belt Solons Thump Folsom For Remarks On Reshuffling Bypass

By BOB INGRAM

Gov. James E. Folsom's charge yesterday that some legislators are using the race question as a "smoke screen" to dodge the question of reapportionment prompted sharp retorts from Black Belt senators.

Folsom issued a statement in which he likened the opposition group to a "small, tired rear guard of oldline Whigs."

"I said at the beginning of this session that some of the last remaining Whigs in the United States who are in our Legislature, would once more bring up questions about our colored brethren — as they always do when reapportionment is mentioned—and try to tell the people how bad Big Jim is" Folsom said. "That has happened and it is just a smoke screen"

Sen. Albert Davis of Pickens County, in reply to the governor said he was "indeed sorry that some of the elected officials of Alabama have not shown the caliber of leadership as those in other states."

"We are glad the people and the Legislature don't look as lightly on the race issue as the governor does," Davis continued. "In my opinion it is the most important issue before the people and the Legislature in 50 years."

Sen. James Coleman of Greene noted that "the governor has ignored the segregation question long enough and we are in need of his leadership on that question."

Sen. E. O. Eddins of Marengo also spoke out in rebuttal to Folsom's statement, claiming the governor's accusations were "untrue and without any reason."

School Needs Probed

A joint hearing on the needs of education resumed yesterday before the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance and Taxation Committee, with members apparently looking with considerable favor on a plan offered by Rep. Karl Harrison of Shelby.

Harrison has introduced a bill in the House which would authorize the Public School Corporation to borrow enough money to make up the difference between acutual revenue collected this year and the $111 million appropriation.

No action was taken on the bill by the House committee, but later in the day an identical bill was introduced in the Senate by two administration leaders, Sens. E. L. Roberts of Etowah and Broughton Lamberth of Tallapoosa.

Yesterday's hearing for the most part was devoted to testimony from Dr. Austin R. Meadows, state school superintendent; Dr. Ralph Draughon, A. P. I. president and other educational leaders.

The measure had been sponsored by Rep. Otto Simon of Mobile, who has been highly critical of the manner School Superintendent Austin R. Meadows has allocated funds to the various county schools.

Voice Of The People

White Citizens Council Member Defends Course

Of course we have had and are going to have a great deal of pro and con statements and debate about the current issue of segregation, and the ruling handed down by nine men regarding their interpretation of our Constitution which our forefathers inscribed as a "pattern" for living a clean, moral and law-abiding life as a "free" citizen.

I have no bone to pick with the Negro. I have worked with them and had them to work for me. I have never mistreated or caused them any embarrassment because of their color, but that doesn't mean I want them to eat at my table, or even worse, to marry my daughter or any of the other things that would bring about a condition intolerable to me or, for that matter, them. They do not want, excepting those with some smattering of so-called education, these things any more than I. We white people have given them the opportunity to come out of bondage and have indeed aided and abetted them on their way. However, I can't help but think of the days when Noah, by God's own admonition, placed a curse on their sire, Ham, for his disobedience, and that to me is enough to keep separate our paths of life.

I refer you to a recent news story for this reason. Why do you refuse to print the statements per se of one Ace Carter who made such a fine talk and enlightened those present of so many facts that only seem to go wantonly forgotten? I notice you seem to print only the things which are of no direct criticism to you or your paper. You are supposed to be a paper free to support the issues of the people or not support them. You are a Southern managed newspaper. However, I doubt your heritage from your point of views. I am a member of the White Citizens Council in East Lake and promise to lend my support in a legal and democratic way to its tenets. I hope that some day I might have the opportunity of being among those who have played an infinitesimal part in the preservation and ongoing of white supremacy so necessary for the carrying out of the plan written many, many years ago by men so much more capable than you and I. ROBERT R. WINTERS,
602 West Boulevard, Birmingham 6.

Nullification

In Alabama In 1833 Involved Indian Race Relations; State Made It Stick

By Tom Johnson

ALABAMA House members had a clear precedent to guide them this week when, swinging the instrument of Nullification, they voted to nullify all segregation rulings of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The first time the state challenged the federal government nearly 124 years ago was also over a racial matter, but it concerned Indians, not Negroes. And the state won a resounding victory.

JOHNSON

Prior to 1832, Alabamians who were later to lead and inflame the Nullificationists were staunch supporters of the Andrew Jackson Administration and all of his policies, including the protectionist tariff struggle with South Carolina and Vice President John C. Calhoun.

Most of the state's leaders sided with Jackson and advised the people to "confide in the ordinary means" when a disagreement arose between state and federal governments.

Not long after this, however, Gov John Gayle, a warm personal friend of Jackson, and virtually all of the state were literally up in arms over the government's handling of Indians in Alabama.

Under a treaty with the government, the Creek Indians gave up all of their lands east of the Mississippi as a tribe but were allowed to settle as individuals. Until surveys were completed and the individual Indians selected the land they want, the federal government was to remove all white intruders, except that the few who had planted crops were allowed to remain until harvest time.

What had been Indian territory became nine counties of Alabama, and the state, with federal approval, asserted jurisdiction over the area.

Approximately 30,000 whites settled in the nine counties and the Indians bombarded Washington with protests. The government attempted to eject a few of the more notorious settlers and, in the process, one settler was killed.

Governor Protests

Gov. Gayle fired off a letter to Secretary of War Lewis Cass, protesting an "unconstitutional interference" in the state's affairs, but the government was not swayed.

When the commandant of Fort Mitchell refused to surrender the officers and men involved in the shooting of the settler, Gayle wrote another letter in which he said he was "desirous of avoiding all collision" with the government and expressing confidence that the settler's murderers would be delivered for trial.

Though Gov. Gayle urged calmness, mass meetings were held and men offered their services in case of armed conflict. Moore's *History of Alabama* notes that even a New York company volunteered to help out.

Suddenly, Alabama's Washington delegation became aware of the dangers of violence and gained assurance from the government that no more settlers would be removed. After many conferences, President Jackson appointed Francis Scott Key to go to Tuscaloosa, the state capital then, and negotiate a settlement.

Alabama Prevails

IN THE settlement, Gov. Gayle gained practically everything he had sought, including the right to indict the soldiers for murder.

In reporting to the legislature, Gayle declared the settlement preserved the constitutional rights of the people and asserted the supremacy of civil over military authority.

And that ended the controversy itself. However, there were reverberations long after. For one thing, it seemed to lessen the state's former ardor for the Union and, combined with other incidents, finally led to Secession.

Another enduring effect was to aggravate the political division between North Alabama, which denounced Governor Gayle, and South Alabama, which supported him.

Where Is Folsom In The Segregation Fight?

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — As an avid reader of *The Advertiser* and one who enjoys your editorial page comment, I have been waiting for someone to point out the reason or reasons for our worthy Governor's shy stand on the Supreme Court ruling abolishing school segregation. Governors in other southern states have spoken out in one way or another, usually taking a stand against having segregation forced upon the white and colored citizens of their state. Virginia's legislature, with the backing of Governor Stanley, has paved the way for a referendum upon the school issue, to provide for state funds to be used to pay tuition for pupils wishing to attend private schools should integration be accomplished in the state.

Yet our Gov. Folsom, no shy bird at all and one who has never seemed scared of the federal boys—for instance the asinine row over the use of National Guard planes for his football flights last fall—has been extremely reticent on the segregation conflict. If memory serves correctly, he has said that the Supreme Court edict must be obeyed, and that law is law. For one who has flaunted, twisted, and openly defied other laws—i.e., yes Ole Jim stole, but it was for the good of you folks—Big Jim's hesitancy in this segregation matter seems indeed strange. He has taken *no* lead to preserve southern traditions and his lack of conviction has served to discourage many who should like to keep separate but equal school facilities.

Big Jim's plush treatment of the visiting Negro Congressman Powell of New York while the Congressman was on a speaking tour stop in Montgomery caused many people to wonder as to the Governor's leanings in the racial issues sprouting in the Southland today.

For want of a more authoritative answer for the Governor's failure to speak out on the segregation issue, it is my belief that he is planning to run for the U.S. Senate in 1958 and wants to use the Negro vote in Alabama to help propel him to Washington. If he could be propelled to the Senate now and guarantee to stay there it might be a good thing for his home state. However, he will continue as governor and then use his apparent support of the Supreme Court integration ruling to make hay with the Negro voters of the state and there will be plenty of them by 1958 if present trends continue.

It is no secret that something can be done to delay or prevent school integration in Alabama, but something must be done soon. Several measures now before the state legislature provide means for circumventing the Supreme Court's ruling. With assistance and encouragement from Gov. Folsom — still a powerful figure in the state regardless of the loss of power that your paper tried to imply from the passage of Amendment 20 in the December referendum—a satisfactory measure can be enacted in time to have a ready solution to the lawsuits which may soon be forthcoming to force compliance with integration.

Virginia has shown that public opinion is strong now and that the majority of southern citizens favor continued school segregation. As a sign of things to come in this election year, the recent rulings by the ICC abolishing segregated waiting rooms for public carriers engaged in interstate commerce are but the forerunner of other far-reaching federal moves to eliminate segregation.

As an Auburn junior who has known many Negroes in the South, the North, and in the Army, I believe that one must judge them as individuals. But when their so-called progressive leaders of both races force them into our schools en masse then it is time to call a halt. Personally I don't mind going to school with Negroes. I have done so in the Army and don't feel contaminated and hope I didn't contaminate them. My reason for resisting integration is that many young Negro and white children will be the ones to bear the brunt of suddenly enforced integration. The effects on white and colored alike might well destroy any feeling of brotherhood that has built up through the years.

Auburn, Ala. LUTHER CLANTON

Tell It To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Mr. Thornton's Biblical Interpretations Questioned

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Forgetting for the moment his gratuitous offense against good taste, let it be admitted that Mr. Fred Thornton in his Sunday *Advertiser-Journal* column delivered himself of some amazing and highly original "interpretations" of Bible characters. He will not be surprised to know that most students of the Bible will—to put it mildly—passionately disagree with him.

Consider, for example, Mr. Thornton's opinion of the prophet Jeremiah as "the most unadorned punk in the Bible" and "the original fifth columnist." Does Mr. Thornton realize that the democratic freedom of expression which enables him to thus disparage the work of Jeremiah is largely a heritage from that very prophet's teachings on the importance of the individual in God's sight? The democratic insistence on the "inalienable rights" of the individual has deep roots in his repudiation of the "corporate" relation in Jewish nationalistic religion, a revolutionary step summarized in the famous "New Covenant Passage" of Jeremiah 31:31-34. Here religion is first described as inward and personal.

In the evaluation of Jeremiah (at least) Mr. Thornton has missed the forest while looking too hard at one tree. It is true that Jeremiah did counsel surrender of Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar; but he did so because he had a higher patriotism than others. He (1) was convinced that God was using Babylon to punish Judah for her sins, which were many and grave; (2) he did not want to see his nation and its religious heritage swept away in the horrors of final conquest of the city--after an utterly hopeless resistance. To say that one cannot honorably counsel surrender is to impugn the motives of such noble spirits as Robert E. Lee and Jonathan Wainwright, men who refused to approve useless bloodshed.

But more about Jeremiah. What do the ranking Old Testament scholars say about this prophet of the years between 626 and 586 B.C.?

The great German scholar Rudolph Kittel writes: "Jeremiah was the greatest of the great prophets of Israel. He looked deepest into the heart of God and into his own heart. This insight made him a man, prophet, and poet of special excellence." (Great Men and Movements in Israel, tr. by Knoch and Wright, p. 334).

The British scholar George Adam Smith writes: "With him [Jeremiah] the human unit in religion which had hitherto been mainly the nation was on the way to become the individual. Personal piety in later Israel largely grew out of his struggles." (Jeremiah, p. 5) (Wellhausen is quoted by Smith on the same page as saying, "Without Jeremiah the Psalms could never have been composed.")

Julius Bewer, whose text on the Literature of the Old Testament is standard in America, writes (p. 166): "He (Jeremiah) grasped with deep insight the fundamental elements of religion and stated them with great clearness. In him all the best of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah were brought to full fruition. He spiritualized religion by separating it from all outward institutions, even from the nation." He is "in many ways Israel's greatest prophet."

Observes another scholar, the emphasis placed by Jeremiah on individual moral responsibility is at the basis of any valid system of ethics. Jeremiah is, in fact, regarded as one of the colossal creative minds of religious history. To discover the fact, however, one must spend some time with dedicated scholars. Mr. Thornton will forgive me, I am sure, if I recall at this point the pertinent anecdote about the young woman tourist who rushed through a museum whose treasures included are works of the great masters. "Is this all you have?" she asked an elderly guide on the way out. "Madam," he said, "the paintings in this museum are not on trial; the visitors are."

Birmingham. T. P. CHALKER.

The Solicitor's Duty

Editor, The Advertiser:

If an organized boycott is against the law, as Mr. Fred Ball states in his letter to *The Advertiser*, Jan. 9, then why should anyone have to present his letter to the Circuit Solicitor? Doesn't the Solicitor know his job? Why does he have to be reminded of his duty?

Maybe he is worried about the Negro vote. He had better start worrying about the white vote.

Montgomery. GEORGE C. POULOS.

In Appreciation And Sympathy

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have read all you have told us about what happened to ex-Lt. Gov. Allen. I have written him a letter and enclosed my check for a small sum, expressing to him my personal feelings. The cash will be a cornerstone to build for him and his motherless children another home.

Allen made for all of us a wonderful state official. Let's not let him go broke and homeless.

Hartford, Ala. M. L. BLACK.

Folsom Sees Slow-Pace Integration

MOULTON, March 21 (AP) — Alabama's Gov. James E. Folsom said in a speech here today "Integration has got to come; but it will have to come district by district, not county by county, and many of us will not be here when it does."

The governor addressed about 300 persons in the Lawrence County Courthouse in the fourth of his "reports to the people."

Folsom reiterated his promise that he is "going to maintain segregation, but we've got to get the Negroes out of these 'shotgun' schoolrooms."

He also said that he would uphold the federal Constitution and the U. S. Supreme Court, which already has ordered integration in the nation's schools.

Folsom was given a mild and courteous reception. There was brief applause when he was introduced by Wheeler Smith, veteran Lawrence County political figure, and again at the end of his address.

Folsom told reporters who questioned him after his address that he had made arrangements last January to balance the state's budget, and that he had ordered a 10 per cent reduction in spending in all departments.

He said, however, that one of the things that "ran us over" was two special sessions of the Legislature this year.

In answer to a question, he said: "Yes, I plan to call another special session."

Folsom has said he wants another special session to call a constitutional convention to consider the state's racial problems.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. 4-A

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Montgomery

The Trouble Is Political

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I read the editor's statement in *U.S. News & World Report*. For the most part, I think people appreciate the problems of the South. It is just the left-wingers and politicians who are creating issues. So long as labor goons can throw their weight around and defy the law, it ill behooves the North to criticize the South. MARGARET LYTLE.

Chicago, Ill.

Mar 7 - 56

Action And Reaction

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have read with interest your interview in the *U.S. News & World Report* of Feb. 24. I think you will be glad to learn that you were mistaken in one statement, as you will see from the inclosed copies of *Human Events*. It, of course does not have as wide a circulation as the *U.S. News* and *Harpers* but the publisher is doing his best to acquaint the rest the country with the problems and difficulties faced by the South. Another excellent article, "Not to Be Solved On A Slide Rule," by James J. Kilpatrick was published in the May 14, 1955 issue. I regret that I haven't an extra copy to send you.

As for the problem of integration, I fear that we of the North—our forebears, rather—created it in the first place and that meddling on our part is ill-advised, especially as the South has been making efforts to solve it. It seems to me that racial relations were improving slowly—such things are better for slow growth—and steadily before the Supreme Court handed down its decision. Regrettably, the court appeared not to be aware that Newton's Third Law of Motion applies to psychological as well as physical phenomena.

New York City. RUTH A. TUTTLE.

Religious Radicalism

Editor, The Advertiser:

I notice in today's paper that one of the grocers arrested for keeping his store open on Sunday states that he will take the case clear to the Supreme Court. I was glad to see this. I am for separation of church and state, on which our country was founded.

Our Constitution guarantees religious liberty, yet this law is a discrimination against the many religions in the world which observe the Seventh Day, or Saturday as the Sabbath Day.

I am not going into the right or wrong of their choice, but regardless of this, it is their right to keep their stores open six days of the week, or including Sunday. Also it is one's right to keep their stores open seven days a week if they see fit.

Religion and church-going cannot be legislated. It is a matter of one's conscience. Besides, why close grocery stores and leave all other business open? This in itself shows how useless such a "blue law" is.

The Bible not only says do not work on the Sabbath, but it says do not seek your own pleasure. Then why not close picture shows, ball games, and any other form of pleasure? All this though, is unimportant compared with the infringement on religious liberty.

I don't understand how intelligent lawmakers, also Christians, can see this in any other light. Let's stop and consider this in a logical, intelligent way, and I think anyone with a fair amount of gray matter can see where such legislation would eventually lead. We might be back to burning people at the stake for not attending prayer-meeting, and, more radical still, at some particular church on some particular day.

Montgomery. C. B. SANDERS.

Yankee Yak

Editor, The Advertiser:

The admittance of a Negro woman to our University, which resulted in the demonstrations at Tuscaloosa, has been termed by some as "mob violence." It is apparent the users of this term are either Negroes or have pro-Negro sentiments. Call these demonstrations by any name you may, I am extremely proud of those fine people who took this resolute action to stop this Negro when it had been clearly shown there was no other way. These people of Tuscaloosa were strong enough in their convictions to accomplish that which could not be done by mere words.

To Northerners, and others of Yankee inclinations, it would seem there was an undue amount of feeling over what Yankees would think an unimportant incident—this Negro's admittance. All Southerners know her entering our University would quietly serve as a "foot-in-the-door" for Negroes in their despicable effort for racial equality. They are determined to bring about racial equality inch by inch, bit by bit, on such a gradual scale that they hope their final aim is not evident to us until it is upon us. Unsegregated buses are another step in that direction. Here and now is the time to prevent all this before the Negro gets well started on his corrupt attempt at racial equality. That is exactly what the people of Tuscaloosa realized, and instead of idly standing by, they did something about it.

The comments of the Yankee yak do not matter one iota. If the North is content to have their white population swallowed up and combined with the Negro in intermarriage it doesn't matter to us. We are proud of our people here and will not have them become a hodge-podge mixture of every origin as they have in the North. Don't let any Yankee deny this fact because I've seen it in all their leading cities.

We offer a salute to the people of Tuscaloosa who rid themselves of this infamous Negro and did a commendable service for Alabama. Our hats are off to you! EUGENE KINNETT.

★ Tell It ★

Advertiser

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Mon. 3-5-56

Distorted Picture Of The South

Montgomery, Ala.

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I am a housewife (white), born and bred in the South. I am so fed up with the things the Northern newspapers and magazines have to say against the South. They have printed lies, insinuations and dirty wisecracks until my blood pressure rises every time I pick up a paper.

Cannot some Southerner write to them and get facts straight for them? Why does someone not tell them that we Southern whites are the only true friends the Negro has ever had in all this world?

The Northerners sold them to us for slaves. Slavery was not right. Anyone with any decency knows that. But when the North freed the slaves, no provision was made for them. Since the day they were freed and left to shift for themselves, we, the whites of the South, have been the Negro's only friend. We have given them jobs, financed their schools, boosted them and cheered them on their way to make something of themselves, shown pride in their success and now, thanks to us, they have a way of life equal to our own. They have comfortable, modern homes, fine cars, schools, theaters, television. I ask, *who has done more for the Negro?*

We have given them everything in life but social equality with our people. It is not the Negro who is oppressed and underprivileged—it is the white South. An attempt is being made to force integration upon us, a condition that would leave us no control over our social life or that of our children. It is unthinkable that our children should intermarry with another race. Nature did not mean it to be.

We have always spoken kindly to the Negro and the only time we ever spoke otherwise (including the bus drivers) was when the Negro spoke or acted in a hateful, spiteful way to us.

And please try to make these Northerners see that this pious, humble, "goody-goody" air the Negroes carry about with them these days is only to try to show us up and gain sympathy for themselves.

If we have seemed cruel to the Negro since this revolt on their part, it is because we knew we were being pushed into integration and we became panicky. I feel sure that indicting the leaders of the boycott was not done with any thought of forcing the Negroes to ride again but to show them we were not going to allow them to take over without a fight. Because ending bus segregation we knew, meant only the first step toward school integration and that we cannot tolerate.

We, as a whole, do not sanction violence. But we can forgive that mob at Tuscaloosa because we know they were not fighting a colored girl trying to enter college, zut a condition that we were being pushed into (ourselves and our loved ones) that to us is far worse than death itself.

Summing this all up, we have always done all we could for the Negroes and treated them right and are willing to go on doing so—*without integration.*

Montgomery. MRS .CLAIRE MACK.

Theological Error

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have noticed several statements by ministers of the Catholic and Protestant faiths stating that integration is right in the eyes of the Lord. There are none so blind as those who have eyes but do not see. If they will only look about them they will find that there is no such thing as equality.

Of all the fishes of the seas, the fowl of the air, and the beast of the fields maintain their true species by not integrating with one another.

If the good Lord had intended for us to be equal He would have made us all the same color and given us the same language. I believe that all men should be born free but definitely they are not equal. There is no equality among the Negro race and there is no equality among the white race or any other race. Someone has to be a little smarter and wiser to lead the masses in this complex society that we live in.

The Negro race has made remarkable progress since the time of slavery and

practically every bit of it has been done by the help of the southern white man. Now the NAACP is trying to make Negroes believe that we are Negro haters. This is as far wrong as wrong can be.

I believe in law and order, interposition, segregation, states rights and to hell with the Supreme (political) Court's decision.

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Montgomery M. L. RUTLAND, D.D.S.

Let Southerners Alone To Work Out Problem

News P. 12

I am not one to believe in violence in any form, mob or otherwise, to resort to such is the destruction of culture and refinement. I do, however, believe in the Southern way of life and my Southern heritage which is a very important thing to anyone born and bred in the Deep South regardless of the color of the skin. What is wrong in fighting for something that you believe strongly in? Why do we fight communism? Is it not because we believe in the American way of life and we will not have it destroyed? To an American, this is an important thing.

Mon. 3-5-56

The most confusing thing to the majority of Southerners is trying to understand why people in the North want to interfere with our beliefs and destroy them. What do they expect to accomplish and what is their aim? Likewise of the politician?

Birmingham, Ala.

Certain of our politicians have had extensive publication of their travels in the Orient and abroad, studying conditions and customs of various peoples but many of them have never set foot in the Deep South, certainly not for any extended visits. What do they know of racial conditions here? Exactly what they have read in history books and studies they have made from various people who have migrated from the South. Why don't they come down and stay a while in places such as our courthouses and public buildings, just observing the general run of people and talking with a few of the oldtimers who can tell them more in a few hours about our way of life and the Negro than they will find in a whole library?

So much is said of the Negro being mistreated in the South. If this is tue, why do they stay in the South? I think it is because those who have made these claims have had the words put in their mouths. Many Southern Negroes have gone North to see for themselves about this land of plenty and freedom just to return to their Southern way of life. Any of them who want to try it can go any time. There isn't a Southerner who will stand in their way.

There is a solution to our problems down here, a very simple one. If the Northerner, the politician and the Communist will let us alone with our way of life we will handle such situations as we are now confronted with in the usual diplomatic manner which must be agreeable to all concerned, certainly to the Negro, otherwise we wouldn't have so many of them.

Hueytown, Ala. LOIS S. CRICK.

CONSTITUTIONAL REVAMP

Gov. Folsom Gives 'Formula' For Solving Racial Tension

Advertiser Wed. 3-14-56

Montgomery, Ala.

After proclaiming himself a defender of "democracy against mobocracy (mob rule)," Gov. James E. Folsom yesterday advocated a constitutional convention as the "only real" way to solve Alabama's racial problems.

Folsom sent a special message to the Legislature proposing a convention to rewrite the state's organic law to let the people voice their "wishes and desires concerning the preservation of our traditional way of life." P. 1

A constitutional convention, he said, is the "only real, effective and forceful means at our disposal to express the will of our people on these problems."

The governor accompanied his message with a resolution to submit the convention question to a statewide vote Aug. 28. If the voters approved the call, delegates would be elected at another election on Nov. 27 and the convention itself would start Dec. 11.

Arguing for speedy consideration of the resolution, Folsom pointed out that Negro coed Autherine Lucy, who has been expelled from the University of Alabama, has asked for a court order to readmit her next fall.

Her presence on the campus has already caused mob violence, and may provoke further rioting, the governor said, unless the Legislature takes "some action that is legal and constitutional to avoid any further incident."

But nowhere in his message or the governor attenpt to spell out what action he thinks the delegates to a constitutional convention should or could take.

Advertiser

In the past he has pegged his demands for a new constitution chiefly on legislative reapportionment.

P. 2-A

If the Legislature had heeded his previous requests for a convention, Folsom said many of today's racial problems "in my best judgment" would have been avoided or solved.

Folsom said the only steps taken thus far "to preserve our traditional way of life have been in the form of futile paper resolutions" and in the passage of "impractical laws which are mere temporary, stop-gap, political and crowd-pleasing measures."

He singled out for mention the nullification or interposition resolution by which Alabama and some other Southern states have sought to set aside the supreme court's school integration decrees.

Instead of resorting to measures like that, the governor said, "the most effective way to show the opposition of our people to these encroachments is to convene them in a constitutional convention . . . so that they may incorporate into the basic and fundamental law of our state their wishes and desires concerning the preservation of our traditional way of life."

Earlier in the day, Folsom had issued two prepared statements denouncing what he called "mobocracy" and calling for speedy settlement of Montgomery's Negro bus boycott.

He said the chief political issue in Alabama today is 0aujpnq,cracy and mkbocracy" and that he stands, as before, as a "party loyal democrat."

The "only organized op,a8ng$on is the mobocrat party."

Macon County, a spokesman for pro-White Citizens Councils which have criticized Folsom for his racial politics, had this to say

"The screening committees of the various legitimate citizens councils . . . would turn down the application of any loud-mouthed, vote-hungry candidate for political office at this time."

Folsom is a candidate for Democratic National Committeeman in the May primaries.

38a 1956

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Advertiser 1-4-4

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Montgomery, Ala.

What Washington Himself Said

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—You, who would be the first to utter that ugly word "censorship," were it directed against yourself, have not been playing fair with your readers in deciding for them what in Drew Pearson's writings is "inconsequential" or "ridiculous." At any rate, I should thank you for omitting him on Sunday and then printing him, with your interpretation the next day. Otherwise, I might have overlooked his column about my good friend, Comer Lile, a native of Alabama, who attended Sidney Lanier High School in Montgomery as a freshman in 1922-23.

Drew Pearson and you are both guilty of jumping to conclusions about what Washington would have done, he sentimentalizing and you debunking. Let's see what Washington himself has to say.

Washington believed in emancipation, but by degrees, that it might not work a hardship on anyone. In a letter to Robert Morris, written in 1786, he says, ". . . there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it; but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by Legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting. But when slaves who are happy and contented with their present masters, are tampered with and seduced to leave them; when masters are taken unawares by these practices; when a conduct of this sort begets discontent on one side and resentment on the other, and when it happens to fall on a man, whose purse will not measure with that of the society, and he looses his property for want of means to defend it; it is oppression in the latter case, and not humanity in any; because it introduces more evils than it can cure."

To John Francis Mercer, he wrote, ". . . I never mean (unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it) to possess another slave by purchase; it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted, by which slavery in this country may be abolished by slow, sure, and imperceptible degrees."

In his will, he explains his delay in freeing his slaves, ". . . Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all the slayers which I hold in my own right, shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life, would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriages with the lower Negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences from the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupance of the same Proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the lower Negroes are held, to manumit them."

A discussion of Washington's rebellion against authority involves a consideration of the motivation behind his decision. We have it from Washington's own words that he prayed for God's guidance in making all important decisions. ". . . as the allwise disposer of events has hitherto watched over my steps, I trust that the important one I may soon be called upon to take, he will mark the course so plainly, as that I cannot mistake the way."

This is all that the Rev. Comer Lile asked of his parishioners, that they honestly seek God's guidance in voting. Mr. Beverly obviously preferred his own way, which is his God-given right.

One thing more. Let's see what Washington says about central government. In a letter to Benjamin Harrison, he says, ". . . The disinclination of the individual states to yield competent powers to Congress for the federal government, their unreasonable jealousy of that body and of one another, and the disposition which seems to pervade each, of being all-wise and all-powerful within itself, will, if there is not a change in the system be our downfall as a nation. This is as clear to me as the A, B, C, . . ." As "essential to the well being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States as an Independent Power . . ." He considers, ". . . The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition, among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community."

". . . It is indispensable to the happiness of the individual states, that there should be lodged somewhere, a supreme power to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the Union cannot be of long duration. . . . there must be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every state, with the late proposals and demands of Congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue." *Circular to the States*, June 8, 1783.

In his farewell address, Washington wrote' ". . . To the efficacy and permanence of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances however strict between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced."

MRS. MORELAND G. SMITH

Montgomery.

ALABAMA

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To John Francis Mercer, he wrote, ". . . I never mean (unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it) to possess another slave by purchase; it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted, by which slavery in this country may be abolished by slow, sure, and imperceptible degrees."

In his will, he explains his delay in freeing his slaves, ". . . Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all the slayers which I hold in my own right, shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life, would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriages with the lower Negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences from the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupance of the same Proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the lower Negroes are held, to manumit them."

A discussion of Washington's rebellion against authority involves a consideration of the motivation behind his decision. We have it from Washington's own words that he prayed for God's guidance in making all important decisions. ". . . as the allwise disposer of events has hitherto watched over my steps, I trust that the important one I may soon be called upon to take, he will mark the course so plainly, as that I cannot mistake the way."

This is all that the Rev. Comer Lile asked of his parishioners, that they honestly seek God's guidance in voting. Mr. Beverly obviously preferred his own way, which is his God-given right.

One thing more. Let's see what Washington says about central government. In a letter to Benjamin Harrison, he says, ". . . The disinclination of the individual states to yield competent powers to Congress for the federal government, their unreasonable jealousy of that body and of one another, and the disposition which seems to pervade each, of being all-wise and all-powerful within itself, will, if there is not a change in the system be our downfall as a nation. This is as clear to me as the A, B, C, . . ." As "essential to the well being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States as an Independent Power . . ." He considers, ". . . The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition, among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community."

". . . It is indispensable to the happiness of the individual states, that there should be lodged somewhere, a supreme power to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the Union cannot be of long duration. . . . there must be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every state, with the late proposals and demands of Congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue." *Circular to the States*, June 8, 1783.

In his farewell address, Washington wrote' ". . . To the efficacy and permanence of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances however strict between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced."

MRS. MORELAND G. SMITH

Good Ole Alabam

Advertiser

ALABAMA is, of course, first on the roll call of states. It was the first Capital of the Confederacy.

But Alabama has other distinctions.

For Alabama is also the only state in the Union wherein the legislature does not know whether or not it is in session.

It does know whether it's going or coming—because it is doing both. But it doesn't know whether or not it is in session.

Montgomery, Ala.

★

CONSIDER the sequence of events.

In December the governor and the legislature threw a total of 30 constitutional amendments at the voters. The voters were supposed to master the meaning of this broadside in the swirl of Christmas shopping and festivity.

Had all 30 of these amendments been adopted, they would have constituted a sizeable annex to the Constitution of Alabama.

Sun 1-22-56

BUT THE VOTERS, with irritation and anger, rejected 29 of the amendments. Yet they picked and threaded their way down to Amendment 20 and adopted that one.

This the voters did because it was the one means at hand of telling Folsom where he stood.

They told him hardest in Montgomery County with the returns because it is here in the Capital that citizens know most about the Folsom Administration.

★

ANYHOW, the voters powerfully smote the 29 constitutional amendments. Very plainly Alabama was not in the mood to monkey with the Constitution.

But it was not plain to His Excellency.

Having seen the surging opposition to a little constitutional change, the J of Js thereupon summoned the legislature to rewrite the whole Constitution!

★

THE PRESSING PROBLEM—the only one the people have any interest in now, apart from segregation—is school money. For reasons that appear sounder day by day, they rejected the $30,000,000 Goodwyn tax exaction.

But they understand that school money will probably be nearly exhausted by March and something must be done.

★

THERE is a defiant streak in His Excellency that may be discerned throughout his Goat Hill career. Calling a constitutional convention session was done as a certain kind of man tries to throw empty beer bottles out the window of a Cessna airplane or ride down the highway in a Cadillac with his hoof poked out of the window.

The impoverishment of his leadership was seen when the legislature, instead of amending the Alabama Constitution, commenced the grave and historic process of nullifying the United States Constitution. Well might Folsom have said as Andrew Jackson said to his artillery in the Battle of New Orleans. "Elevate them sights a little lower, boys."

★

NEVER in this century has an American state undertaken Nullification. It may be a desirable means of telling the country how determined Alabama is to avert race mixing, but not even a South Carolina hotspur would question that Nullification is a thing to be undertaken only after what is called prayerful consideration.

Virginia has been soberly debating Nullification (Interposition) for months and has taken no action.

But within a week, this session of the Alabama legislature voted Nullification with a hey-nonny-nonny and a hotcha-cha. There was a semblance of debate in the House over the Nullification resolution, not even that in the Senate.

They did it before the AP could put out an explanation of Nullification.

The only thing close to a Nullification debate in the Senate was a discussion of whether the NAACP recording played to the senators earlier by Senator Englehart was a fraud.

It seems doubtful that as many as 10 Alabama legislators had any grasp of the import of Nullification. Probably they thought they were simply voting for another meaningless resolution.

★

THEN the Unnecessary Legislature—led by the administration leader, Hawkins! — commenced debating restraints on the misuse of $15,000,000 a year in state purchases and whether Folsom had permitted the spoilation of the Little Mountain Park timber reserves.

Whereupon the legislature, having voted to nullify the U.S. Constitution, voted to leave the Alabama Constitution just as it was.

The administration decided to adjourn the legislature so it could call another session.

Speaker of the House Rankin Fite ruled that the House had voted to adjourn and pranced out.

But the House obviously had not adjourned because there were 61 members left on the floor and of a mind to do business.

They elected a speaker and sought to draft a couple of newspapermen to act as clerks.

★

SO THERE SAT the legislature, some believing it had adjourned and others believing it was in session.

For example, Rep. Joe Dawkins, whom Montgomery sent to the House to serve Folsom, said: "I think we have adjourned sine die. Speaker Fite ruled that the adjournment resolution carried, and that's all there is to it."

Joe has mastered Folsom logic—if the House had really voted to adjourn, what were 61 members doing on the floor refusing to leave?

★

THEY will be back Monday.

Unhitch them mules, boys, it's raining.

George Grant

Advertiser P-2-B
Montgomery, Ala
Sun. 3-4-56

Strikes A Blow For Segregation In Congress

By Tom Johnson

CONGRESSMAN GEORGE GRANT of the Montgomery congressional district has introduced in the U. S. House of Representatives one of the most ambitious bills yet devised by Southern congressmen to circumvent the U. S. Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling.

JOHNSON

The Grant bill would, in effect, nullify the court decision and allow Alabama—and any state that wishes it—to preserve the dual school system; *ie.*, separate but equal.

A similar bill was introduced in the Senate some time back by Sen. Robinson of West Virginia. It is still awaiting action.

Congressman Grant feels he has solid congressional and constitutional precedent, but he admits the bill probably will have a tough time in the Judiciary Committee, to which it was assigned from the floor.

The Supreme Court, in ruling against segregated schools, relied heavily on Section I of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. ("No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States . . . deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person. . . the equal protection of the laws.")

However, Grant holds it is the duty of Congress to carry out the Constitution's intentions and cites Section V of the same amendment:

"The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article."

The bill he introduced this week, Grant feels, falls in the realm of "appropriate legislation."

GRANT goes further with his constitutional argument.

"The Constitution," he says, "contains no specific grant to the federal government of power over public education. Therefore, under the 10th Amendment, that power is reserved in perpetuity to the state or to the people thereof."

Congress has directly sanctioned segregated school facilities before by allowing the separate-but-equal doctrine to operate in the City Schools of Washington, D. C. It can do it now, Grant argues, despite the Supreme Court's ruling, because the Constitution does not mention the court in the enforcement provision of the 14th Amendment.

Eight Southern congressmen, including one Republican, are members of the House Judiciary Committee where the Grant bill will get its first test, unless, as Grant hopes, he can get the measure sent to a subcommittee.

Thus, it must pass two hurdles before it can reach the House floor—once in the subcommittee and again in the full judiciary committee.

ALABAMA'S entire congressional delegation—some of whom have been cool to the state legislature's nullification legislation—are behind his bill, according to Grant.

In addition, several other Southern congressmen have told him they plan to introduce similar bills.

'Hogwash' Bill Sent To Folsom

Daily World Wed. 2-1-56

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (INS) — A bill, declaring the U. S. Supreme Court's segregation decision "null and void" awaits the signature of Alabama Governor James E. Folsom who has termed the measure "Hogwash."

The bill was passed by both houses of the Alabama Legislature and sent to the Governor for final approval before it is put into law.

Under the State Constitution the governor must act on the measure within seven days atfer it is submitted to him.

Folsom has until Thursday to decide whether to veto or approve the bill.

Folsom did not say what action he would take, but last week referred to the measure as "Hogwash."

HOGWASH

Afro American

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — "What is nullification anyway? It's just a bunch of hogwash. I haven't even read the thing."

That's how Gov. James E. Folsom greeted the news that his Alabama Legislature had passed a joint "interposition" resolution and a question as to whether he would veto the measure before the Monday deadline.

Governor Folsom called the resolution the first in the South directed against the U.S. Supreme Court's desegregation decisions, "just another piece of paper that has no legal ground to it."

Afro American

HE SUGGESTED that "nullification" through a constitutional convention might "tote some water," but added that for the Legislature to declare Supreme Court rulings "null and void" is "like a dog baying at the moon and claiming it's treed."

The nullification or interposition resolution, passed by the Legislature last week declares the Supreme Court's ruling banning segregated public schools "null and void and of no effect in Alabama."

Tell It To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it

Advertiser Sun 3-4-56 Montgomery, Ala.

Senator Eddins Has A Taker

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—In reply to Senator Eddins' absurd resolution and anticipated "mass transfer" of Negroes to other states, if he will pay me for all of my holdings here in Alabama, I will be glad to pack up and leave—today.

Tuskegee, Ala. DONALD P. HOPSON.

Sun. 3-4-56

Greeley Was A Dixiecrat

Editor, The Advertiser:

From the editorial, "The New York Herald Tribune's Enlightenment," I see that the *Herald Tribune* has pulled out their old editor Horace Greeley to show how long the *Tribune* has been in "the fight."

Mr. Greeley was no friend of the South, but I wonder if *The Tribune* remembers an editorial which I found in "The Life of St. John's Parish," by Mattie Pegues Wood. A few days after Mr. Lincoln took office Mr. Greeley wrote:

"If the cotton states shall become satisfied that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be revolutionary but it exists. Whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope never to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to another by bayonets."

Then on Dec. 17 Mr. Greeley wrote:

"If the Declaration of Independence justified the secession from the British Empire of 3,000,000 colonists in 1776, we do not see why it would not justify the secession of 5,000,000 Southerners from the Federal Union in 1861."

These two editorials would put Mr. Greeley and *The Tribune* in the states rights camp. Interesting, isn't it?

Montgomery. JACK McLEMORE JR.

◆

Kaiser Bill Also Invoked The Deity

Editor, The Advertiser:

I am one of your paper's deepest admirers and feel that only *The Advertiser*, *Journal* and Mobile's papers (sometimes) reflect the true temper of their age and geographical location in Alabama. I feel that Birmingham's scalawag rags do no justice to the faith and adherence of multiple thousands of paid subscribers with their insipid editorial policies and slanted news articles.

It seems to me that if the bus companiese continue providing service to the Negro sections for the length of time it takes the NAACP to carry their appeals to the Supreme Court, then we have 'em by the nape, e.g., should the court uphold the conviction of the ringleaders we can break up all this NAACP stuff. Should the Negro's court, on the other hand, strike down convictions and declares boycotting just and legal—oh, boy! Then we can have a field day. We can boycott these agitators right out of their pegtop clamdiggers. First we cut off their membership at the source by firing all known members and cutting off all credit to even those sympathizing with the association.

While we are about it, why not use the same grounds Congress used in declaring the communist party unlawful (conspiring to overthrow, etc.) to outlaw NAACP? I'm like Tic Forrester—the Negroes had better give up on this thing, cause they certainly can't win.

Preacher King said they would win because God is with them. Kaiser Bill said the same thing when he tried to rape the world and take what was not rightfully his from the people who had it. They even went so far as to make uniform belt buckles with the inscription, *Gott Mit Uns*. That still didn't put Jehovah on their side, and neither does saying it put Him on the side of a bunch of Negroes.

A pox upon 'em all.

KELLETT A. GOODWIN.

Auburn, Ala.

◆

An Expatriate's Views

Editor, The Advertiser:

I am white, was born in the South, lived in North for 38 years.

Here in the North Negroes and whites attend the same schools but they don't mix as much as one hears they do.

The Negro of the South has it better by having his own schools, own section to live in. They still don't live in white sections here. Each is a proud race. If let alone we will not be rioting and hating each other. M. E. JONES.

Cozaddale, Ohio.

Individual Opinion And That Of Alabama

What I am about to say if put to a vote would be the voice Alabama. We have segregation here in Alabama because it is our social right. The Supreme Court, or no other court, has any right to take it away from us. The Negro has good schools here in the South and most of the intelligent Negroes want it to stay just like we have it. They will fare better to themselves.

News

I have no hate against the Negro. I want him to have his rights and if he gets his share of the tax money for their schools he has his rights. That is as far as the Supreme Court can go with this matter. The Civil War was fought over property rights. And our social rights here in the South are more dear to our hearts than property rights.

Sun 3-4-56

As I look at this disturbance over segregation I think the Negroes have lost more than they will gain. In lots of places they have lost the good will of the white people and have created ill-will.

Birmingham, Ala

Concerning the bus boycott in Montgomery, I think the Negro is cutting off his nose to spite his face. There are no laws to make him ride. That's his free privilege to walk if he wants to.

P. 22 A NATHAN COOPER,

Phil Campbell, Ala.

Alabama May Seek Racial Solution Around Table

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 3-4-56

The idea is for a Bi-racial commission that Gov. James E. Folsom hopes can help "resolve racial issues arising among our people."

The commission idea was put forth after the two biggest segregation stories of the year drew the attention of the world to the state: The Autherine Lucy riots at the University of Alabama and Negroes Boycott of buses at Montgomery.

The idea is not new, of course. One backer emphasized that the title Bi-racial was chosen because "Inter-Racial is a word that is no longer in such good repute in the South." Some Negro-White groups formed with the same aim in mind in Dixie have been suspected by pro segregationists.

Gov. Folsom, in asking a special session of the legislature to create the commission, declared. "There has been much racial tension in Alabama in recent months, and a vast majority of the people are looking for leadership in this field."

Leadership appeared to be an early stumbling-block for the commission, if it is created, to overcome. Roughly, the preliminary idea was for the commision to consist of seven persons appointed by the Governor plus one Negro and one white representative from each of the state's nine congressional dis tricts.

A committee of newsmen was asked to draw up the final plans, and one of them admitted that finding the "Right" Negroes in each district may prove difficult.

White Alabamans, as a rule, tend to blame the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for the current tension, and there was speculation that inclusion of NAACP Leaders might scare off some needed white members of the commission. Similar suggestions in Georgia for instance, have met with rejection by state officials.

At the same time, deliberate exclusion of NAACP Leaders would deprive the commission of some of the most active leadership in the state. it is not always easy to put a finger on any known leadership structure among Negroes in some areas.

Daily World

Just how tense the racial situation has grown, to the minds of Alabamans, was summed up by a Tuscaloosa newsman in Birmingham this week for the hearings in the Lucy case.

"We keep getting reports," He said, "of people in the black belt of the state who say they will march on Tuscaloosa themselves if Autherine is re-admitted to class."

He went on to say, "we are sitting on a powder keg at Tuscaloosa, with everybody running around with lighted matches."

Backers of the Bi-racial commission idea think the group can releive some of that tension, but they put most faith in it as a Log-Range Plan.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Open Letter To The Press On Its Task

News P. 22-A
Sun. 3-4-56

THE FREEDOM of the American press is one of the most powerful weapons for our democracy and one of our proudest boasts. Its growing influence over public opinion is a force for justice, which men bent on selfish ends have always tried to avoid.

Birmingham Ala.

In untroubled times the press reports the facts, opinions, and interesting news which make up the daily life of our vast and complex land. But in times of strife, when whole sections of the country are pitted against each other, when the raw emotions of men conflict over basic issues of hatred and love, justice and injustice, the American press must stand as a bulwark against onrushing forces of bitterness and recrimination. It needs the strength of leadership, the wisdom of the aged, the love of a mother, and the peace and quiet of a saint, or it joins with the mob and floods the land with yellow-sheet hatred.

In our South we again have troubled times. Bitter Southerners renew old hatreds, and righteous Northerners rediscover old causes. Confusion and violence are the signs that the American people—white, black, Northern, and Southern—have once again dug into the depths of their souls and unleashed the demons that lie there. Ten years ago these same Americans died in battle to make the world safe for democracy and that men might be free.

It is in these times that the American people need the leadership of a strong press that will exercise its prerogatives with words of peace and calm reserve. It can preserve the freedom of the press only by preserving the freedom of the people. For democracy has failed when hatred is the course of action, especially the actions of law courts. Law is the last resort of a democracy; force is only necessary when all other democratic means have failed. When law is the only resort, democracy is inoperative, and a tyranny has been born.

Men will not find peace by the sword, nor by law, nor by justice. For justice becomes tyranny when love is gone, and love is gone when the God of love is no longer in the hearts of men. Peace is the fruit of love — love of God and love of your neighbor. It is for this reason that I give the following prayer of St. Francis as a guide to you—the press of America—in this troubled time, to lead the people back to a harbor of peace:

"Lord, make me an instrument of Your peace; where there is hatred, let me sow love; where there is injury, pardon; where there is doubt, faith; where there is despair, hope; where there is darkness, light; and where there is sadness, joy.

"O Divine Master, grant that I may not so much seek to be consoled as to console; to be understood as to understand; to be loved as to love; for it is in giving that we receive, it is in pardoning that we are pardoned, and it is in dying that we are born to eternal life."

THOMAS O'CONNOR JAMES,
1307 North 32nd Street, Birmingham.

ALABAMA DOESN'T LIKE PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Block Dispatch P. 6

Mahatma Ghandi's passive resistance program will not fit into the Alabama atmosphere. No one can argue that the Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, have been violent in their attitude towards the bus company, which refuses to permit decent seating arrangements on its transportation system. The Negroes have peacefully decided not to ride, and this election is in violation of Alabama law. There is no choice, as involved in the slogan, "Take it or leave it." The arrogant and dictatorial whites in that state admit of no alternative.

Oklahoma City Okla.

As the cancer of hypocrisy ousts decency in the capital of the old confederacy, we wonder why some of the outstanding publicists and the big newspapers do not speak out against this great wrong against ministers of the gospel, who are booked and finger-printed at the jail, which will be a permanent criminal record against them, on the frivolous charge they advised their members during this emergency not to ride the buses.

We thing in this particular instance there is exposed the link between northern capital and southern mores. The bus line is owned, we understand, by northern capital, but it immediately seeks the help of Dixie courts to force Negroes to ride, when for more than two months Negroes, in the most notable example of solidarity, have clearly indicate they will not ride.

Mpls. 3-1-56

Of course the NAACP will immediately step in and appeal all of these cases, and when the fines levied against Montgomery, Alabama citizens are paid they will be ordered paid by the Supreme Court of the United States. This is one instance when every Negro in the United States will be able to treasure the value of the NAACP. No one should overlook the fact that the same force and influence that bombed the home of Rev. Martin Luther King two weeks ago, is the same force and influence now making wholesale arrests of Negroes under color of law.

Governor James E. Folsom, who last week said that the mob would never be allowed to rule in his state, should be advised that the mob has actually decided to take charge of the courts, as well as the streets, dark places and alleys. Colonialism could be no more arbitrary and savage than this decision to arrest the Negro ministry and indict 115 blacks simply because these men of color peacefully decide they will not ride on a bus that unreasonably discriminates against them. The bombs could not scare or deter Rev. Nixon and his following, so Alabama segregationists decide they will slam ministers and all in jail.

Not content with that action, they also attempt, and put out of action, a young Negro counselor whom they now charge with unlawful practice. This action, of course, will also reach the Supreme Court. Over in an adjoining state, Mississippi, out of the million Negroes residing there, there was only one lawyer, Dr. Redmond, but since his death there is not one single black man in Mississippi to legally represent impartially the Negroes of Mississippi. Alabama means, before this case is over, to leave the Negroes helpless and totally without racial counsel. Conditions could not be worse in the Transvaal or Natal, where segregation seems to have grown florescent.

We may be wrong, but we believe the Wednesday action in Alabama is going to weld the blacks of that state into a solid phalanx in opposition to jim crow practices. What has happened in Montgomery should even change the mind of Percy Greene, editor of the Jackson Advocate, who has pleaded with Negroes to accept segregation. If this action does not open the eyes of this blind editor, nothing will. Here we have the shameful scene, where 115 Negroes have their life's record blemished and seared with criminality, simply because Negroes peacefully refuse to ride on a bus where they cannot sit down.

Let us see for a moment how monstrous and inhuman are the whites in Alabama. All the Negroes have asked for is that whites start seating from the front and Negroes from the rear, and that the place where they meet become the dividing line in a bus. This is not a demand for the abolition of segregation. It is simply a plan which takes from a many times illiterate white bus driver the high-handed right to tell a Negro he cannot sit down when there are plenty of empty seats in the bus. This is the first time in the history of Alabama that Negroes have done anything along the line of independent thinking, contrary to the judgment of the overlords of creation. You know, we have said many times in this column, reaction does not like Paul Robeson, not because he is a communist, but because he thinks independently.

The NAACP cannot afford to let Alabama get away with this "state rights" scheme. Let's carry the city ordinance of Montgomery to the Supreme Court and prove that the ordinance deprives citizens of their rights under the terms of the 14th amendment.

In this determined tussle between the city government of Montgomery and the Negro, the bus company finds itself a victim. The transportation company is losing thousands of dollars daily. Suddenly city government finds itself wedged between the question of human rights and property rights. To prime the transportation well, city government has decided, on the advice of its counsel, to damage and destroy the reputations of its best black citizens; to slam them in jail and persecute them like dogs. But so long as the federal constitution endures, with the 14th amendment, Negroes will remain free in Montgomery, Alabama. By now the South should recognize that it has no other weapon but force and violence. Citizens Councils insidiously and covertly still seek to use this weapon.

India Cleric Asks About Alabama

Herald P. 20-A
Mon. 2-27-56
Miami, Fla.

By BARTON HICKMAN
Herald Staff Writer

The head of the largest Negro religious faith in America says he has received a letter from a church leader in India asking if what he hears about Alabama is true.

The letter was addressed to Dr. Joseph H. Hackson of Chicago, president of the National Baptist Convention and spiritual leader of some five million American Negroes. Dr. Jackson is in Miami on a brief winter vacation.

His office staff in Chicago, he said, phoned him here asking what to do about a letter from the president of the Baptist Convention of South India.

"He enclosed news clippings from papers in India that told about the coed at the University of Alabama, and about the bus strike in Montgomery, Ala.," Jackson said.

"He said the church members were asking him if the stories are true, and he did not know what to tell them.

"So he wrote asking me to tell him if these things are actually happening in the United States of America.

"No, I haven't replied yet. It is painful. I will have to tell him it is true when I write him.

"You see, it was just last summer that I met him. It was at the Baptist World Alliance we held in London. And I told him about all the great things of our nation.

"I even invited him to be our guest at our National Baptist Convention next year."

38a 1956

ALABAMA

Three subjects likely—

News

Next special session may be convened Wednesday

Sun. 2-26-56 P. 12-B

BY HUGH SPARROW, News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 26—The next special legislative session, which will be the fifth called by Gov. Folsom in slightly more than a year, may convene Wednesday.

Birmingham, Ala.

The joint interim committee representing the House and Senate tax and finance committee will meet at 2 p.m. Monday for the routine of signing the report.

It will be sent to Gov. Folsom immediately thereafter. And, in the opinion of most legislators, the governor will order the Legislature back into special session Wednesday noon.

Several committee members close to Gov. Folsom believe he will include three subjects in his call.

They will be (1) emergency school legislation, (2) legislation setting up a by-racial group to study racial tension and related problems, and (3) legislation placing legislators on an annual salary.

The governor reportedly would like to submit an amendment placing legislators on an annual salary at the same time when Alabama voters ballot on the so-called legislative reapportionment amendment.

THE LATTER PROPOSAL nearly doubles House and Senate membership. For that reason it may run into serious opposition from those who believe legislators are already excessively paid and a greatly expanded Legislature would mean an additional heavy cost on the taxpayers.

But if at the same time the people voted on another constitutional amendment putting a top limit on legislative salaries, the governor reportedly believes, it might lessen opposition to the reapportionment measure.

Some Folsom traits

ONE OF GOV. FOLSOM'S typical traits is his frequent inclination toward sudden change.

Another similar one, best known perhaps by those who have experienced it at first hand, is his forgetfulness—his forgetting just how hard a fellow may have worked for him in an election campaign, that is.

Take the case of scrappy little Circuit Judge George Wallace, for instance.

The Barbour County judge and former legislator was one of Gov. Folsom's top campaign leaders. He devoted many a day toward helping Gov. Folsom win the Democratic nomination in 1954.

JUDGE WALLACE, himself very able in sensing political trends and weighing issues, did much toward the success of Gov. Folsom's race. He advised Gov. Folsom on frequent issues. He is also credited with having written the governor's keynote campaign speech. That is, the speech which formed the basis of all his campaign declarations.

It wasn't long after Gov. Folsom took office before word began to leak out. Reliable sources reported that Gov. Folsom was rebuffing Judge Wallace. That is, he wasn't seeing much of him and he wasn't paying much attention to his recommendations.

Now Judge Wallace is no man to be refuffed. He is able and resourceful. It didn't take him but a few rebuffs before Judge Wallace's appearances on Capitol Hill became few and far between. And even his more recent appearance was not for the purpose of conferring with Gov. Folsom. Instead, Judge Wallace is deeply interested in providing adequate revenues to combat tuberculosis and his visits were to help pass TB legislation.

Champions South

IN 1953 JUDGE WALLACE was chairman of the Alabama delegation at the annual convention of Young Democrats in St. Paul, Minn.

Last November Judge Wallace was requested by Young Democrat leaders in Alabama to attend the Oklahoma City conveition.

Gov. Folsom and several of his administration leaders went to Oklahoma Sity where they staged an all out drive to elect State Sen. Neil Metcalf of Geneva, president of the Young Democrats.

A few weeks earlier Judge Wallace had appeared on a nationwide radio broadcast from Colorado Springs in a debate with a Denver newspaper man. Judge Wallace, of course, championed the Southern view point, namely, retention of segregation.

When he arrived at Oklahoma City Judge Wallace found Folsom upset. The governor was afraid Judge Wallace would deliver a speech in favor of segregation and thereby lose New York's vote for Metcalf.

had been saying that "Old Wal-

The governor, it appeared, lace made a Dixiecrat speech" at Colorado Springs and was afraid he would do it again.

JUDGE WALLACE did not insist on being seated since it appeared it would mean he would have to approve a resolution against segregation. Neither did Barbour Rep. McDowell Lee.

Word concerning the Oklahoma City maneuvering came to light here this week. Judge Wallace, however, refrained from commenting on it. But sources close to him indicated that the breach between Wallace and the governor had widened considerably as a result of the Oklahoma convention anticlimax.

Jobs going begging

COULD IT BE that political jobs are going begging?

At the close of business Friday afternoon in the office of Secretary of State, it appeared that several holders of top level jobs in Alabama and Washington may have no opposition.

ALABAMA'S SEN. LISTER HILL is the only one qualified thus far for U. S. senator.

There has ben a little talk in the last few days, however, that former Rep. Joe Starnes of Guntersville may try his hand at opposing Sen. Hill.

A few others have been mentioned as possible opponents but of the entire lot, Starnes apparently would be the strongest opponent.

Thus far Justices Davis A. Stakely and James J. Mayfield are unopposed for reelection as Justice No. 1 and 2, respectively.

Judge Rowan S. Bone, a Folsom appointee, also has no opposition, for Judge No. 3, Court of Appeals.

With the exception of the First and Second Congressional Districts, all other Alabama congressmen have qualified for reelection but are unopposed.

In the First District James Thomas Hamrick and Rep. Frank Boykin have qualified.

Rep. George Grant, Troy, and State Rep. Wilbur Nolen, Montgomery, have qualified as candidates for Second District congressman.

C. C. (JACK) OWEN, of Montgomery, the incumbent, and W. F. (Billy) Tucker, Birmingham, have qualified for Public Service Commission president.

Mrs. Lennard Thomas, Montgomery, is unopopsed thus far as candidate for Democratic National Committeewoman.

Roy McCord, Gadsden, and Birmingham's Bob Gwin are candidates for Democratic National Committeeman.

Delegates at large

DELEGATE AT LARGE candidates for the Democratic National Convention include:

S. T. Russell, Montgomery; I. G. Allen, Gadsden; Shortly Price, Eufaula; J. H. Kelly, Haleyville; J. W. (Jabe) Brassell, Phenix City; B. Q. Scruggs, Talladega; T. E. (Ed) Mayfield, Anniston; Ernest Stone, Jacksonville; Eugene Connor, Birmingham; John D. Self, Hamilton; H. R. Batchelor, Anniston; D. Hardy Riddle, Talladega; John Sparkman, Huntsville; J. E. Brantley, Banks; Leslie C. King, Gadsden; N. L. Horne, Selma; William F. Turner, Montgomery; W. W. Malone, Athens; Carl Griffin, Montgomery, and James M. Dement, Athens.

In the district delegate races, candidates include:

FIRST, D. William Pruett Jr., Chatom; Bert E. Thomas, Mobile; John M. Coxwell, Monroeville.

Second, W. M. Hodgson, Bay Minette.

Third, Maj. Watt Espy Jr., Headland; Judge George C. Wallace, Clayton; Neil O. Davis, Auburn, and Ealon M. Lamberth, Opelika.

FOURTH, Mrs. Elizabeth T. Edwards, Wetumpka; Hugh D. Merrill, Anniston; Guy Sparks, Autauga; Thomas W. Cooley, Talladega; W. S. Weatherly, Anniston, and C. W. McKay, Sylacauga.

Fifth, Ed Miller, Gadsden; F. L. Ferrell, Mentone; C. J. Allen, Gadsden; Wiley Hickman, Gadsden; Carey L. Graham, Gadsden, and J. C. Henderson, Alexander City.

SIXTH, John H. Pinson, Geiger.

Seventh, William B. Fite, Hamilton; Charles Rainey, Cullman; H. O. Kelly, Haleyville, and Benjamin Grady Wilson, Jasper.

Eighth, James S. Elliott, Sam Wheat, Decatur; Murray L. Beasley, Tuscumbia; Joe S. Foster, Huntsville; Joe Money, Scottsboro; William A. C. Brown, Huntsville.

Ninth, Luther Patrick, Birmingham.

Citizens Council formed in Barbour

CLAYTON, Ala., Feb. 25—(AP) — A White Citizens Council pledged to preserve racial segregation in Barbour County where Negroes outnumber whites was organized here Friday night.

Probate Judge Marshall Williams, who served as temporary presiding officer, said almost 300 persons poined the council.

Arthur Martin of Clayton was elected temporary chairman until permanent officers are elected.

Mrs. J. L. Isbell dies in Columbiana

COLUMBIANA, Ala., Feb. 25—Mrs. J. L. Isbell, 79, died Saturday at her home at Columbiana.

Her husband, J. L. Isbell, who died in 1948, was a merchant in Columbiana for many years. He was active in politics and served as tax collector and assessor.

Mrs. Isbell had lived in Columbiana 45 years. She came from Pell City.

Surviving are five daughters, Mrs. Ollie Tinney of Columbiana, Mrs. H. D. Henderson of Birmingham, Mrs. Tony Lyons of Columbiana, Mrs. J. E. Edmondson of Columbiana, and Mrs. Hugh W. Smith of Columbiana, and three sons, Buck Isbell and Barney Isbell of Columbiana, and Gordon Isbell of Birmingham.

Funeral services will be held at 2 p.m. Monday at the Columbiana Baptist Church. The Rev. H. B. Hendon and the Rev. Clayton Pruette, will officiate. Bolton-Walton Funeral Home will be in charge of arrangements.

Burma plans soap plant

RANGOON, Feb. 25 — (AP) — Burma is getting a new $2,100,000 soap factory. It will be put on the outskirts of Rangoon by Unilever Ltd., with machinery from Britain installed on a 15-acre site by Burmans.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. 4-A

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Let White Southerners Pray March 28, Too

Thurs. 3-1-56

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—It is to the eternal credit of Montgomery Negroes that they have resorted to prayer in their "sufferings." But one questions their sincerity in posing such deep "love" for those who "hate" them so intensely.

What irony! All that the Negro of the South is or has, he owes to the white race, who by taxation provides more than 90% of his advantages, educational, civic, and other public privileges.

"Too weak to hold water" are the belated propositions made by their "patron saint" who sits in the governor's seat in Montgomery. His recent "face-about" in what seems to be a face-saving maneuver, appears to be the "voice of Jacob, but the hand of Esau." Most surely "them lyingnewspapers" and the present "hogwash" legislature will not fall for his late schemes, but will just let him, according to the great Winston Churchill, "stew in his own juice."

Beware of his tirades against outside influences causing all our troubles in Alabama! What was the import of his entertaining at a Scotch drinking social in the governor's mansion, the arch enemy of the South and everything Southern, the Rev. Rep. out of Harlem, N.Y., Adam Powell, and riding him around over the "Cradle of the Confederacy," in a tax-provided No. 1 Cadillac?

Now this high and mighty Reverend, finding it impossible to conquer and humiliate a pure-blooded Anglo-Saxon South, orders a day of prayer, March 28, for deliverance of the Montgomery Negroes from the wickedness of their white friends.

Let them pray; they should pray! But praying "till the crack of doom" will not bring integration.

A final suggestion to our Folsom: Proclaim March 28 a day of prayer for the white people of the South. Plead with the Lord to deliver the poor, deluded, Southern Negro from the evil designs of the gold diggers and political opportunists, above the Mason & Dixon Line.

GEORGE W. CHEEK.

Selma, Ala.

◆

Lincoln's Liberation

Editor, The Advertiser:

The following is from the greatest statesman of the United States, Abraham Lincoln:

"I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and the political equality of the white and black races; that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes nor qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality; and inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white man."

MRS. E. S. HARRISON.

Tallahassee, Fla.

◆

Gospel Of Hate

Editor, The Advertiser:

The Negro ministers of Montgomery ought to meditate and ask themselves if they are preaching the truth. Namely, that the white people are their enemies and hate them. If they honestly believed that they wouldn't want to force their society on us. They don't believe that themselves, therefore they are not preaching the truth.

They know white folks are making the laws and taxing themselves to give them good schools and all the other facilities that we have. They get more relief money, 10 to one, than white. They are given good jobs where they are capable.

It is a true saying the more you help some folks, the harder they are to please and the more demanding they are.

Gantt, Ala. MRS. C. M. DARBY.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. 4-A

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Montgomery, Ala.

Polite Racial Ostracism In Buffalo, N.Y.

Tues. 3-6-56

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I have just read in the *Buffalo Evening News* a letter written by Vesta L. Robertson of Montgomery, and, as her observations are a rather sweeping indictment of the North as a whole, I am anxious to have it known that there are a sizable number of fair-minded people right her in the North who agree with her.

Having lived in the North 44 and in North Carolina 6 of my 50 years, born and raised here in New York, from my own personal experience I can say unequivocally the South is morally and spiritually head and shoulders above the North where we are born into a mongreloid miasma of "integrated" mediocrity and a debased sense of spiritual values.

But apart from this, the typical yankee is an obdurate numbskull, narrow-minded, self-righteous to the point of nausea. I do not consider New York a fit place to rear a family, for I cannot see to have any children of mine grow up in the spiritual vacuum which is so characteristic of Northern life.

As for the Negro, he is treated better in the South under segregation than he is in the North under our wholly hypocritical and cut-throat system of polite racial ostracism. Do white and colored live together here in a blishful state of "racial equality?" No, they do not! Buffalo has two large Negro colonies where they have their own churches and undoubtedly would prefer to have their own schools if the laws permitted. The social status of the Negro in Buffalo and in the whole North practically defies description. It must be purely by instinct that he is able to sense where he is "taboo" and where his presence might be tolerated. Consequently, for a little "paper freedom" in New York, the Negro has traded his personal identity and self-respect.

As an advocate of states' rights, I not only wholly disapprove of the Supreme Court decision meddling in the private affairs of the states, but also believe the state of Alabama or any other state is fully justified in taking any measures necessary to thwart any future encroachments of federal influence by means of legalistic contortions and private misinterpretations of the Constitution to help the spread of organized labor and serve the ends of seditious bands like the NAACP.

In closing, I hope it will be refreshing to some of your readers to know there are plenty of "yankees," myself included, who would be proud to live in Alabama or at least contribute something to friendship among the states.

GEORGE A. LAWSON.

Gainesville, N.Y.

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Advertiser P. 4-A

A Biracial Commission

The Decatur Daily

Last week when Gov. Folsom called newspaper editors and publishers to Montgomery to discuss the formation of a biracial commission we were surprised at the number of editors and publishers present. Frankly, Folsom and the press haven't hit it off too pleasantly and we are sure that only a very few of the newspaper executives had the faintest idea that the formation of a commission was what the governor had in mind.

Montgomery, Ala.

Not many of the newspaper folks expressed themselves on the subject of racial tension, although one or two were somewhat intemperate in what they had to say.

Thurs. 3-1-56

But such a commission, which might well have been formed several years ago rather than waiting until the heat was on, could have some bright prospects. It is obvious that so long as our Negro citizens have no better leadership than that offered by the NAACP, there is going to be trouble between the races. Such a commission could well offer better leadership and the majority of our Negro citizens would gladly accept such leadership and rather than be forced into following the NAACP line such as has already happened in Montgomery.

Rubbing salt in wounds, old wounds or new wounds, isn't going to do the citizens of either race in Alabama one bit of good. We believe that sound leadership might prevent just such happenings.

◆

A Big Job To Do

The Huntsville Times

The bi-racial commission, which Gov. Folsom has asked to be set up, has the opportunity to do some mighty constructive work, at a time when this is sorely needed in Alabama.

The commission, to be composed of an equal number of whites and Negroes, drawn from outstanding men and women from all sections and areas of Alabama, will have a sore, critical job cut out for it. No one who contemplates the situation in Tuscaloosa and Montgomery will question the gravity of the problem that this commission will have to deal with.

Gov. Folsom, who has long been disposed to regard it as a political matter, has come to realize recently how serious it is, and to note how passions, prejudices and pressures threaten to drive a deep wedge between the two races, who have lived so harmoniously together for decades.

◆

He Could Do No Less

The Opelika Daily News

Gov. Folsom, as chief executive of the state, could do no less than promise protection to all students on the University of Alabama campus—and maintain law and order in all parts of Alabama—if he would respect the oath of office he took upon his inauguration.

Folsom Wins Court Round In Reapportionment Tiff

Advertiser P.1 Tues. 1-31-56
Montgomery, Ala.

Reapportionment hopes brightened yesterday when the State Supreme Court ruled that a constitutional amendment doesn't need a two-thirds vote in a special session of the Legislature.

At the request of Gov. James E. Folsom, the court handed down an advisory opinion holding that the two-thirds rule governing legislation not included in a special session call dosen't apply to proposed changes in the Constitution.

Folsom called the present extraordinary session for a constitutional convention to rewrite the organic law. But since the Legislature has rejected that, he has endorsed a reapportionment amendment passed by the Senate last week.

Until the governor raised the question, many legislators and parliamentarians interpreted the Constitution to mean any measure outside the call for a special session required a two-thirds vote in each house to get through.

Section 76 of the Constitution says "There shall be no legislation upon subjects other than those designated in the proclamation of the governor calling such session except by a vote of two-thirds of each house."

The justices of the Supreme Court ruled in their advisory opinion that Section 76 deals only with "legislation, namely the enactment of laws." In other words, the court said a constitutional amendment isn't "legislation."

Consequently, the justices held that passage of constitutional amendments comes under Section 284 of the Constitution, which fixes a three-fifths vote in the Legislature as the majority needed to submit an amendment to the people

The court's opinion could be highly significant in the current reapportionment battle. On a close vote, it could mean the difference between success and defeat.

The two-thirds rule has been interpreted by the same court to mean two-thirds of a quorum voting in the Legislature. With all members present as they have been in recent days, it would take 24 votes in the Senate and 71 in the House to pass legislation outside the special session call.

But a constitutional amendment can be submitted with three-fifths of the membership—21 votes in the Senate and 64 in the lower chamber.

Meanwhile, race-conscious Black Belters in the House who are traditionally opposed to both reapportionment and integration may find themselves confronted with this problem today:

Would a continued filibuster against reapportionment materially affect their chances of passing a "Freedom of Choice" school bill aimed at preserving classroom segregation?

The third week of the present special session roared to a close last Friday with small county members of the House stalling for time to prevent a vote on legislation to reapportion the House and Senate membership.

Although the delaying action did block a showdown on that issue, it also prevented a possible vote on the school segregation measure already approved by the Senate and on the House calendar.

Reconvening after a weekend recess, the Black Belt bloc led by Rep. W. L. (Doc) Martin of Greene County can insist on the reading of the House journal again, killing still more time.

But the more time they lose, the longer it will take to get to the "Freedom of Choice" Constitutional amendment which would let parents decide whether to send their children to segregated or integrated schools.

The admittedly pro-segregation measure also would authorize the Legislature to abolish the public school system if the members felt that drastic step necessary.

North Alabama legislators, most anxious for reapportionment and less concerned than the Black Belt with racial problems, could adopt the same time-killing tactics against the segregation measure that opponents used against reapportionment.

And the special session could adjourn sine die with the school bill still pending.

The Senate passed a reapportionment measure last Thursday which would give each county a fulltime senator and at least as many house members as it now has.

Advertiser

The House would be reapportioned on the basis of one seat for each 25,000 population or fraction thereof, but seven counties whose strength would be cut from two to one representative would get a bonus place to keep them at their present level. P.2-A

A similar measure is on the House calendar without the bonus provision. Another bill already killed but revived and put back on the calendar would reshuffle the legislature on a different formula.

While the lower chamber is wrangling over reapportionment, the Senate is concenred chiefly with school finances. A bill is on the calendar, for a possible vote today to let the schools borrow money to get them through this year and next.

Because revenue from a proposed new income tax was included in the educational appropriation bill passed by the Legislature last summer, the defeat of the tax amendment on Dec. 6 left the schools threatened with a cut in appropriations.

The borrowing measure is aimed at enabling the schools to get the full appropriations without additional taxes.

Like Dog Baying at Moon, Folsom Tags Interposition

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 25 (AP)—Trying to nullify the Supreme Court's school integration decree by legislative resolution, said Gov. James E. Folsom today, is "like a hound dog baying at the moon."

But he told reporters he would applaud the pro-segregation stand if taken "at a constitutional convention." So he announced plans to have an already defeated convention resolution reintroduced in the Legislature tomorrow.

Constitution

"If they're sincere about it," the governor said in reference to sponsors of the nullification act approved by the Legislature last week, "they can debate it out in a constitutional convention."

P.2

Folsom said the resolution which seeks to declare the Supreme Court anti-segregation decree "null, void and of no effect" in Alabama "doesn't mean anything . . . just a bunch of hogwash . . . a two-bit resolution."

But he wouldn't say whether he plans to sign it, veto it or let it go through without his approval. He has until next Monday to act.

The governor didn't make it clear at his news conference just how a nullification resolution would fit into a constitutional convention debate. Neither did he explain why he considers it ineffective when the states can amend the federal Constitution by legislative act if enough of them join in.

Folsom told reporters he had "made it plain during my campaign (for election in 1954) that Alabama "wasn't going to force the colored children to go to school with our white children and vice versa."

But since then the Supreme Court has outlawed segregated classrooms, he continued, "and I'm for nullification if a convention adopts it. But you can't do it by resolution. That's simply a piece of paper."

Folsom called the present special session of the Legislature **Jan. 3 to consider a convention to** rewrite Alabama's organic law. Both the House and Senate killed the convention plan last week.

Slight Oversight

Editor, The Advertiser: Advertiser

Well, it appears that you are still ignoring, or failing to give the "people's choice" for Governor, his due credits. I refer specifically to front page news in *The Advertiser* of Jan. 25, stating as follows: Mon. 1-30-56

FOUR SOUTHERN GOVERNORS REACH ACCORD ON SEGREGATION FIGHT. Montgomery, Ala.

However you fail to mention that the Alabama Governor was present. P.1-A

Since this meeting held in Virginia was so vitally important, and almost sacred in order to help preserve by legal and moral means most everything that the South has long honored and obeyed, it is inconveivable that the Alabama Governor was not there.

Surely he was there, pitching for his section of the country, and you just failed to give him credit. Shame on you.

Montgomery. A. J. S.

Governor Gets Time To Think On Issue Of Race Separation

Advertiser P.1 Tues. 1-31-56
Montgomery, Ala.

Gov. James E. Folsom was granted additional time yesterday to decide whether to sign or veto a legislative resolution declaring "null and void" the U.S. Supreme Court's desegregation decisions.

The resolution was delivered to the governor's office last Monday after whipping through both houses of the Legislature with little or no opposition.

The constitution provides that a governor must act on such resolutions and bills within seven days, however the same section further provides that if the governor is not able to return the measure on the seventh day he is given two additional days from the time the Legislature meets again in which to act.

Frank Long, the governor's legal advisor, pointed out that since the Legislature was not in session yesterday, the new deadline is two days after the lawmakers convene That will be Thursday inasmuch as both houses convene today.

At a press conference last week Folsom referred to the resolution as "hogwash" but declined to say whether he planned to veto it.

Tell It To Old Grandma

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Advertiser
Journal

Not A Battle But A Ball

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER: It seems strange to me. With all the hatred, the riots, and the general misdeeds, the Southern individual is not nearly so interested in preserving his "right" of White Supremacy as he is, I think, "having himself a ball."

What is more fun than a riot to a college student? A panty raid at midnight; a cheering squad at a football game. The riot by University students (and regardless of what college officials say, I am sure there were many students involved) was, to themselves, a good pep rally. The yell was reported to have been "Hey! Hel! Ho! Ho! Authurine's gotta go." Then after the woman was escorted out of town and excluded from her classes, it changed to "Hey! Hel! Ho! Ho! Where in hell did that nigger go?" The game was over. There was nothing left to cheer about.

Perhaps all of us, both Negro and white, are too involved in the "having fun" of the situation. It is a serious business; a threat, not to our "Southern way of life," but to the very existence of this, our country, as a country.

The riots, boycotts, and other acts involving violence must stop. The rumors must stop. Both sides must give in a little; maybe enough such that their pride might be hurt.

An answer should be found to this question immediately. We must not play with matches lest fire breaks out. Let there be peace.

Auburn, Ala. MARSHALL GREEN.

P. 2-B

No Culture Without Discipline

(Telegram)

Editor, The Advertiser:

You designate as "blubberers" those persons who advocated strong police action to quell mob violence at the University. Thank God for those whose sense of shame would cause them to blubber. There can be no culture without discipline.

MRS. WILLIAM BAKER OLIVER.

Phenix City, Ala.

Montgomery, Ala.

'True' Constitutional Government

Editor, The Advertiser:

Your misleading editorial strikes its intended blow at the few of us left who aspire to true Constitutional government — not Constitutional government "as interpreted" by anybody.

The American Constitution is the greatest single document ever written, and we who believe in it will fight to the last to keep civil-rights zealots and all other people with "axes to grind" from callously removing a single word or adding a single insidious phrase.

Go fertilize some corn.

KELLETH GOODWIN.

Auburn, Ala.

Sun. 2-12-56

NAACP Tips Its Hand

Editor, The Advertiser:

Autherine Lucy has exposed what was suspected that the aim of the NAACP is not educational, or occupational equality, but social equality.

She received admission to the University, as requested, but she set sparks to the tinder, when she declared that she intended to live in the campus dormitory.

A hungry lion is only maddened by a taste of blood—he must have more. This will be the result of any acceptance of NAACP demands.

Atlanta, Ga. C. N. HARRIS.

A Plea For Open Discussion

Editor, The Advertiser:

Very few people in Alabama are happy over what has happened here in Tuscaloosa in the past few days. The white citizens of Alabama, no matter how many may be opposed to having a Negro student at the University, cannot be happy over an outbreak of violence which has shamed the state and sullied the fair name of the University. The Negro citizens of Alabama cannot be happy over open insults to a member of their race, and the peril that arose for their persons and property when an out-of-control mob developed. The only people who are happy are those who profit from violence. Such people do not, I believe, form a majority or even a considerable minority in Alabama.

The University riots show that pressure is the last, not the first, way to solve problems. Open talk, face-to-face discussion, is the honored American way of settling things, a method that is in the best Southern tradition. There is almost no opportunity for such talk in Alabama. Where can white and Negro leaders meet to discuss their differences openly? Where can they talk out, man-to-man, the problems that are equally serious to both groups? The Negro has been virtually forced into the courts because there is no other place where he can talk to the white man. Is the white man to be forced into a mob because he cannot talk to the Negro anywhere else?

Citizens who do not like violence can join in requesting the governor to set up immediately a bi-racial commission of recognized leaders, to discuss across the table possible solutions to those problems which imperil peace and order in our state. Fair-minded citizens can also form or join small groups in each local community, where members of both races can meet in free and open discussion.

This is no cure-all, but it is the way of decent people, not hoodlums. Let us return to the best, not the worst, traditions of the South.

Tuscaloosa, Ala. ALBERT C. WINN.

Either Or

Editor, The Advertiser:

After reading article in *The Alabama Journal*, "Elmore Okays '52 Bolters," I am disturbed to think about the Democratic Party of my county being controlled by such people. The committee is a bunch of spineless jellyfish or Republicans at heart. If you are going to be a Democrat, be a Democrat, but don't be two-faced about it. I think the State Democratic Executive Committee should take action against this group in Elmore County.

REGINALD MINTOR.

Millbrook, Ala.

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

City Commission Lauded For Stand On Racial Issue

Thurs. 2-16-56

The Montgomery City Commission has won the support of many residents of Lipscomb, Ala., for its stand against racial integration.

Commissioner Frank Parks yesterday announced receipt of a petition signed by 256 residents of the Jefferson County community adjoining Bessemer. It was received by registered mail from L. D. Allred, a member of the Lipscomb City Council and said:

"We, the undersigned citizens . . . wish to extend to you congratulations for the stand you have taken in the fight for segregation. Keep up the good work."

The signers numbered 10 per cent of Lipscomb's population of 2,550.

Parks and the other members of Montgomery's commission, Mayor W. A. Gayle and Commissioner Clyde Sellers, adopted a get-tough policy last month toward the Negro boycott of Montgomery City Lines, and announced at the same time that all three commissioners had joined the pro-segregation Central Alabama Citizens Council.

resort to such tactics to settle their differences? I deplore such action as un-American. It seems apparent that law and order has broken down in New York state and the Justice Department should investigate the situation immediately.

The Justice Department might also do well to look into the violation of the Civil Rights of Puerto Ricans in New York City. Something should also be done about the fact that the number of Negro teachers employed by New York state is practically nil. Truly the situation in New York state is deplorable and needs correcting immediately.

M. E. MARLETTE JR.

Hayneville, Ala.

Speed Limit In Detroit

Editor, The Advertiser:

Why permit automobile manufacturers to build such high speed into their engines, then foolishly make laws preventing speeds in excess of 50 m.p.h.? This high speed only results in death, broken homes, orphan children, permanent cripples, heartbroken relatives and heavy financial losses.

Why not enact laws forbidding speed over 50 m.p.h except for police and ambulance cars.

If greater speed seems necessary to a driver, let him get up earlier, start sooner, and he will be more apt to reach his destination "Same, Sound, Sober and Sane."

IDA COOPER.

Tarrant, Ala.

As NAACP Is Viewed In Alabama

Editor, The Advertiser:

Being a commercial traveling salesman with the entire state of Alabama as a territory, I have in recent weeks had occasion to make my usual contacts in more than half of the 67 counties. These contacts are with people of rather wide influence in each county.

The consensus of opinion, as I see it after many discussions with other travelers in hotels, seems to be that the NAACP is widely recognized as a sinister organization whose leaders are being used as mouthpieces of a foreign ideology, whose top leaders can lay no claim whatsoever to being friends of the colored race, but are using these weak leaders of the colored race—many of whom are ministers and attorneys—to stir up racial animosity to occupy the minds of American people while this foreign dictatorship element is formulating plans that will prove victorious in capturing complete control of our country.

With this apparent realization on the part of our people who are organizing through peaceful and legal means, it is now evident that our white people will use every possible means to protect our way of life as well as to continue to protect all worthwhile and deserving members of the colored race among us from those of foreign determination to dictate our destiny and eventual end.

It is also to be found that Alabama's white people are convinced of the fact that Autherine Lucy is being used as a pawn and that unless she and her advisers are becoming immensely wealthy from the bounty of tainted money being used on them that they will eventually awaken to the asininity of their efforts.

Selma, Ala. DANIEL SEAY.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. 4-A

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Wed. 2-29-56
Montgomery, Ala.

Barbarism In New York

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—What a shameful example of barbarism displayed in New York on Feb. 20 by the riots at Republic Aviation. Are New Yorkers so uncivilized that they must regardless of his color or creed, voted for the New Deal and so-called Democratic Party he can run for office in the Democratic primaries.

If I voted my honest convictions and voted for Mr. Eisenhower, I am disbarred from running. Surely somebody in our party has the integrity to correct such a condition.

GEORGE M. CALLEN.

Selma, Ala.

Absurd Predicament

Editor, The Advertiser:

I want to show you and others how absurd a predicament we are now in. If a degenerate or any ignorant man,

A Quagmire To Bag Segregation Attackers

Advertiser Sat. 2-4-56

IN THE years of segregation litigation ahead, Negroes may be expected to try to get their complaints heard by federal courts rather than to carry their cases through state courts. The reason for this preference is obvious. But something new has been added that may be very useful in preserving segregation.

Montgomery, Ala.

The Supreme Court's final decree in the school segregation cases last year vested federal district courts with the responsibility of hearing segregation cases and determining the manner and the time for compliance with the high court's interpretation of the 14th Amendment.

This delegation of powers—it was not really that, but was actually a restatement of the normal channels of appeal in the federal judiciary—left many with the idea that the U.S. district judge would thus become a kind of *gauleiter*, a super-superintendent of education in his district. Any grievance based on race would be addressed directly to him, according to this interpretation.

However, the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals has now ruled otherwise in the case of a McDowell County, N.C., suit. If the decision is upheld by the Supreme Court, it would seem to have direct bearing on the fate of Alabama's school placement law enacted last summer. In the McDowell County case, the Circuit Court said that *Negroes must exhaust state administrative remedies in seeking desegregation of the public schools there before the federal courts could intervene.*

★

THE Circuit Court said the district judge "should give consideration not merely to the decision of the Supreme Court but also to subsequent legislation of the State of North Carolina providing administrative remedy for persons with respect to their enrollment in the public schools of the state."

The court then pointed to the "subsequent legislation" it had in mind—a 1955 act of the North Carolina legislature. The act grants city and county boards of education broad authority for enrolling students and assigning them to their respective schools according to rules & regulations adopted by the local boards. The act also provides an appeal for people who feel they have not been assigned to schools they are entitled to attend. They may appeal to the superior court of the county (comparable to Alabama's circuit courts), thence to the state supreme court.

★

"IT IS well settled," the U.S. Circuit Court said in the McDowell County case, "that the courts of the United States will not grant injunctive relief until administrative remedies have been exhausted." The court continued:

This rule is especially applicable to a case such as this, where injunction is asked against state or county officers with respect to the control of schools maintained and supported by the state. The federal courts manifestly cannot operate the schools. All that they have the power to do in the premises is to enjoin violation of constitutional rights in the operation by state authorities. Where the state law provides adequate administrative procedure for the protection of such rights, the federal courts should not interfere with the operation of the schools until such administrative procedure has been exhausted and the intervention of the federal courts is shown to be necessary . . .

Interference by injunction with the schools of a state is as grave a matter as interfering with its fiscal operation and should not be resorted to [here the court quotes Mr. Justice Stone in an old case] "where the asserted federal right may be preserved without it."

★

THE importance of this decision to Alabama is that the North Carolina act referred to is similar to Alabama's school placement law, which in addition to giving local boards broad powers of assigning pupils on the basis of physical, mental, social and psychological factors, also provides administrative remedy. Parents, white as well as Negro, may appeal the actions of local boards of education to the circuit court and thence to the state supreme court. If the McDowell County decision stands, it would seem that Negro complainants in Alabama must fight their causes through our state courts first. In addition, it seems less likely that they will be successful in making a "class action" of their complaints: in other words each case would have to be individually carried through the mill.

To the guardhouse lawyer, the McDowell County decision seems to offer the most promising delay tactic yet seen.

'General Integration Unforeseeable'

Advertiser Wed. 2-22-56

Magazine Is So Advised In Response To Question Put To Editor; Race Relations Have Degenerated In A 'Saddening Way'

P. 4-A

Montgomery, Ala.

U. S. News & World Report Magazine

[Following is an interview of Grover Hall, editor of The Advertiser, *by* U.S. News & World Report *magazine on Alabama race matters. It appears in the current issue along with interviews with 14 other Southern editors.]*

MONTGOMERY, ALA.

Q—In your opinion, Mr. Hall, are relations between the races in the South better than they were, or not so good as they were, before the Supreme Court decision?

A—Confirming my answer to Alabama, there is not the slightest question but what they have degenerated in a saddening way. I see otherwise reasonable people who are now quite aroused about this thing.

You find, for example, that here in Montgomery, where we have had the boycott of the bus system by Negroes, that they have gotten what the "eggheads" call "polarized"—you've got the whites drawn up in one group and the colored in the other group.

Q—And it's a little difficult to get them together?

A—It's very difficult. This bus boycott has gone far beyond the original grievance as to the seating on the buses, and it is now just a general question of assault on the present structure.

Q—Is any action being taken toward ending the boycott?

A—It looks as if they might be about to do so now. The circuit judge here has instructed the grand jury to look into the matter. On the Alabama law books is an antiboycott law which, of course, was passed some time back to restrain labor boycotts.

What they hope to do, obviously, is to indict some of the colored leaders of this bus boycott, which is a rather extreme thing to do. One can imagine what would happen to such a conviction if it reached the United States Supreme Court.

Q—Is there any indication that the boycott is spreading?

A—Not in Montgomery itself. But in Macon County, which adjoins Montgomery, and in which Tuskegee Institute is located, they have what is called the Tuskegee Civic Association. In their organ, which I have a copy of, they ask that Macon County colored people impose a boycott on all the white merchants in Macon who are opposing them on their right to register and vote.

Q—Then you have what amounts to economic warfare?

A—Yes. And, significantly, so far it's the colored people who are making the moves and putting these boycotts into effect. As far as I know, there's no case of a white boycott.

Q—In general, was any progress being made toward equal opportunity of the two races prior to the court decision?

A—Here in Montgomery, for generations, we have had the very best of relations among all groups. For example, as late as last summer we had

colored ballplayers out there mixed with whites in our municipal stadium.

You've got this kind of situation: There is not a segregated department store in town, nor, so far as I know, a segregated elevator left in Montgomery. In other words, vertically we are desegrated, but riding horizontally, for some reason, it's quite different. Don't ask me why—I can't answer it. The thing is irrational, but that doesn't mean it's not powerful.

Q—Has the progress toward good relations been slowed down since the decision on segregated schools, then?

A—It has. You've got the backs of the whites pretty well set now. They are frightened.

And my prediction is now—I will put it this way: Two years ago I wrote in an essay that no longer could an Alabama politician be elected by simply [bawling "nigger"]. Well, I don't think that is any longer true, and I think in our next governor's race you are going to have a contest here in which every man is going to make it very clear that he is for white folks.

I think you are going to see a stiffening resistance to registration of Negro voters, and all along the line, down to the city and county levels, there is going to be a tensing up.

Q—Are there any signs of a changing political attitude?

A—Yes. We have an unsought statement from Governor Folsom excoriating what he calls "outside agitators" for the incident at Tuscaloosa. Now, the significance of this is that Folsom has been the only major Southern demagogue in our history, with the short-time exception of Tom Watson in Georgia, who has ever been able to harness the so-called red necks and the colored voters. It's been an extraordinary performance in American politics that up to now he's been able to keep both those elements very happily in the same vest pocket.

But this has swung so in Alabama that even Folsom has felt called on to switch around, and now he's giving this gratuitous denunciation of the "outside agitator," and so on. And I assure you that's a very significant thing in our state, because it was only a few weeks ago that, when Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem came here to make a speech at State Teachers College, he was met at the airport by the No. 1 license-plate Cadillac of the Governor of Alabama; he was whisked to the executive mansion, and there had a Scotch and soda with the Governor—very much to the distress of white Alabama.

That became a very celebrated thing down here, because that night Congressman Powell made a speech at State Teachers College and a large part of it was devoted to a description of his very happy discussion of race problems with the Governor in the executive mansion.

Q—Do you think there would be violence if efforts were made to enforce a decision to desegregate schools?

A—Yes, I do. I think these things are utterly unpredicable, though. It's just like putting dynamite in a stump to blow it up. You don't know which way the stuff is going to blow out there.

For 10 years, colored students have been going to Southern universities without an incident. And then this thing pops up without rhyme or reason. I would say that because of this boycott, and the other things in the air, it was just primed for it. These Citizens' Council boys now come to you and say, "If you're not with us then you're a 'Negro lover.'" They put it on a basis that raw and simple.

Q—Why is the feeling so intense in the South on this general issue of desegregation?

A—In part, it's the feeling of being set upon and, they would say, having it rammed down their throats. The hypocrisy of the North is another very grievous thing to us. That absolutely incenses the Southerner—he knows that they have segregation in New York City in the school system. He knows about the Puerto Ricans; he knows about the Harlem ghetto; he knows about housing riots in Chicago.

And then for these agitators to come racing down here just drives them wild—plus which, basically, they just don't believe that the colored man at this stage is fit for association.

Q—Do you see any time in the early future when separate schools will come to an end in Alabama?

A—We have said repeatedly in editorials that segregation is eventually doomed—that's the way we have ordinarily put it—but that a general race mixing in the schools is unforeseeable.

The attitude now is, "We won't do it." The more extreme people try to argue that segregation will endure until Gabriel blows his horn, and they don't want you to discuss eventual desegregation, even a generation from now. They think that weakens the cause. The way people feel in Alabama now, they just don't mean to desegregate schools at all.

Q—Is the growth of the Citizens' Councils an important development?

A—Well, I can answer that very specifically. I am a sort of expert on those people, because they are the ones who are after me.

Last October one of our lawyers here called for an organization meeting of a Citizens' Council. I went down to look at this thing myself.

The city auditorium was less than half filled, and I came back and wrote an editorial next day that—well, my caption on it was, "The First One Was Harmless."

I pointed out there that, in addition to small crowds, they had no leading people, no face cards in the deck; no lawyers, doctors, politicians, etc., were to be seen. But along comes this boycott, and it inflames the atmosphere, and the next thing you know you have a throng out there of 15,000 people in the State Coliseum. There is an example of what is happening as things get tense. Yet there was nothing to criticize in the recent meeting. The leaders absolutely eschewed violence. They are out in the open. I could find absolutely nothing to criticize.

Senator Eastland came up with what seems to me to be a very cogent suggestion, and that is to take public funds and form a Southern regional propaganda apparatus to bombard the North with the truth of what's going on down here. *Harper's Magazine* and *U.S. News & World Report* are the only publications that have let the curtain down. The others are absolutely doctrinaire in the matter.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Advertiser 2-4-57

Proposal From A Negro Minister

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — What the world needs most now is prayer. The Lord says men ought to always pray and not faint.

I have been praying earnestly to the Lord since Christmas morning.

I woke up Christmas morning early, feeling the presence of God all around me, but over our city a grim shadow of discontentment settled on the streets because no sound of a city bus was heard anywhere. I promised God that I would go on a 9-day fast and prayer and used for a sign of that fast two crosses, one a black cross which I am wearing around my neck, the other a white cross which I am wearing on my left sleeve.

Montgomery

Some may ask why am I wearing black and white crosses. The answer should be obvious: I have two brothers, a Negro and a white brother. It seems that I am not getting very far with my praying, but I am not going to quit.

The one thing I hate more than anything else is what our good mayor and commissioner said and did in adopting a get-tough policy and virtually cut out all means of reconciliation. One other is almost as bad and that is the talk of bringing a grand jury into the matter.

All the Negroes in Montgomery are walking their feet off, swallowing the gall of harsh criticism, and dodging police apprehensions. If the city of Montgomery is to keep the faith of its colored ciitizens, it must show patience and kindness while dealing with their problems. I think I know my people very well, and I am sure that the Negroes in Montgomery did not start out trying to disobey any of the laws of the city, but rather they feel that they have not been given justice in some of the court decisions. Now if the courts go ahead and add to the fire that is already burning, then there will be no peace in sight.

I am asking for one more conference between the city and the Negro leaders and this time I want to be invited to attend. I want us to meet this time inviting our elder brother to be present and I will assure everybody that there will be agreements reached. The reason I want to be there because I want to lead the prayer services and want everybody to come praying for peace.

We the citizens of the United States of America must at this point of our lives use much caution and discretion as to what we say and do. The law is not always the best thing for us to resort to when something goes wrong for the devil is the best lawyer in all the world. The law is his strongest weapon.

I feel that there would be more good done at Tuscaloosa if the law would turn those young Negro youths to the church instead of to the courts. They should be made to go to the church and get on their knees and pray until God has forgiven them and then go to that fine young white man and beg him for forgiveness. I believe that white boy would do that. If I knew his address I would write him to this effect.

May I appeal to my race not ever to resort to such foolish tactics at any time. We cannot beat and kick our way into good civilization. It must be done by improving ourselves and strive to make ourselves acceptable in the sight of others. If the city and Negro leaders decide to do what I am asking, I would be glad if it could be arranged on a Moday for I am only in the city on Mondays.

THE REV. ELIJAH J. BRAXTON.
[New Style Methodist Church.]
Wetumpka, Ala.

¶ *The Rev. Braxton was pastor of the St. Paul Methodist Church, Ripley at High.—Ed.*

Adv. 2-17-56

Day Of Fun, Not Penitence

Editor, The Advertiser:

In reply to the question raised by L. E. Barton as to why Shrove Tuesday is a legal holiday:

The answer seems to be because it is also Mardi Gras Day. In the official list of Alabama state holidays it is listed as Mardi Gras Day. No doubt, because of the fact that New Orleans and Mobile were settled by Roman Catholics the Mardi Gras season developed as a season of festivity prior to the observance of Lent, and the last day and climax of the Mardi Gras season was the day before Lent which happens to be known in the church calendar as Shrove Tuesday.

Whatever religious significance the day had, it is not generally now observed as the day of penitence and confession but a day of revelry and fun-making. In its religious significance the day should be a day of penitence and confession of sins. Not necessarily to a priest but to Almighty God. This would be a fitting preparation for the Lenten season.

The doctrine of penance as distinguished from penitence or accompanying penitence is peculiar to only a part of the Christian church, whereas, all Christians believe in penitence and the forgiveness of sins. However, as now observed the day has little, if any, religious significance. Mardi Gras has become a big occasion in Mobile which is presumably why it is perpetuated as a state holiday.

E. M. PARKMAN.
Montgomery.

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Invoking Interposition

The Clayton Record

Advertiser P. 4-A

THE Alabama Legislature's decision to invoke interposition as a means of coping with the school integration problem ,threatens to touch off the liveliest lem, threatens to touch off the niveliest preme Court ruling in 1954.

Though the Alabama solons have been accused of acting rather hastily in so weigthy a matter, we feel that they have very definitely mirrored the desires of the vast majority of Alabama voters.

Basis for the action seems to stem from the rather interesting observation that Alabama has never surrendered to the federal government her power to maintain separate schools for the two races. The resolution contends that until the states do surrender that power in "plain and unequivocal" language, then the decisions and orders of the United States Supreme Court as relates to school integration are "null, void, and of no effect."

Grover C. Hall, editor of *The Montgomery Advertiser*, dealt at considerable length on the historical significance of interposition (or nullification) in a recent *Advertiser* editorial. The editorial was extremely interesting and informative because the doctrine of interposition—which is actually one of the states' few remaining avenues of authority in dealing with the federal government—is a little known and somewhat fragmentary element in American history. Due to interceding circumstances, the lethality [*sic*] of the doctrine has never been fully proven in history. It does record, however, instances where the doctrine has been successfully invoked by a state or states when federal authority became too strangulatory.

A recent *Dothan Eagle* editorial observes that "it would be a mistake for anyone, anywhere, to regard this unusual action by the Alabama legislature in a light vein or with scorn—not that it is liable to get Alabama anywhere or be a successful challenge of the Supreme Court. What is significant is that this state's legislature has been quiet on the subject of segregation in the schools. It has refrained from bombast and even on the passage of this most unusual resolution there were no inflammatory speeches, waving of the bloody shirt or threats of violence . . ."

For our part, we hail the passage of the resolution of interposition if for no other reason than as evidence that the state of Alabama has passed the "lip-service" stage in the picture of school integration. We hail it as an indication that Alabama may lead the way in a course of action in harmony with the wishes of the people.

★ Tell It To Old Grandma ★

Advertiser P. 4-A

Montgomery, Ala.

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Tues. 1-31-56

Reshuffle, Renege, Reelect

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — For 40 years or more I have heard my neighbors asking two questions: "Why don't they reshuffle by legislative enactment?" "Why does reapportionment always fail?" P. 4-A

Anyone who has set in the legislature has those answers but no one ever gives them, so here goes.

If they proceed by legislative enactment they cannot beef up the membership. That's that. Reapportionment fails because of too little steam and too much much Section 284. Section 284 sets out that when the method of reapportioning the Alabama legislature is done it cannot be done by constitutional amendment. So when the legislature sits down to reshuffle it wakes up between two road blocks, human nature is up above them and Section 284 is down below and there is nothing left but to pull over.

When reshuffling is sounded on Goat Hill, Alabama drops into three pieces like Caesar's summation. First part is looking to gain seats, second part won't be molested, and third part loses seats. "The windy suspirations" must be made by the palace guard in the first part. The second part is only mildly amused; and the third part "lets their feet drag the ground."

The mechanics of lawmaking is such that as long as you are represented the geography of the representation does not matter to you and you and you; it does matter to the castle's beef-eaters. Everyone is represented in both houses today. The boys that got frisky with the tea in Boston were not represented and is not a case in point.

Reapportionment rests upon three magnificent obsessions:

¶ That the home growns are better.

¶ That it can be soul satisfying.

¶ That its cost can be ignored.

That first thing is the Blarney Stone that most of us kiss, yet it can be shown to rest upon just as thin air as Hamlet's blue canopy. When our Lord was on this earth the home growns were below par and there is not one whit of proof that that chap who saw the light where you saw it is any better a representative than one who comes into your bailiwick, "sitting, clothed, and in his right mind."

We can be broke-out with representation yet it is never quite soul satisfying. Take my county for instance, and it is probably like yours. We have our rivalry between towns and our factions. Some are of Cephas, some are of Apollas, and some are of Paul, and I'd like to think some are of Christ, but I am more positive about the first three. We send three men to the legislature, they represent the whole county; there are 428,000 acres in the county but they all live on the same 40.

Way over in fly time some member of the House will stand and start drooling about enlarging those chambers. If the Senate is to go from 35 to 67 and the House is to come up in the same tenor and them 200 helpers is to receive some of the leaven that "leaveneth the whole lump" some room must be found. These chambers are on the middle floor and in the center of the building, which is made with hands, eternal in the culture of Alabama. The last line of dedication was, "This that man hath joined together let not God put asunder." To take down that dome and level the building off to the ceiling of the first floor would require a lot of scotch and soda. Heretofore this has snatched the pillow from under the old boy's head and reapportionment breathes its last for four years.

His Excellency is foresworn to reshuffle, and that makes an interesting speculation as to what is coming. But if you don't want to speculate you can call up that old line:

For whatever happens my friend
Taxgatherers don't lose
And taxpayerse don't win.

And you won't be speculating then, bud.

IRA THOMPSON.

Troy, Ala.

200 Alabama Whites and Negroes Discuss Ways to End 'Conflicts'

Times P. 1

Sun. 2-12-56

New York, N.Y.

By WAYNE PHILLIPS

Special to The New York Times.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 11 —More than 200 whites and Negroes sat down together here today to discuss ways of "resolving community conflicts."

It was not a large meeting, and outwardly it was not a dramatic one. Unlike the state-wide rally last night of the White Citizens Council there were no flags, band or fiery speeches.

But it was an example of what was quietly going on behind the scenes in the South, behind the façade of inflamed passions, desperate battles to preserve tradition and the clashes of prides and prejudices.

It was an example of the effort to work out a peaceful transition for the South through the last, and in many ways more difficult stage on the road from a slave to a free society. And it was proof that such a transition was possible.

The meeting was the annual coference of the Alabama Council on Human Relations — the only inter-racial group organized in Alabama. It is one of twelve such councils in southern states, all affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, which has its headquarters in Atlanta, Ga.

It was held in a second-floor auditorium in a fifty-year-old building on the campus of the Alabama State College, the state's Negro counterpart of the University of Alabama Tuscaloosa. The auditorium is named for the town of Tullibody, Scotland, the birthplace of the college's white founder, William Burns Paterson.

The white people who attended —about seventy of them—had courage. It is against the law for whites and Negroes to intermingle in a public place in Montgomery. And they were defying that law, as well as the custom that it represented, in the context of last night's anti-integration rally, the riots in Tuscaloosa, the Negro boycott of Tuscaloosa and of the city buses here, and recent bombings of the homes of Montgomery Negro leaders.

State House Leader Present

It took social courage, for what they were doing undoubtedly would arouse those who attended last night's rally. At that rally was a United States Senator, James O. Eastland of Mississippi, State legislators of Alabama, the Attorney General of Georgia, and Montgomery city officials.

P. 78

Among the whites at today's meeting were:

Representative George Hawkins, floor leader in the State House of Representatives and a member of the council's board of directors; James Battles, executive secretary of the State Congress of Industrial Organizations; Carl Griffin, State president of the American Federation of Labor; Charles Dobbins, former publisher of The Montgomery Examiner, and Dr. Walter D. Agnew, retired president of the Huntington College in Montgomery.

Also, Rev. Albert S. Foley, professor of psychology at the Jesuit Spring Hill College in Mobile, Ala., the state's only integrated school; Dr. Robert E. Tidwell, retired dean of the College of Education at the University of Alabama and a former state superintendent of education; Rabbi Charles Mantinband of the Congregation B'nai Israel in Hattiesburg, Miss., and Dr. Andrew Turnipseed, Mobile district superintendent of the Methodist Church.

The other whites in the audience were a mingling of students and persons active in religious, labor or similar organizations. Most of them were leaders. They were not—as were those who jammed the State Coliseum last night—members of the rank and file.

At the conference today a symposium was held on means of resolving race conflicts in the community.

Mrs. Fred Couey, a Montgomery clinical psychologist, spoke on the uses of research to pinpoint the source and strength of such conflicts.

The Role of the Leader

Dr. L. H. Foster, president of Tuskegee Institute, spoke of the role of the individual leader in a crisis—and said "we will all agree we are facing a crisis."

Dr. Foster's institute is in the heavy Negro home county of State Senator Sam Englehardt Jr., president of the Central Alabama Citizens Council that sponsored liast night's rally.

Rabbi Mantinband spoke on the religious resources useful in resolving such conflicts. He is a former chairman of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, and noted that representatives of his state had played a major role at last night's rally.

The symposium was followed by a question and answer period. At lunch time whites and Negroes sat together in the college cafeteria, grouped by their home districts. During the afternoon a report on the conclusions of the symposium and discussion periods was prepared.

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It's Our'n

Advertiser P 4-A

What is Richmond, Virginia?

The 2nd Capital of the Confederacy.

What is Montgomery, Alabama?

The 1st, Best and Next Capital of the Confederacy.

Montgomery Ala.

We do not seek to disvalue Richmond, but all it can claim is being the "Womb of the Republic", whereas Alabama is the "Womb of the Confederate Republic."

Wed. 2-8-56

What we're getting around to is charging Virginia with what the judge calls receiving and possessing stolen property.

The Advertiser lays its predicate by reminding Alabamians that the South's leading editor, Virginius Dabney of *The Richmond Times-Dispatch*, is the gentleman who has systematically insisted for 20 years that Richmond had the first street cars, whereas everybody knows that Montgomery had the first street cars. He has been unabashed and impenitent in the face of *The Advertiser's* energetic corrections. So much to create an attitude of skepticism towards things Richmond.

Now to the point. Where is the Confederate Constitution? You'd think it was secure under a glass lid at the Capitol in Montgomery, because in Montgomery was it written.

But this document, which engages the admiration and scrutiny of historians and political scientists more all the time, is sequestered in the Confederate Museum at Richmond.

How did this fall too? The Confederate Constitution was written in Montgomery. Then the CSA capital was moved to Richmond. When the yankees feloniously and premeditatedly took Richmond, they captured the Constitution and for a long time it was the stolen goods of Washington.

In a later day, when the bloody shirt had been largely bleached, Virginia managed to cajole Washington and to receive and possess the renowned document (just how and when we are checking on).

The Confederate Constitution was written in Montgomery and it is our view that Richmond should surrender the Constitution to Montgomery, the senior capital.

Many things support our contention of the justice of restoration.

In the first place, nobody down this way seems to like the U.S. Constitution anymore. That is true in some measure of Virginia, but the repugnance is not so great.

There might be some apprehension that the CSA Constitution would be readopted by the Alabama legislature, but *The Advertiser* rejects that apprehension because Alabama, like Virginia, has nullified much of what it dislikes about the U.S. Constitution.

Back in 1939 the State of Iowa returned the Alabama battle flags captured in the Civil War. Surely Virginia is not to be outdone in magnanimity by Iowa.

Finally, there is the question of the physical safety of the Constitution. At the rate relations with Washington are deteriorating, how can we be sure that Richmond and the Constitution won't be taken a second time?

The time is appropriate, for shortly the South will be observing the Confederate Centennial. (Incidentally, Alabama's preeminence as a Confederate Capital was recognized when the All-South Centennial Congress organized at Charleston, S.C., recently and chartered itself under the laws of the State of Alabama—not Virginia.) The Constitution should be on display at its birthplace on that occasion.

Alabama will forgive Editor Dabney his incorrigible street car hoaxing if he will interpose his influence in Virginia to accomplish the return of our Stone of Scone.

38a 1956

SEGREGATION STAND GETS PRIMARY ROLE

Appeal 2-9

Alabaman Says Candidates Will Be Queried

Memphis Tenn.

VIEWS TO BE SOUGHT

Sun. 2-5-56

By The Associated Press

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 4. —The increasing anxiety over racial segregation in Alabama will be reflected in the Democratic primaries this spring.

A spokesman for the pro-white Citizens Councils organized in at least 18 counties and already claiming a membership of more than 20,000, disclosed Saturday that candidates for office will be challenged to "stand up and be counted."

38a

Want To Know Stand

"We want to know how they stand," said the spokesman who wouldn't be quoted by name "at this time." And, he added, "we'll smoke them out if we have to."

Fifty-two delegates to the Democratic National Convention will be elected in the May 1 primary and the runoff May 29, along with a Democratic national committeeman and committeewoman.

At the same time, the voters will nominate candidates for presidential elector, all nine seats in Congress, one seat on the Public Service Commission, two places on the state Supreme Court, one on the Court of Appeals, and several lesser district offices.

The spokesman for the white Citizens Councils — dedicated to the "maintenance of peace, order and domestic tranquility" and to the preservation of segregation "by peaceful and legal means"—said the "stand up and be counted" challenge will extend to all candidates for every office.

Meanwhile, plans were disclosed for the organization of a statewide Alabama Citizens Council to function in every county and with a membership goal of 200,000 or more.

Like Former Klan

An organization of that size could be molded into a powerful political weapon reminiscent of the old Ku Klux Klan but disavowing the violent nightriding activities of those earlier days.

Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), one of the nation's most outspoken advocates of white supremacy, will speak at a rally Thursday sponsored by the seven-county Central Alabama Citizens Council. Leaders hope to have plans for the statewide organization perfected by that time.

Already, said state Senator Sam Engelhardt of Macon County, there are some 25 chapters and others are being organized.

The central Alabama Council, made up of white residents of Montgomery and six adjoining counties, is the largest in Alabama and perhaps in the South, said Mr. Engelhardt. It claims 6,000 members.

Several members of the Legislature have joined councils in their communities along with other public officials. All three members of Montgomery's city commission have announced their membership since a Negro bus boycott began two months ago.

Montgomery's Bombing

The Talladega Daily Home

RACIAL agitation and resentment of that agitation reached a regrettable climax at Montgomery last night when a bomb of some sort was hurled at the home of a Negro minister who has been a leader in the bus boycott of recent weeks.

Advertiser 2-4-

We deplore the situation. We condemn in precisely equal measure the hoodlums who hurled the bomb and the minister who helped to bring on unbearable tension by deliberately working to create a crisis over racial segregation in public transportation.

The City of Montgomery has posted a reward of $500 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the bombers. That is an action which all right-thinking people will commend.

Under Montgomery city law segregation of the races is required in public conveyances.

Montgomery Ala.

The boycott began when a Negro woman was found guilty of violating that law and given a moderate fine.

From week to week the tension has mounted. The boycott leaders, this particular minister loud among them, have turned down proposal after proposal designed to meet whatever complaints Negro passengers might have had.

Birm. 2-7-56

Their refusal to go half way in the situation made it perfectly plain that their goal was not an agreement reached in Montgomery's traditional understanding and good will between the races, but the breeding of animosity and controversy in order to attack segregation.

The incident but points up the necessity for calmness on the part of both white and Negro as Alabama charts her course for the difficult days ahead.

History Of The Boycott Law

Advertiser 2-4-

IT IS now apparent that the present Montgomery County grand jury will consider indictment of the bus boycott leaders. If indictments are returned, presumably the defendants will be tried under the state law governing "Boycotting & Blacklisting" (Title 14, Chapter 20, Sections 54-82, Code of 1940).

Montgomery, Ala.

This law, part of which has been held unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court (the section forbidding picketing), was passed in October, 1921, to meet a labor crisis in Birmingham. Coal mine disturbances—including boycotts, dynamitings and murders—had moved Gov. Kilby to take firm measures. Troops had been on duty in Jefferson County, but, the governor said in his address to the special session of the legislature which convened Oct. 4, state criminal law was inadequate to cope with the situation.

Wed. 2-15-56

★

GOV. KILBY'S proposal to strengthen the boycott law, as embodied in the criminal code of 1907, was not the chief reason for his calling the special session. In fact, the boycott amendment was No. 13 in a list of 18 measures he wanted passed. Of the boycott proposal, Kilby told the legislature:

> The recent coal strikes in this state developed the fact that our civil and criminal laws were inadequate to promptly and properly deal with the conditions which existed just prior to and after the strike was declared. It was then discovered that by reason of the inadequacy of the statutes of this state relating to strikes, boycotts and blacklisting, etc., that the civil authorities were unable to prevent or even check many wrongful acts which inevitably led to the calling of the strike and to the perpetration of many heinous crimes which attended and followed the strike.

★

BECAUSE local authorities were powerless to act with no laws to back them up, it was necessary to call out the militia, Kilby told the legislature. He continued:

> While martial law was not absolutely declared, nor the civil law actually suspended, the condition of affairs was so critical, so serious, that at times it appeared almost imperative that martial law should be declared in the coal mining districts of the state . . . If the statutes of the state had been adequate, and the civil authorities had been able to . . . deal with the . . . labor trouble, much if not all of the great loss of life, property and enormous expenses of the state would have been avoided.

Gov. Kilby spelled out his labor philosophy, which sounds primitive in these Taft-Hartley times. Basically, it was a recognition of the worker's "inalienable right" to work or not to work; the employer's inalienable right to hire and fire as he sees fit.

★

KILBY said the trouble in the coal mines was the work of "foreign agitators" attempting to promote socialism "which often results in anarchy." Then he got to the point:

> A conspiracy to starve or freeze . . . or even an agreement to do acts, the natural and probable result of which is to cause great suffering or inconvenience to the public, is little less than treason against the government . . .

★

THE get-tough-with-labor amendment, substantially the same law under which bus boycott leaders may be indicted, was passed. But, recalls Kilby's house floor leader at the time, Dothan Atty. Oscar L. Thompkins, not without a fight. "I was almost lynched in the process," Thompkins said in a telephone interview yesterday.

A few legislators denounced Kilby's proposal as "part of a nationwide program to destroy organized labor." Charged Rep. Harrison of Jefferson: "The Governor used every means in his power to crush the miners' strike in Jefferson County, then when he was called on to arbitrate, decided every

point in favor of the coal operators."

Rep. Partridge of Franklin spoke against the bill, declaring that its effect would be to "bring the laboring man to the chopping block and lay his head on it."

★

REP. BENNERS of Jefferson spoke for the bill. He said the bill was aimed at labor agitators, and offered this terse, if drastic, advice to labor unions: "Hang your orators."

Yesterday, former floor leader Thomkins said that he hadn't reread the law he helped pass in many years. In fact, he thought it had been declared unconstitutional. (Only parts have been.) However, he confirmed that it was intended for use against labor. Situations like the Montgomery bus boycott were not foreseen.

★

THE law, originally aimed at miners and now brought to bear against non-riders of city buses, says in part:

Two or more persons who, without a just cause or legal excuse for so doing, enter into any combination, conspiracy, agreement, arrangement, or understanding for the purpose of hindering, delaying, or preventing any other persons, firms, corporations . . . from carrying on any lawful business shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

Violation is declared a misdemeanor, with maximum punishment fixed at 6 months in jail or $1,000 fine, or both.

The 'Agitators'

Advertiser P. 4-A

Gov. Folsom hurled his best blow since the start of his second term when he hit at "professional and outside agitators" for their part in the University of Alabama campus riots. The governor named the NAACP, along with professional outsiders, and some inside professional helpers. "If they would leave our problems in Alabama alone," the governor said, "we'd be better able to cope with them."—*Opelika Daily News.*

Sat. 2-18-56

The South's resistance to the latter-day abolitionists will be more successfully carried off if we get the main body of our adversaries properly sighted.

This is not the fact today. We are being diverted by certain windbags who normally attract little notice. P. 4-A

If we're going to resist, it is important to recognize the identity of the "agitators". Montgomery, Ala.

The NAACP makes a pretty likely personal devil for us—fanatical, hostile and foreign-based. But the NAACP is only a satellite "agitator". The ineptness and mediocrity of its leadership is seen by the imprudence of their choice of the two women students as the pioneers at the University. Had the NAACP had any wits about it, it would have carefully screened and selected a discreet, superior Negro youth to enter the medical school.

Who are the consequential "agitators" of the race problem? A realistic inventory, as opposed to the personal devil delusion, reads something like this—

¶ The Democratic Party and its platforms, past and to come this summer.

¶ The Republican Party likewise.

¶ The executive branch of government, as represented by the President now sitting and all Presidents to come, no matter from which party he is taken.

¶ The judicial branch of government. It is all right to vent spleen on the Alabamian, Justice Black, but there is no point in overlooking that if he had voted no the decision would have been 8 to 1.

¶ The legislative branch of government. As Congressman Andrews pointed out anew recently, a majority of the members of the House and Senate are opposed to segregation. They may be insincere, but they vote against segregation.

¶ A majority of the governors of the 48 states, and of their legislators and attorneys general.

¶ A majority of the citizens of the United States, who have little contact with the problem.

¶ A majority of the newspapers, magazines and TV.

¶ The churches.

¶ A majority of the nations of the United Nations.

¶ A majority of the people in the world, two-thirds of whom are colored one hue or the other.

It is these elements that provide the "agitators" that count. Without their agitations, the ill-disciplined leadership of the NAACP wouldn't amount to a hill of beans.

Wipe the NAACP away without trace and the South would still be assailed by agitators. For example, what is Thurgood Marshall, the best of the NAACP, compared with agitators such as Eisenhower, Truman, Harriman, Kefauver, Stevenson, Nixon, Humphrey? Just another lawyer.

You've got to recognize your adversary before you can make skillful resistance.

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Thurs. 2-2-56

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Montgomery, Ala.

The object of the report was to clear up an erroneous statement reported to have been given by an outside source, but included in S. S. Humphries' report of Jan. 17 when he resigned from the Macon County board of registrars, stating that 46 had registered on Jan. 16 when only 14 had registered. This was cleared up well enough, but it did not clear up the statement that Humphries had walked out while we were in session. This too was reported to have been given by another source than Humphries.

P. 4-A

The story did not state that 50% of the 46 registered on Nov. 21 and December 19 were applications held by Humphries taken before I became a member of the board. Said applications had not been accepted or rejected. This was requested in my report.

The news item also stated that I had been under extreme pressure and had received phone calls at all times of night. No such report was given. The only phone call I received was from a news reporter.

The part of the report referring to the action of former boards since 1946 was not discussed or even thought of.

W. H. BENTLEY.

Notasulga, Ala.

◆

Hick State

Editor, The Advertiser:

How corny can you get. I noticed the state contemplates putting the words "Y'All Come" on the 1957 automobile tags.

This is ridiculous, and the more one thinks about it the more laughable and absurd it becomes.

Our state has become the laughing stock of the nation now, and this will just confirm what the rest of the states are thinking, "that we are a first class bunch of hicks," and I can see no reason for drawing the attention of every one out of the state to the fact that Alabama has dropped to a new low.

Most everyone that I have heard say anything about it agree that they will be embarrassed to be seen driving an automobile with a tag that has this slogan on it. There is nothing attractive about it, and certainly does not cause people to want to come to our state. In fact, it is rather repulsive and vulgar usage of the English language. Please don't foster such verbage on the good people of Alabama.

Cullman, Ala. VERBON L. SANDLIN.

◆

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Is it true? In Sunday's *Advertiser-Journal* I read that "Y'All Come" was going to be put on our car tags. Ain't we going to be allowed to keep any dignity?

When I think of the handsome cars and lovely people of Alabama going into the different states and having people everywhere deriding Alabamians it seems dreadful.

Even without "Y'All Come" on the tag I was driving on East River drive in New York City and had to stop for a traffic signal. A group of boys yelled at us—seeing the Alabama tag—"Y'All Come." My little grandchildren wanted to know what they meant. Granny didn't have the heart to tell them.

Is it too late to get them changed? Couldn't we do something about them?

MRS. HARLAN H. YORK.

Luverne, Ala.

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Advertiser

'Y'All Come' Pops Up Again

The Gadsden Times

Feb. 3, 1956

IN 1954, before "Big Jim" became Gov. James E. Folsom of Alabama, he used a homey little slogan to good advantage—"Y'All Come." Before it was over a lot of people got rather tired of hearing and reading about "Y'All Come." More folk apparently didn't mind because plenty of them came. P. 4-A

But now it seems the phrase has become of such historical worth that it will be imprinted on 1957 license plates.

With "Y'All Come" at the bottom and "Heart of Dixie" at the top, Gov. Folsom's own heart should beat with glee with his political message designed for statewide and nationwide distribution for 12 months out of the year.

Of course, there'll be plenty of people like ourselves who will flatly refuse to serve as messagers for Mr. Folsom's cause. Whether it is political advertising in neon lights or a simple wording at the bottom of automobile tags, most persons will object to serving as objects of mobile outdoor advertising for Gov. Folsom or anyone else.

We find this business extremely objectionable, and open to the severest criticism. Mr. Folsom, we are confident, feels very warmly toward those "three little words," but his affrontery in assuming that all Alabamians share such sentimental taste is unparalleled in our memory.

There is a state law (Title 51, Section 708, of the Alabama Code) which refers to "defacing" automobile licenses. Fortunately the law was written solely to discourage criminal intent, for it says that an auto tag cannot, without fine, be mutilated or altered "for the purpose of deception," and there's the out.

Anyone wanting to use a dab of black paint (a simple job since the colors, black on orange, are likely to be reversed next year) or a pair of tin-clippers wil be completely within their legal rights to do a little blotting or trimming.

As a matter of fact, using a little paint or a cutting utensil, for many of us, will be following the letter of the law—ridding ourselves of dictated deception.

◆

The Last Straw

The Dothan Eagle

THE last straw has not yet been piled upon the camel's back in this ecstatically happy State of Folsomania.

But it's coming.

Bob Ingram, who does the Capitol chores for *The Montgomery Advertiser*, reports that when Alabama automobile owners line up to buy their 1957 license tags next fall they will be in for a great, big surprise.

The "Heart of Dixie" slogan will still be there, at the top. Something new will be "Y'All Come" at the bottom.

It's already in the works. The unblushing report was confirmed by Revenue Commissioner Larue Horn and again at Kilby Prison where the tags are made.

Thus, every automobile owner in Alabama will be displaying the governor's personal slogan, front and rear, and paying for the privilege. And every driver who keeps his eyes ahead will be part of one, vast captive audience.

So, you don't like it? You voted against him, or since changed your mind? You'll just scratch out "Y'All Come" or cover it with something else? Oh, no you won't. There's a law against that. It's the statute known as defacing or marring license plates.

If the governor orders the slogan as long as he's in office, you'll carry it—front and rear—through 1959. That's because he's in position to do exactly that until he goes out of office in January, 1959. His successor can do the inscribing for the 1960 tags, but no sooner.

Then, maybe, you can get a new message, like "He Went That-Away," but not before.

"Y'All Come!"—and the line forms on the right Oct. 1, 1956.

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Wed. 2-1-56

The Question Of A Wisconsin Schoolgirl

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Our Social Problems class of Saxon Union Free High School has recently read an article from the Jan. 22 *Minneapolis Sunday Tribune* about the bus situation concerning the Negroes. P. 4-A

Our class now has the viewpoints of the north and would appreciate it if you sent us one of your issues carrying the Southern viewpoints.

Saxon, Wis. JANE HEFFNER.

Montgomery

"Dear Jane: Perhaps this note tailored for a classroom in Wisconsin will be better than previously written editorials, which have repeatedly made the point that there isn't going to be any general race mixing in Alabama for a long time to come.

"The U.S. Supreme Court says we are going to mix the races. We say we aren't.

"Is this defiance of the court? Yes.

"Is this possible? American history answers yes. Alabama gets part of her inspiration from Wisconsin. Your teacher is doubtless an intellectually honest person and educated. So get her to tell your class about the time Wisconsin defied the court in the 1850s. Wisconsin believed in abolition of slavery as sincerely as Alabama believes in segregation. The Supreme Court of Chief Justice Taney ordered Wisconsin to obey the Fugitive Slave Act. The Wisconsin court would not even accept the Supreme Court's writ. It was passionate defiance. Ask your teacher to tell you all about it.—Ed."

◆

Masterpiece

Editor, The Advertiser:

W. B. Houseal's letter in yesterday's *Advertiser* is a masterpiece—you should reprint it for a week in the largest type you can find.

Montgomery. JOHN W. SIMS.

◆

Fitting Tribute

Editor, The Advertiser:

Stuart X. Stephenson's tribute to Frank Grove in *The Advertiser* on Sunday, Jan. 22, was gratifying to members of our profession. We appreciate the attention which our leader certainly deserves and commend the honest appraisal of his contributions to education and the teaching profession in Alabama. Mr. Stephenson did an excellent job of reporting.

MRS. JOHN I. WAITES.

Montgomery. President, MTA.

◆

Humiliating Review

Editor, The Advertiser:

I feel so strongly against your review of the Hess recital given Thursday night, as an injustice not only to the public but to the excellent committee which brings to us such valuable programs. Please send some other critic to report these concerts, some one who knows something about the best in music.

I was humiliated in even reading such a review of a lovely personality as Dame Hess.

Thanking you for your excellent newspaper.

GERTRUDE C. HUSSEY.

Montgomery.

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Advertiser

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Tues. 2-14-56

The Soft Core

P. 4-A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — After hearing Sen. Eastland's staunch defense of home, motherhood and Lister Hill, I am convinced that our politicians, the soft core of the resistance movement, will retreat every step of the way until the last school in Alabama is integrated.

384

If the Citizens Council is anything more than a carnival sideshow of imported breastbeaters, they can best prove it by drawing up articles of faith to which all pro-segregationists can subscribe, and pledge themselves to oppose actively any candidate for public office who refuses to endorse these articles.

FORD McK. MacELVAIN.

◆

Mob Rule In Lowndes Too

LaFayette, Ala.

Editor, The Advertiser:

Mob rule cannot be condoned. It cannot be condoned in Tuscaloosa any more than it can be condoned in the rural counties of Alabama. We must face the facts. Mob rule was in force at the University last week. Mob rule was *also* in force in Lowndes County last week.

The Child Welfare Worker of the Department of Public Welfare in Lowndes County was on a routine mission of mercy in an isolated section of the county last week. This lady is a graduate of Agnes Scott College in Decatur, Ga., and a graduate student of the Universities of Mississippi and Alabama. She is a state and federal employe. For eight years she has carried out her assignments giving help to the white and colored unfortunates of Lowndes County.

Alone and unprotected on a rural road, she passed a colored school just dismissing for the day. Two teen-aged Negro boys refused to move from the road as she was passing. When she slowed to a stop, a rock was thrown at her car by a Negro girl and another Negro girl spit on the ground at her feet. She was surrounded by a group of "hostiles." This occasion, as much as the celebrated autherine Lucy case, calls for serious thinking by citizens of all races. These Negro children would not have acted in such a maner if their parents had not been subjected to outside propaganda. The progress for better racial relations which is the work of more than three generations is being nullified by foreign agitators who do not give a fig for the workable status-quo.

This incident in Lowndes County, remote as it may seem, has all the elements of tragedy in its content that the Tuscaloosa incident has. This "happening" however, will most assuredly not reach the public press as its celebrated counterpart did. Why? Because the NAACP will not recognize it for its undertones of Negro violence, and it will never be printed in the Detroit, Chicago, or New York newspapers.

L. J. POWELL.

Lowndesboro, Ala.

◆

Folsom Is Half Right

Editor, The Advertiser:

I agree with Jim Folsom when he says that 98% of the people in Alabama are against "mob rule." In fact, I would say that 99% are against it and that same 99% are also against putting a Negro in a white school.

Pine Level. W. T. BARNETT.

◆

Blackout Boycott News

Editor, The Advertiser:

Iread Joe Azbell's columns Sunday and Monday. Part of it was amusing and the rest was good horse sense. If let alone, everything would settle down and be as it used to be.

Newspapers and television are giving too much publicity to the disturbing situation. The leaders are eating it up, seeing themselves on television and being on the front page of the newspapers. If all the publicity would stop, they would see that no one cares one way or the other.

Both white and colored people have worked together and been good to each other. Let's see how quick all this disturbance can be stopped. Give less publicity to the agitators, then they will see just how much our people, white and colored, care about them. Peace of mind among our people is all that matters now.

ESTHER BROWN.

Montgomery RFD.

Police investigate pushing incident by whites, Negroes

Birmingham, Ala. News 2-16-56

City police today were called to investigate a "pushing" incident between groups of white and Negro children in Inglenook.

Asst. Chief J. C. Lance said the incident took place at 41st-av and 40th-pl. Involved were students from nearby Inglenook Grammar School and Negro students who catch a bus at that intersection which takes them to Parker High School.

No one was hurt and no arrests were made. Chief Lance said today's incident was a mild one and the apparent outgrowth of a rock-throwing incident several days ago.

WHITE CITIZENS in the area had complained to the Police Department that white students were chased upon their porches by rock-throwing Negroes.

Four girl students from Parker High were detained for questioning by police at the scene this morning. But Parker Principal R. C. Johnson said the girls denied having anything to do with the pushing.

Chief Lance said Principal Johnson and Inglenook Principal Roy Shelton had scheduled a conference to discuss ways to prevent future trouble.

RACIAL CLASH ALERT SOUNDED IN BESSEMER

Commercial Appeal Jan. 2-19-56 Memphis, Tenn.

Riots Fail To Materialize, Rumors Are Blamed

BESSEMER, Ala., Feb. 18.—(AP)—Rumors of an impending racial clash in this suburban industrial city failed to materialize, city officials said Saturday.

Police officers patroled the streets and two National Guard units stood by after unfounded rumors that Negroes were planning a "push day" Friday to create racial incidents. P. 3

Rumors began circulating Monday that Negroes would attempt to take over buses in the downtown area when the stores closed Friday night. Police Chief C. T. Mullins prepared his force for any emergency and alerted National Guard units here and at Birmingham.

The watch was called off at midnight Friday after nothing happened. Police were at a loss to explain how the stories started.

City Commission Lauded For Stand On Racial Issue

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Thurs. 2-16-56

The Montgomery City Commission has won the support of many residents of Lipscomb, Ala., for its stand against racial integration. P. 5-A

Commissioner Frank Parks yesterday announced receipt of a petition signed by 256 residents of the Jefferson County community adjoining Bessemer. It was received by registered mail from L. D. Allred, a member of the Lipscomb City Council and said:

"We, the undersigned citizens . . . wish to extend to you congratulations for the stand you have taken in the fight for segregation. Keep up the good work."

The signers numbered 10 per cent of Lipscomb's population of 2,550.

Parks and the other members of Montgomery's commission, Mayor W. A. Gayle and Commissioner Clyde Sellers, adopted a get-tough policy last month toward the Negro boycott of Montgomery City Lines, and announced at the same time that all three commissioners had joined the pro-segregation Central Alabama Citizens Council.

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Sat. 1-14-56

Editor, You Remind Me Of Neutralist Nehru

P. 4-A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—So many misstatements have occurred on your editorial page with reference to integration of negroes in public schools and as to the Citizens Councils that I feel it is proper that some one make answer.

Some weeks ago you mentioned that integration had been notably successful in the City of Washington. If you intended to say that there had been no attending violence you are absolutely correct. However, here are some of the results:

Montgomery

Formerly there were about 64% white pupils and 36% negroes, that percentage is now approximately reversed as the integration has forced many white families to move out of Washington into states where their children can attend segregated schools. And reports from the school officials show that the integration has caused the scholastic standards of the Washington schools to be lowered.

Ala.

General Eisenhower opposed integration in the Army when he was its head. President Eisenhower, the leader of the Republican Party, who follows in the footsteps of his predecessor in seeking Negro votes for his party, does not send his grandchildren to the integrated schools of Washington. They go to a private Episcopal school in Virginia, where there is no integration, although the President is a Presbyterian.

Vice President Nixon and the Cabinet give full cry to integration but their children attend a school to which *only one* Negro child has been admitted.

In an editorial today occurs the following statement: "Commissioner Sellers is a card carrying member of the White Citizens Council, an organization dedicated to boycott and economic sanctions against Negroes." The statement as to the Citizens Council is absolutely false. Had you taken the trouble to investigate you would have found that you were making a false statement.

The Citizens Councils are dedicated, as was *The Advertiser* in times past, to the preservation of our Southern customs and laws by legal means only.

I know whereof I speak as I have helped in the formation of several county councils in Alabama.

There are many legal methods we can, and which I sincerely trust we shall, adopt to preserve the laws and customs for which our ancestors so courageously fought, even when Alabama was occupied by Federal soldiers.

It is indeed regrettable that you have never had the courage to take a stand either for integration or against it. One can't be neutral. However, you remind me of neutralist Nehru, all of your criticism is of those who have organized to fight integration, just as Nehru—who says he is neutral but only criticizes the West.

W. R. WITHERS.

Greensboro, Ala.

◆

Mutually Exclusive Roles

Editor, The Advertiser:

After reading Tom Johnson's column in *The Advertiser*, in which the ambitious young minister of Lutheran faith is described as taking such an active part in the 90-year-old Civil War question of segregation of the races:

It is apparent that this young and well meaning minister is conscientious and feels he is doing the right thing. We need lots of young men like that and I have no objections to their feeling free to use their time as best they see fit.

For one so young to move into a strange section or into a new state and to immediately project himself into a heated controversy as age-old as the separation of races at the same time hiding behind the skirts of the ministry in order to defy the very law that grants him immunity, shows a disregard for both Christian principle and for established law which has as its purpose to guard the peace that comes from nowhere except through Christ the Prince of Peace.

Can one imagine the Master using such tactics to serve the Lord?

Pastor Graetz is either a Christian or a rabble-rouser. He cannot be both.

Montgomery JOHN KELTON.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Advertiser

Schizophrenic Editorial Page

EDITOR, THT TDVERTISER — It is amazing and hard to understand how wan editorial as facetious as "Two Questions Arise", and the splendid one entitled "A Commanding Event In The Resistance" could appear on the same editorial page (Jan. 11).

The thundering revolt of Virginia against the race mixing order of the Supreme Court was told in a powerful and ably written editorial of that day.

The other editorial, in which you attempt to cloud the issue involving sound advice as to ending the bus boycott given in a letter by Mr Fred Ball (Jan. 8), was well answered by Mr. Ball himself Thursday.

Sun. 1-15-56

The two editorials were so different in character that one must conclude they were written by different persons; or else the writer has a split personality.

However, some good may have been served; for in your editorial baiting of Mr. Ball, you inserted a copy (just for the fun of it, no doubt) of a request blank for membership in the Citizens Council. Into the office of the Council, applications have been received written on those very blanks which you so facetiously inserted.

P. 2-B

MRS. J. F. DUGGAR, JR.

Hope Hull, Ala.

Montgomery, Ala.

Another John Brown

Editor, The Advertiser:

I read the article written by Tom Johnson of *The Advertiser* staff describing the activities of Rev. Robert S. Graetz. While he was sent here to be the pastor of a Negro church on Cleveland Ave., it appears that he spends more time stirring up dissatisfaction among the Negroes than he spends in the pulpit.

I noticed that Graetz hails from Charleston, W. Va. After reading this article I just casually picked up a book from my encyclopedia, flipped it open and by some strange coincidence I read that in 1859, just 96 years ago, in Charleston, Va., another fanatic by the name of John Brown was hanged.

JAMES H. GREENE.

Montgomery

◆

The Only Discontented Race

Editor, The Advertiser:

Once Major Moton, who succeeded Booker Washington at Tuskegee, made a talk here at the Old Ship Church.

He said, among other things, that the Negro race was the only race on earth ~~that wanted to be something~~ else.

That a Chinaman was content to be a Chinaman, a Japanese a Japanese, ~~Frenchman a~~ Frenchman. But the Negro wanted to be a white man!

He afterwards added that there were only two times when a Negro excelled a white man—one was in singing, the other, dying.

Montgomery E. MACY.

◆

Point Of No Return

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have had the privilege of hearing the NAACP tape recording which Sen. Engelhart was successful in having played in the Alabama Senate earlier this week and would like to indulge your kindness, to recommend the playing of this tape before every white organization in Montgomery, and to further recommend to every member of these respective organizations that you hear this tape in its entirety.

When you people hear this tape which is a recording of an address delivered by a New York NAACP rabble-rouser before a Negro meeting in neighboring Mississippi you will then awaken to the seriousness of this situation.

When you hear this taped message in which this race-baiting NAACP leader tells his Negro audience of the diabolical scheme for negroes not to be satisfied with integration of schools and churches until they have also integrated the home and bedroom then you will face the cold facts that we are fastly drifting to that point of no return.

One listen to this tape recording and you housewives will be happy to do your own cooking and house cleaning for awhile until this campaign is defeated. For you who don't know how to cook you'll certainly enjoy learning and you won't mind cutting your hand a few times opening canned foods.

As for me, I'm prouder of my membership card in the Citizens Council than in any other organization. At these meetings the limelight is not hogged by politicians who are too spineless to speak out on this segregation issue.

S. J. NEWTON.

Union Springs, Ala.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery Ala P. 2-B

Where Is Folsom In The Segregation Fight?

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — As an avid reader of *The Advertiser* and one who enjoys your editorial page comment, I have been waiting for someone to point out the reason or reasons for our worthy Governor's shy stand on the Supreme Court ruling abolishing school segregation. Governors in other southern states have spoken out in one way or another, usually taking a stand against having segregation forced upon the white and colored citizens of their state. Virginia's legislature, with the backing of Governor Stanley, has paved the way for a referendum upon the school issue, to provide for state funds to be used to pay tuition for pupils wishing to attend private schools should integration be accomplished in the state.

Yet our Gov. Folsom, no shy bird at all and one who has never seemed scared of the federal boys—for instance the asinine row over the use of National Guard planes for his football flights last fall—has been extremely reticent on the segregation conflict. If memory serves correctly, he has said that the Supreme Court edict must be obeyed, and that law is law. For one who has flaunted, twisted, and openly defied other laws—i.e., yes Ole Jim stole, but it was for the good of you folks—Big Jim's hesitancy in this segregation matter seems indeed strange. He has taken *no* lead to preserve southern traditions and his lack of conviction has served to discourage many who should like to keep separate but equal school facilities.

Big Jim's plush treatment of the visiting Negro Congressman Powell of New York while the Congressman was on a speaking tour stop in Montgomery caused many people to wonder as to the Governor's leanings in the racial issues sprouting in the Southland today.

For want of a more authoritative answer for the Governor's failure to speak out on the segregation issue, it is my belief that he is planning to run for the U.S. Senate in 1958 and wants to use the Negro vote in Alabama to help propel him to Washington. If he could be propelled to the Senate now and guarantee to stay there it might be a good thing for his home state. However, he will continue as governor and then use his apparent support of the Supreme Court integration ruling to make hay with the Negro voters of the state and there will be plenty of them by 1958 if present trends continue.

It is no secret that something can be done to delay or prevent school integration in Alabama, but something must be done soon. Several measures now before the state legislature provide means for circumventing the Supreme Court's ruling. With assistance and encouragement from Gov. Folsom — still a powerful figure in the state regardless of the loss of power that your paper tried to imply from the passage of Amendment 20 in the December referendum—a satisfactory measure can be enacted in time to have a ready solution to the lawsuits which may soon be forthcoming to force compliance with integration.

Virginia has shown that public opinion is strong now and that the majority of southern citizens favor continued school segregation. As a sign of things to come in this election year, the recent rulings by the ICC abolishing segregated waiting rooms for public carriers engaged in interstate commerce are but the forerunner of other far-reaching federal moves to eliminate segregation.

As an Auburn junior who has known many Negroes in the South, the North, and in the Army, I believe that one must judge them as individuals. But when their so-called progressive leaders of both races force them into our schools en masse then it is time to call a halt. Personally I don't mind going to school with Negroes. I have done so in the Army and don't feel contaminated and hope I didn't contaminate them. My reason for resisting integration is that many young Negro and white children will be the ones to bear the brunt of suddenly enforced integration. The effects on white and colored alike might well destroy any feeling of brotherhood that has built up through the years.

Auburn, Ala. LUTHER CLANTON

◆

Spoils System In Disguise

Editor, The Advertiser:

It would be the part of wisdom for the people of Alabama generally, and the people of Montgomery specifically, and the various counties throughout the state, to become aware of the deceit and despotism that is brazenly being practiced upon them by certain "autocrats" of the various departments of the State and of Montgomery. From the top hats on down to the heads of departments, there are those who hide behind the cloak of the *claimed* system known by the honored name of *merit*, and instead, actually make the merit system jobs juicy "political plums."

The law requires those who anticipate serving their state, city or respective counties as employees, to measure up to certain standards and specifications, and submit themselves to written examinations and various performance tests, in order to prove their respective qualifications, experience and aptitude for the available positions. This is as it should be.

Adv. 1-22-36

Now, let us say, our applicants have fulfilled their part. They have filed applications and have taken the examination and passed the required tests, and thus are "qualified" for the position. Their names are then placed on eligible lists—supposedly, at least, in the order of the grade or percentage made by the examinee.

The successful applicants then have the right to expect that the certifications and appointments will be properly made in right rotation, according to the rank and rating on the list, which will assure that the worker appointed will be the best qualified one.

The state claims that its rule is: three names are to be certified from the very top of the list by the personnel department and the respective applicants are to be notified in writing to present themselves to the department head for interview and decision. The selection is supposed to be made from those first three names, if the applicants are amenable to accept the position. If they are not, then the next three names in order are certified. etc.

The city claims their rule is five names are to be certified from the very top of the list by the personnel department, and then the same procedure is supposedly followed.

The "Merit System" does not mean that the applicants, pawns for the politicians, who, on the surface slyly make some visible pretense of going through the proper procedure, when they have already selected the "chosen one," regardless of what place, if any, that particular favored individual's name appears on the list. They do not always follow the same procedure to deceive; they subtly vary their methods to gain their point and suit their convenience at the time.

Sometimes the prearranged plans are made by the heads of the state or city departments. Then again, it may not suit the whims of the personnel department to certify the individuals in the proper order. They, in their capacity as personnel department heads or assistants, are little czars in their domain. But sometimes they are mere puppets of their superiors.

It would be a good idea to require that a printed list of the eligible names on the merit system lists and the percentages made by the examinees be placed in all the outer offices of the personnel department of the state, city and county offices, and that a record of the date of each certification and appointment be recorded on these lists, beside the individual's name, as and when they are made.

Let's clear up everything while we are at it. The question and answer sheet of the individual who has taken the examination should be made available to the individual's perusal to *see for himself* if he so desires, the result of his efforts.

Another very important item has just recently come to the attention of the writer. After the top hats and their cohorts have delved into the eligible list from top to bottom and do not find the name of the person they wish to have as an incumbent of the available position, regardless of how qualified the various names on the current list, they simply decide on giving another examination. If the results of the new examination do not net them the one they desire, well—what of it.

Let's have finished with this unhealthy situation once and for all. Let's spoil their little rotten spoils game and make it a real clean game of merit.

Montgomery. HAZEL ANDERSON

Ala. Approves Plan To Void Mixing Order

Constitution Fri. 1-20-36 Atlanta Ga.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 19 (AP). The Alabama Senate today shouted its approval of a House-passed "nullification" resolution declaring the U.S. Supreme Court anti-segregation rulings "of no effect" in Alabama.

"Softened" interposition resolution offered in Virginia. Page 2. P. 1

It passed by a convincing voice vote shortly after Gov. James E. Folsom used Robert E. Lee's birthday as an occasion to blast legislative foes who he said raised the race issue to block reapportionment.

The nullification resolution which swept through the House Tuesday with but four dissenting votes is similar to resolutions proposed in Georgia, Mississippi and Virginia.

It is part of a process known as interposition whereby the states demand that Congress submit a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution clarifying the rights of states in certain matters.

The resolution says that the U.S. Constitution was formed by the "sanction of the several states" and contends that, "There can be no tribunal above their authority to decide whether the compact made by them be violated."

A Memorable Press Conference

Folsom Says He Hasn't Read Nullification Resolution; Asks, 'What's It All About?'; Will Not Run For Delegate

Advertiser 1-4-A

Montgomery, Ala.

By Bob Ingram

A 90-MINUTE delay in the starting time of Gov. Folsom's press conference yesterday was in the end a cheap price of admission. He had summoned the conference.

Six reporters and four Folsom executives sat in silence through a goodly portion of the session while the chief executive incoherently elaborated his views on the Nullification resolution passed by the legislature last week.

Ingram

When he finally completed his Nullification declaration, the baffled Ray Lackey of the United Press asked:

"Governor, would you mind going over that again, I think I'm a little confused."

Lackey was not alone in his confusion.

Mon. 1-26-36

The press conference had been called the previous day for 9:30 a.m., but Executive Press Secretary Ralph Hammond later Tuesday afternoon said the time had been changed to 9 a.m.

At that appointed hour the press corps was present. Finally, at 10:30, Hammond summoned the reporters to the Folsom office and the conference began.

"Boys, I'm sorry about the delay, but I slept till 9:45 this morning," Folsom said. "That's the first time I've done that in a long time."

Present in the office were Finance Director Fuller Kimbrell, Executive Secretary O. H. Finney, Publicity Director Geoffrey Birt and Hammond.

'I Haven't Even Read It'

THE first question asked was one seeking to determine Folsom's feeling on the Nullification resolution.

This reporter, in asking the question, referred to it as a "significant resolution."

"Who said it was 'significant'?" Folsom demanded. "I haven't even read it, what's it all about."

'Like A Hound Dog Baying'

FOLLOWING a brief explanation of the resolution's intent by several reporters, Folsom opened fire.

"That resolution doesn't mean a thing: the one thing to do about it is to have a constitutional convention and let the delegates consider such things as Nullification," he said. "If they are sincere about it, they could debate Nullification at the convention."

"I'm for Nullification if it comes out of a convention, in fact I'm gonna ask my friends to reintroduce the constitutional convention resolution tomorrow," Folsom continued.

An identical resolution introduced on the opening day of this special session was given a crushing defeat last week by both the House and Senate.

"All this clap-trap about the resolution is just like a hound dog baying at the moon and claiming it's got the moon treed," Folsom added. "That resolution is nothing but a piece of paper and is just like a resolution mourning the death of Joe Doakes, a former member of the legislature. It don't mean a thing."

'Will You Sign It?'

"Are you going to sign the resolution," a reporter asked.

"Whenever I get ready to send it up, I will make my position clear," Folsom replied emphatically. "Back in 1954, even before the Supreme Court made its decision, I said on the stump that I wasn't gonna make the colored children go to school with the white children, and vice versa."

"If those people upstairs (the legislature) are sincere about all of this they will let the people vote on a convention," he continued. "That is the only place where we can do anything about Nullification. A resolution won't do it. I'm for a convention."

"The folks doing all the talking up there don't want anything but a political issue," he concluded.

Boutwell Bill O.K.

THE governor's announcement that he intended to reintroduce his constitutional convention resolution prompted another question.

"Governor, do you think the convention resolution has any more chance of passage now than last week when it was turned down," a reporter queried.

"No, but if those folks are really sincere up there it will be successful," he said. "But all that talk now is just a bunch of hogwash."

Folsom was then asked his opinion of the "freedom of choice" school bill now under consideration in the legislature. As it proposes an amendment to the Constitution, the governor has no authority to veto it.

"It sounds alright to me, and has more weight to it than the resolution," he replied. "I'm strictly for Nullification tested out in a convention. If approved in that manner it would tote some water then—that's t-o-t--e, it's an old Negro expression."

Hawkinsdawkins

PRESS Secretary Hammond interrupted at this point to note that the word "tote" was originated by Shakespeare, not by the Negroes. Folsom accepted the correction but did not appear to be convinced.

On a different subject, Folsom was asked if Rep. George Hawkins of Etowah was still his House floor leader. The question stemmed from an obvious shift of authority in the House in recent days, with Hawkins sitting in the shade while Montgomery's Joe Dawkins moved to the front.

Folsom's reply to this question was brief and to the point

"You are goddamn right he's still my floor leader, and he's the best damn floor leader in the state," the governor stated.

'A Lot Of People Mad'

ANOTHER question followed, and got an equally decisive reply—"Governor, do you plan to run as a delegate to the National Democratic Convention?"

"Hell, I wouldn't run for dog catcher today. I'd get the hell beat out of me," Folsom responded, a grin creasing his face for the first time during the conference.

How could he explain his tremendous drop in popularity since May, 1947?

"Anybody that tries to do and accomplish as much as I do is bound to make a lot of people mad," Folsom explained.

With that the press conference ended. It had been unlike any other session in that the newsmen had shown a marked reluctance to question the governor. Instead, the conference was subject to awkward, strained silences, each reporter waiting hopefully for another to do or say something, whether it be right or wrong.

And at the conclusion the newsmen's first action was not to write an account of Folsom's conference, but instead to relay to their superiors—be they editors or wire service bureau chiefs—descriptions of the unusual circumstances surrounding the conference.

Ala. Gov. Hits Resolution On Interposition

Daily World P. 1

Atlanta, Ga.

MONTGOMERY — (SNS) — Alabama Governor James E. Folsom Wednesday described the state legislature's resolution for "interposition" as "... a two-bit resolution."

He further said it was like "a hound dog baying at the moon" to attempt to evade or nullify the Supreme Court decision outlawing public school segregation.

However, in respect for what he termed the 'sincerity' of the measures proponents, he announced plans to have the once-defeated convention resolution reintroduced in the legislature.

He said: "If they,re sincere about it, they can debate it out in a constitutional convention."

The governor admitted that he had said during his 1954 campaign that the state "wasn't going to force the colored children to go to school with our white children, and vice versa."

Thurs. 1-26-56

However, since the Supreme Court ruled, he has been on record as saying that the Court is the law of the land and cannot be evaded. In reference to the constitutional convention on nullification, he said that if it were adopted he would be for it.

"But," he continued, "you can't do it by resolution. Thats simply a piece of paper."

The resolution passed the Legislature last week declaring the court decision "null, void and of no effect" in this state. It was based on the reasoning that the Supreme Court had no authority to outlaw racial segregation in the classroom and therefore Alabama isn't bound by it.

FOLSOM TOLD a news conference today the legislative action "is like a hound dog baying at the moon . . . it doesn't mean a thing."

If the Legislature wants to take a stand like that—"and I'm for nullification"—the governor said it should be done in a constitutional convention.

HE REFERRED to the convention program for which he called the present special session — a convention to rewrite Alabama's organic law.

The place to speak out on nullification of the Supreme Court decree is in such a convention, he argued, and not on a "simple

Folsom terms nullification bill 'just hogwash'

News Wed. 1-25-56 P. 1

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 25—(AP)—Gov. James E. Folsom declared today that a resolution adopted by the Legislature seeking to nullify the Supreme Court's school integration decree in Alabama "is just a bunch of hogwash."

Birmingham

But he declined to say whether he will sign the resolution, veto it or let it go through without his approval.

piece of paper."

Folsom told newsmen he intends to have his leaders reintroduce a constitutional convention resolution in the Senate tomorrow even though both Houses defeated it last week.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Nine Men And The Nation

The desegregation decision of the Supreme Court has done a lot of harm and it is certain to do greater harm in the future, and finally bring about national decay and degeneration unless the requisite number of states, through their Legislatures, nullify that decision.

This nation belongs to the people and not to the nine men who compose the Supreme Court. The sovereign states have had so many of their inalienable rights taken away by those in authority that we are gradually drifting into such a form of centralized government that the people and the states shall have no voice in the affairs of government. If the Supreme Court can dictate as to how the states shall run their schools they can also dictate the kind of school books to be taught in the schools. There is more danger to the freedom of a people by the gradual usurpation of power by those in authority than there is by invasion of a foreign foe.

When the Supreme Court disregards the Constitution it is high time for the states to exert their rights under the Constitution and nullify any decision of that court that destroys their sovereignty. Our government belongs to the people and not to those in authority whether elected by the people or nominated by the chief executive and confirmed by the Senate.

In its entirety the Constitution says this: This government belongs to the people, and those in authority are servants of the people. Modern and recent construction of the Constitution is in reverse. The construction now is: Those in authority are the masters and the people are their servants.

Preamble to the Constitution says, among other things, "Insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, etc." Domestic tranquillity! There are riots and bloodshed in many states; is that domestic tranquillity? There is turbulence, violence, and hostility in cities, towns, at passenger depots, on trains, buses, in schools, and all this turmoil and blood is caused directly by the desegregation decision. Is this what the Supreme Court calls "promote the general welfare?"

The Supreme Court is composed of just men, not always the most brilliant and brainiest of men, nor the greatest of men, nor of the most righteous of men, nor the most farseeing of men. The pendulum swings back and forth, and so it is in many things.

L. B. RAINEY,
Gadsden, Ala.

Keep Race Issue From Aiding Communist Cause

The two well known sides to the race issue, segregation and integration, have become so paramount in the public mind that the real significance of race problems may well be lost. And in the light of a rapid rise in the intensity of racial turmoil it may behoove us all, regardless of our stand on the issue, to consider a third side—reservation.

Various pressure groups, such as the NAACP and "White Citizens Council," are stirring the public to a disturbing emotional pitch. The press and radio only add to the tenseness of the situation. Such magazines as Look and Post have played up the race problem.

What these people apparently do not realize is that they are contributing to the goals of subversives. We who respond are equally guilty.

It is obvious, to me at least, that Communists are exploiting the emotions and prejudices of our people, both white and black. The Communists are old hands at capitalizing on internal strife. Toward this end, they stop at nothing to create that strife. To Communists, segregation is not an issue; it is a tool with which they can mobilize against American solidarity and harmony.

And so, when we thinking people partake in the haggle and animosity involved in segregation issues, we become unwitting allies with the Soviet cause.

Northern agitators deserve to be indicted for their pressure activities. But we Southerners are not free from blame either. Many of us are more determined to stop integration than the pseudo-idealists are to enforce it. As a result, we are encouraging the dissolution of mutual harmony and understanding.

The pro-integrationists should realize that cannot be legislated.

Further, the integrationists must realize that their ends cannot be realized by a "cram it down their throats" attitude.

Next, we Southerners should admit to ourselves that there are many inequities we have imposed on the Negro. In all honesty with our conscience—and before the eyes of world opinion — we should strive resolutely to enhance the Negro's education, civil liberties, and standard of living. And I think we will, provided everybody will get off our backs.

The stand that both sides should take is: "Don't fight it; it's bigger than both of us." Time, patience, and moderate, yet progressive, action can resolve our problems.

In the meanwhile, let's not allow the race issue to add to this nation's blunders against Soviet strategy. Let us not fulfill the Communist prophecy that we will "participate in our own destruction."

WILLIAM R. KLEM,
~~138 Toomer, Auburn,~~ Ala.

FOLSOM VIEWS AIRED

Nullification Plan Branded 'Hogwash'

Trying to nullify the Supreme Court's school integration decree by legislative resolution, said Gov. James E. Folsom yesterday, is "like a hound dog baying at the moon."

But he told reporters he would applaud the pro-segregation stand if taken "at a constitutional convention." So he announced plans to have an already defeated convention resolution reintroduced in the legislature today.

"If they're sincere about it," the governor said in reference to sponsors of the nullification act approved by the Legislature last week, "they can debate it out in a constitutional convention."

Folsom said the resolution which seeks to declare the Supreme Court anti-segregation decree "null, void and of no effect" in Alabama "doesn't mean anything . . . just a bunch of hogwash . . . a two-bit resolution."

But he wouldn't say whether he plans to sign it, veto it or let it go through without his approval. He has until next Monday to act.

The governor didn't make it clear at his news conference just how a nullification resolution would fit into a constitutional convention debate. Neither did he explain why he considers it ineffective when the states can amend the federal constitution by legislative act if enough of them join in.

Folsom told reporters he had "made it plain during my campaign (for election in 1954) that Alabama "wasn't going to force the colored children to go to school with our good white children and vice versa."

But since then the Supreme Court has outlawed segregated classrooms, he continued, "and I'm for nullification if a convention adopts it. But you can't do it resolution. That's simply a piece of paper."

Folsom called the present special session of the Legislature Jan. 3 to consider convention to rewrite Alabama's organic law. Both the House and Senate killed the convention plan last week.

The nullification resolution awaiting the governor's action seeks to set the Supreme Court decision aside in Alabama on the theory that nothing in the federal constitution prohibits segregation and the court had no authority to outlaw it.

Until the federal constitution is amended probably to make segregation unlawful, the resolution contends, the states aren't bound by the court decree.

Sponsors of the resolution say 13 states can nullify the decision because it would take 36 of the 48 to adopt a constitutional amendment.

They argue that the federal government has only the powers delegated to it by the states which banded together to form the union, and that when a federal agency goes beyond that authority, the states can interpose their sovereign rights.

The governors of Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia agreed at a conference in Richmond, Va., Tuesday to support interposition resolutions in their states protesting the court decree.

Legislative activity in Alabama came to a complete halt temporarily yesterday except for a touring Senate committee investigating timber cutting at Little Mounain State Park.

The House Judiciary Committee, only group with a meeting scheduled at the Capitol, had to abandon it for lack of a quorum.

38a 1956

Short History Of Nullification

Advertiser P-A

Which Is Now Debated At The Capitol, Under The Name Of 'Interposition'; It Has Been Attempted North And South; Succeeded In Alabama In 1833, But Of Course There's 1861

Montgomery Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 18 (AP) —The Alabama House of Representatives yesterday approved a resolution [86 to 4] calling the Supreme Court's segregation rulings "null, void and of no effect" in Alabama.

What is this? Wpe 1-19-56

It is the spectacular resurrection of the olden doctrine of Nullification, or Interposition. 38a

The circumstance is ironic: Folsom, governor, vaingloriously summoned the legislature into extraordinary session to rewrite the Alabama Constitution. Instead, the legislature is in the act of rewriting the United States Constitution.

The South is aflare today with proposals to resort to the sword of Nullification, notably in Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama. The purpose is to defy the Supreme Court's race mixing order.

The sponsors of this latterday Nullification do not promise that the attempt will be successful, but not without basis do they call it a powerful weapon of protest to inform the nation that the South is unreconciled to immediate race mixing.

And what is unassailable is that the history of the United States is strewn with cases in which states have successfully defied the federal government on the basis of state sovereignty.

Alabama in the 1830s furnished one such example, as you will see overleaf.

Nullification vs. Interposition

THE DIFFERENCE between Nullification and Interposition is naught. The current selection is, however, Interposition, probably because Nullification has a harder name on account of the association with John C. Calhoun and the Civil War.

Nullification embraces the doctrine that states are sovereigns that simply abdicated a limited number of defined powers to the federal government; that the Constitution was the instrument of limitation. The people of the states gave this power to the federal government and they retain the power to prevent the Union government from improper meddling in their internal affairs (such as race mixing).

The theory is that when the Union government acts beyond its powers as granted by the sovereign states and defined by the Constitution, a state can nullify the excess.

In short, the state "interposes" its sovereign authority between its people and the federal abuse (thus "nullifying" the abuse).

Fathers Of Nullification

THE ORIGIN of Nullification (*The Advertiser* prefers the candor of Nullification to the discreet euphemism Interposition) is illustrious.

The original sponsors were not Dixiecrats wearing magnolias in their lapels. They were Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, the "Father of the Constitution," no less.

Jefferson and Madison were bent upon nullifying acts of Congress because, in their view, the acts were unconstitutional. These were the Alien & Sedition Acts.

These acts permitted President John Adams to export his foreign-born political enemies and imprison his native-born political enemies, such as editors and congressmen.

It was simply "against the law" to criticize the Adams Administration.

Virginia and Kentucky rebelled at these curbs on free speech. Thomas Jefferson, then vice president of the United States, wrote a resolution for the Kentucky legislature calling for Nullification of the Alien & Sedition Acts. Madison did the same for Virginia.

This first attempt at Nullification was not pursued to its logical conclusion because the Alien & Sedition Acts (written in the hysteria of the French Revolution fright) had an expiration date and were not reenacted.

Yankee Nullification

NOW WILL WE strike a strangely familiar note. The Nullification procedure of Virginia and Kentucky in 1798 brought stern and formal censure from the unconcerned legislatures of Delaware, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Vermont. They were as self-righteous and toplofty as today's Hubert Humphrey holy rollers.

But just 16 years later in 1814, when was the time that the ox of these states were gored, some of these states and others held the celebrated Hartford Convention—for the purposes of Nullification.

These states were sore about the alleged over-reaching of federal power in the War of 1812. The Hartford Convention alleged "dangerous infractions of the Constitution affecting the sovereignty of the state" and held, as had Jefferson and Madison, that it was the "duty of a state to *interpose* its authority."

Then they galloped home that their respective legislatures might take formal action to achieve Nullification. The legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut did so. Before the others could complete action the War of 1812 ended, once again dissolving the grievance before an orderly legal test of Nullification could be achieved.

'Tariff Of Abominations'

PRIOR to that, in 1809, Pennsylvania had arrayed its troops to resist a federal court order (the yankees need not yield to the South as stout Nullificationists!).

But Nullification reached its most famous point in the collision between John C. Calhoun and another South Carolinian, Andrew Jackson. At one point South Carolina's soldiery was booted and spurred to engaged federal troops. President Jackson was prepared to march 100,000 troops on the Palmetto. Also, he sent Calhoun word that he would hang him "as high as Haman."

The conflict was over the "Tariff of Abominations." The high tariffs, designed for the fattening of New England manufacturers, were very injurious to the agricultural South.

South Carolina enacted Nullification legislation, as one house of the Alabama legislature did Tuesday.

Margaret Coit's prize-winning *John C. Calhoun* relates:

> . . . And it was not in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, but in these last years of his life, that Jefferson challenged [Chief Justice John] Marshall, declaring that if the federal and state "departments" of government were to clash, "A convention of the states must be called to ascribe the doubtful power to that department which they may think best."
>
> Here Calhoun rested his case. Ultimate authority, he contended, was not in the national government . . . but in *the power that called that government into being*—the states.
>
> The original American system of majority rule, he contended, had meant the *concurrent*, not the absolute, majority. Even at the Constitutional Convention [of 1787] not a mere majority of the states, but a majority of the people in each state assured final modification. Nevertheless, he conceded, the practical operation of our government "has been on the principle of the absolute majority." A majority of 7,000,000 could violate the rights of a minority of 6,000,000. "We see," Calhoun declared, "the approach of the fatal hour."

War Was Coming Amain

THIS was in 1833, and the Civil War was coming amain. But a compromise with Calhoun contrived by Henry Clay reduced the tariff and, once again,

the Nullification resort was abandoned before an ultimate legal test.

Madison Changed Course

IT SHOULD be stated here parenthetically in order not to seem willfully tendentious that James Madison, co-author of Nullification doctrine 30 years before, saw the South Carolina Interposition in a different light from the Virginia Resolution of 1798. He condemned South Carolina's act and even helped President Jackson compose his stern and warlike censure.

The First Alabama Nullification

IT WAS at the same time that the State of Alabama defied the federal government and was prepared to make war to preserve its sovereignty.

The Indians had been quelled and corraled and there were treaties with the federal authorities governing their resettlement in the West. Conflict arose between Gov. John Gayle and Washington over the Indians.

Gov. Gayle held that Washington's policy was *"an unconstitutional interference with our local and internal affairs."*

Alabama militia was raised to resist on the battlefield. U. S. marshals were cuffed and instructed to go get lost. The collision of state and federal authority became a national issue and, as you will find in Moore's *History Of Alabama*, "from far away New York City certain young hotspurs offered to raise a company of volunteers to assist the state."

Jackson was one more tough baby, but he was impressed with the depth of passion in Alabama, as he was in the case of South Carolina, and was conciliatory. He sent Francis Scott Key as an emissary to the Tuscaloosa capital to negotiate.

In this the tactful Key succeeded, but the state commenced to sour on the Union and think of secession.

Yankees At Bat Again

AFTER THAT, it was the yankees' time at bat again. They defied Congress and the Supreme Court in refusing to obey the Fugitive Slave Act. Massachusetts and, most notably, Wisconsin undertook Nullification. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* says:

> In the last decade before the Civil war, 14 of the Northern states in the so-called "personal liberty laws" nullified the federal statutes relating to slaves and slavery by making it a crime for their citizens to obey these laws.
>
> Since the Reconstruction the Southern states have in practice effected a Nullification of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution providing for Negro suffrage.

Where Are 13?

SUCH is a superficial sketch of Nullification history since Jefferson. In some cases it has been more a form of informal physical defiance, differing from the strictly legal process initiated in others.

It takes a vote of three-fourths of the 48 states to ratify an amendment. The present Nullification notion is that if 13 Southern states resolve that the Supreme Court has exceeded its powers to regulate the internal affairs of states in the case of race mixing, then there can be no three-fourths majority in favor of the court decision—and thus the decision is a nullity.

But where, Gov. Stanley of Virginia and others have asked, are you to get the necessary 13 states for Nullification?

The '61 Precedent

THERE is one other gap in our Nullification list. As Margaret Coit has said, "Secession was the ultimate recourse of the Nullification Doctrine."

Which is to say that we didn't list the matter of the 1861 Nullification.

The power to secede is certainly one attribute of sovereignty that the states have surrendered irrevocably.

Off The Bench

Advertiser 4-A
Mon. 1-16-56
Montgomery, Ala.

By Judge Walter B. Jones

When Alabama Withdrew From The Union

LAST WEDNESDAY, Jan. 11, was the 95th anniversary of the secession of the State of Alabama from the Union of the States.

The people of Alabama had anticipated the election of Abraham Lincoln, and knew that the affairs of the national government would soon be in the hands of the political foes of the South.

JONES

"The North had spoken," says historian James Ford Rhodes. "In every man's mind rose unbidden the question, What would be the answer of the South?" That answer was not long coming. The Southern States acted promptly. On Dec. 6, 1860, Governor Andrew Barry Moore, obedient to the joint resolution of the legislature, called the election for delegates to the convention of the State. The election was held Christmas Eve, Monday, Dec. 24, 1860, and the delegates met in Montgomery, Monday, Jan. 7, 1861, in the Hall of the House of Representatives in the State Capitol. There was a brief prayer by Reverend Basil Manly. The roll of delegates from the 52 counties of the State was called. Every delegate answered present, not one was absent. Many of Alabama's ablest sons, intelligent, fearless and believers in the rights of the State, were there; Alpheus Baker, Barbour County; George C. Whatley, Calhoun; John Green, Conecuh; John Tyler Morgan, Dallas; Edmund Spann Dargan and Judge John Bragg, Mobile; William Lowndes Yancey and Thomas Hill Watts, Montgomery; William McLin Brooks, Perry; William Russell Smith, Tuscaloosa, and Franklin King Beck, Wilcox.

THE CONVENTION at once began its labors. Judge Brooks, an out-and-out Secessionist, and a distinguished lawyer, was elected president of the convention, receiving 53 votes, as against 46 votes for Robert Jemison Jr., of Tuscaloosa, a strong Co-operationist. This vote was a test of the relative strength of parties—there being, including Mr. Brooks, 54 delegates who favored immediate secession of Alabama, and 46 who were in favor of consulting and cooperating with the other slave-holding states.

The public debates in the convention were interesting; but after a vote, the convention resolved to sit "as a general rule, with closed doors."

One of the historic days of this truly historic convention was the fourth day—Jan. 10. A telegram had just been read to the convention which announced the secession of Mississippi, and then Mr. Yancey, chairman of the powerful Committee of Thirteen, arose. Exceptionally handsome and well proportioned, he radiated vigor, courage and manliness. He then reported for the Committee of Thirteen, the most momentous document ever considered by the people of Alabama or by their representatives. It was the *Ordinance of Secession*. It reads in part as follows:

"An Ordinance to Dissolve the Union between the State of Alabama and other states united under the compact styled 'The Constitution of the United States of America.'

"Whereas, the election of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin to the offices of President and Vice President of the United States of America, by a sectional party, avowedly hostile to the domestic institutions and to the peace and security of the people of the State of Alabama, preceded by many and dangerous infractions of the Constitution of the United States by many of the States and people in the Northern section, is a political wrong of so insulting and menacing a character as to justify the people of the State of Alabama in the adoption of prompt and decided measures for their future peace and security; therefore,

"Be it Declared and Ordained by the People of the State of Alabama, in convention assembled, that the State of Alabama now withdraws and is hereby withdrawn from the union known as the United States of America, and henceforth ceases to be one of said United States and is, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and independent State.

"Section 2. Be it further declared and ordained by the people of the State of Alabama in Convention Assembled, that all the powers over the territory of said State, and of the people thereof, heretofore delegated to the government of the United States of America, be and are hereby withdrawn from said government, and are hereby resumed and vested in the people of Alabama."

JERE CLEMENS, a leader of the Co-operationists, introduced a resolution that the Ordinance of Secession be submitted at the polls to a direct vote of the people of the State. The real purpose of this resolution was simply to delay secession as long as possible. Clemens knew that secessio a movement of the people, not of the politicians, and that secession was inevitable.

The Co-operationists may have had some hope of delaying Alabama's withdrawal from the Union, but they could not have entertained the slightest hope of preventing Alabama's Secession. The logic of events had long made that certain. Some have thought that the Secessionists would "have made their case stronger had they submitted the Ordinance of Secession to a popular vote." But in declining to do this, they had the best of precedents—the United States Constitution had never been submitted to the people for ratification. Delay would make Alabama's position dangerous, because she had gone too far to recede with dignity, and further delay would but keep up strife and dissension among the people and would not keep Alabama from seceding. The resolution to submit the ordinance to a vote of the people was lost by a vote of 54 to 46.

Friday, Jan. 11, 1861, came. It was to be one of the high days in the history of the State. The long debates were over. The talk of statesmen ended. The time for action was at hand. All steps turned to the State House. As the convention prepared to vote, 23 members addressed it before the vote was had.

Voice Of The People

Mix Races In Public— But Not Schools, Churches

To the Editor:

As more and more barriers between the white and colored races in the United States are being removed by the courts, I have come to the conclusion that the best thing for all concerned is for the white people to acquiesce in the mixing of all people in public places, such as railroads, waiting depots, public transportation buses, parks, playgrounds and places of employment, and so on. We know that white and colored work on their jobs without trouble.

But so far as schools and churches are concerned, that mixing will not work. The great majority of Negroes prefer their own separate schools and churches, the schools being equal in equipment. The few NAACP leaders who try to push in can be disregarded. To mix the children in school will only lead to disaster, and Negroes, if left to themselves, will voluntarily select schools of their own race and thus give employment to colored teachers.

Sylacauga, Ala. B. E. SAMUELS.

★ Tell It To Old Grandma ★

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Unbecoming Situation

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I am a former citizen of Montgomery but I want to correct Mrs. Samuel Rushing. If she read the Bible as she should she should know that nowhere in the Bible is it mentioned that God created white superior to black, or black superior to white.

The Bible clearly tells us this: How can we love God whom we haven't seen and hate our brother whom we have seen? It's the individuals who are superior so far as intelligence is concerned. In the white race we have many individuals superior to other white, the same applies to colored I am white, but I consider that there are white people and there are Negroes too in this country superior to me.

So far as the Constitution is concerned, our forefathers, I am sure, would have written it different had they known how wicked we would have grown. Those good old Christian souls meant everything good. So let's not try and twist things on them.

As for the bus boycott I regret it very much. I am sure there are enough good white people and colored people in Montgomery to get together and settle this matter as it should be, and not allow the bad, selfish characters to dominate this most unbecoming situation.

Selma. VANDEZ UPSHAW.

Ministers Are Not Infallible

Editor, The Advertiser:

I would like to express my appreciation for Novelist Hurston's article which was printed in your Saturday paper. If more of the intelligent Negroes would only speak. You will notice that I said "intelligent" rather than educated. Certainly Novelist Hurston is both and we have some educated Negroes in Alabama and in Montgomery. We have more who are intelligent and maybe not so well educated. Why are they sitting back and letting the few agitators with less than their intelligence do the talking?

Certainly, as the Negro minister wrote last week, "Who, if not the ministers, are supposed to be closer to God and the church." You will notice that he didn't even profess to be closer, he said we are supposed to be closer. I think that we will all agree that even our most conscientious and religious ministers make mistakes and take a wrong turn sometimes—we will also agree that every minister who fills a pulpit is not a consecrated child of God. Oh, that we had no one in our pulpits and churches as leaders but those who are real children of God and led by the Holy Spirit!

Going back to Novelist Hurston's statement that a Negro who was really proud of his race would not want to force their mixing and associating with people who didn't want them. Do the Negroes in Montgomery really force themselves upon each other? Do we whites force our way into the society that looks a little more attractive or fashionable than the one we can afford to be in and actually belong in? If we do, then I can safely say, that person isn't enjoying the fullness of life.

What are our intelligent Negroes thinking about when they THINK they want to force their children into white schools where they are not wanted? Will those Negro children really be happy? Will they feel they belong? Rather don't you think they will have the feeling that they are ostracized, that they don't any longer belong in their own society nor in the white classes?

Don't misunderstand me, I was reared in the South on a farm and we had Negroes on our plantation. I was taught to respect them and do respect them. But the Bible says there is a time and place for all things. There is a place for each of us—but that doesn't mean mixing together in an undesired or unsatisfactory manner.

Montgomery. MARY WHITEHURST.

Biting The Hand That Feeds

Editor, The Advertiser:

It is unfortunate that Negro leaders have seen fit to employ a boycott. Like the U. S. Supreme Court, they have greatly erred. The writer has many friends of the Negro race, but he cannot imagine why any government should have the right to enforce the court's decision. No government should undertake the ramming of social equality down the throats of its people. That's what our government is trying to do, and it is absurd. It cannot be done, and should not be tried. We must face that fact.

The white population has been good to the Negroes. In Montgomery the whites have provided excellent schools for the Negroes, and in other ways have helped them. Most Negroes appreciate all that. It is not right to "bite the hand that feeds you," and the boycotters should think about that. We should strive, as different races, to live peaceably, alongside each other. I am sure, if we do that, we shall all profit and be very happy.

Montgomery. W. H. AREMINE.

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Editor, You Remind Me Of Neutralist Nehru

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—So many misstatements have occurred on your editorial page with reference to integration of negroes in public schools and as to the Citizens Councils that I feel it is proper that some one make answer.

Some weeks ago you mentioned that integration had been notably successful in the City of Washington. If you intended to say that there had been no attending violence you are absolutely correct. However, here are some of the results:

Formerly there were about 64% white pupils and 36% negroes, that percentage is now approximately reversed as the integration has forced many white families to move out of Washington into states where their children can attend segregated schools. And reports from the school officials show that the integration has caused the scholastic standards of the Washington schools to be lowered.

General Eisenhower opposed integration in the Army when he was its head. President Eisenhower, the leader of the Republican Party, who follows in the footsteps of his predecessor in seeking Negro votes for his party, does not send his grandchildren to the integrated schools of Washington. They go to a private Episcopal school in Virginia, where there is no integration, although the President is a Presbyterian.

Vice President Nixon and the Cabinet give full cry to integration but their children attend a school to which *only one* Negro child has been admitted.

In an editorial today occurs the following statement: "Commissioner Sellers is a card carrying member of the White Citizens Council, an organization dedicated to boycott and economic sanctions against Negroes." The statement as to the Citizens Council is absolutely false. Had you taken the trouble to investigate you would have found that you were making a false statement.

The Citizens Councils are dedicated, as was *The Advertiser* in times past, to the preservation of our Southern customs and laws by legal means only.

I know whereof I speak as I have helped in the formation of several county councils in Alabama.

There are many legal methods we can, and which I sincerely trust we shall, adopt to preserve the laws and customs for which our ancestors so courageously fought, even when Alabama was occupied by Federal soldiers.

It is indeed regrettable that you have never had the courage to take a stand either for integration or against it. One can't be neutral. However, you remind me of neutralist Nehru, all of your criticism is of those who have organized to fight integration, just as Nehru—who says he is neutral but only criticizes the West.

W. R. WITHERS.

Greensboro, Ala.

Mutually Exclusive Roles

Editor, The Advertiser:

After reading Tom Johnson's column in *The Advertiser*, in which the ambitious young minister of Lutheran faith is described as taking such an active part in the 90-year-old Civil War question of segregation of the races:

It is apparent that this young and well meaning minister is conscientious and feels he is doing the right thing. We need lots of young men like that and I have no objections to their feeling free to use their time as best they see fit.

For one so young to move into a strange section or into a new state and to

immediately project himself into a heated controversy as age-old as the separation of races at the same time hiding behind the skirts of the ministry in order to defy the very law that grants him immunity, shows a disregard for both Christian principle and for established law which has as its purpose to guard the peace that comes from nowhere except through Christ the Prince of Peace.

Can one imagine the Master using such tactics to serve the Lord?

Pastor Graetz is either a Christian or a rabble-rouser. He cannot be both.

Montgomery JOHN KELTON.

ALABAMA SESSIONS FACE RACIAL ISSUES

Constitutional Convention Proposal Also Studied

FOLSOM ASKS ACTION

By GLENN ANTHONY
United Press Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 9. —A week of committee work on the main issues before this special session of the legislature faces Alaama lawmakers who convene here Tuesday.

However, floor action may egin this week on several matters not directly connected with Gov. James E. Folsom's proclamation which named a constitutional convention as the primary object of the special session.

Rules Group To Meet

The joint House-Senate Rules committee will meet Wednesday to resume a hearing on the administration-backed resolutions that would put the question of a convention before the voters.

But even if the committees report the resolutions favorably Wednesday, they could not get on either calendar until next week.

OnThursday, another joint committee meeting will begin. The House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance and Taxation Committee will get together to seek some way of closing the gap now existing between revenues and appropriations for schools. Folsom asked last week for the meeting.

At least three reapportionment bills could come up for action in the House this week. They all received favorable reports from the House Constitutions Committee last week.

One of the reapportionment measures is sponsored by Folsom floor leader George Hawkins of Gadsden. It calls for a 67-Member Senate (one senator from each county), with counties getting one House seat for each 25,000 population or fraction of 25,000.

Teacher Bill Studied

The Senate may act this week on three bills of a different nature. Senators from three "black belt" counties have introduced local bills to allow their school boards to fire teachers who advocate or who belong to organizations that advocate racial integration.

The bills, introduced by Senators Sam Englehardt of Macon County, E. O. Eddins of Marengo County and Albert Davis of Pickens County, are aimed at teachers who belong to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Senator Engelhardt introduced a similar bill last year and got it passed, bul Governor Folsom vetoed it on the last night of the session.

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Negroes Are Not Asking Race Mixing On Buses

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISTR — Your editorial, Jan. 11, "Two Questions Arise," was perfectly devastating. More power to you.

But what I want to know, Why all this fuss about intergration in the schools? I am talking about Alabama. Who wants it? Certainly the white people do not want it. No doubt there is a considerable number who would not object to it but no one would say that they would ever make any trouble about it. And we are told by our state superintendent of education, who is in a position to have a good judgment of the situation, that 95% of the colored people do not want it.

The demands of the boycott in Montgomery sustains his judgment, since they are not asking for integration on the buses but only for a fair deal.

And yet our legislators are going up the hill and down again trying to find some measure that will destroy our public school system. Surely the few persons among that 5% who may make trouble here or there in our centers of population can be handled without the awful tragedy of destroying our system of education. Surely those who advocate such measures have never studied the history of public education in the United States to learn the long hard struggle to get this precious agency established for the preservation of our democracy.

We are just plain scared and when people get frightened they do many irrational things like the man who, when his house caught fire, rushed up stairs, threw the looking glass out of the window and carried the feather bed down stairs.

Let us get down to brass tacks! What the colored people really want are at least four rights to which all citizens are entitled.

¶ They want justice in the courts.

¶ They want health, sanitation which would reduce the mortality among both white and colored.

¶ Of course they want education but they would be satisfied if their schools were as good as the schools for whites.

¶ They want equal economic opportunity.

Enlightened self interest should give these rights to them.

WALTER D. AGNEW.

Greensboro, Ala.

¶Dr. Agnew retired after a long term as president of Huntingdon College. He is a Methodist minister.—ED.

◆

Rebellion Is Not Good Citizenship

Editor, The Advertiser:

In my travels to other cities in the United States I have always boasted of the amicable relation between the white and colored people of Montgomery. I feel that these same conditions would have continued to exist, if those Northern agitators of the NAACP had not sent speakers down here to influence the colored population against the whites. I am heartily in favor of segregation, being a "born and bred Southerner." But the Montgomery Negroes who wish to vote, claiming they are good citizens (when they advise defiance of segregation laws), are urging rebellion against the laws of Alabama and Montgomery. Whether the Negroes consider the law unjust and unfair, it is still the law of Montgomery and Alabama until repealed.

Secondly the Negro preachers on Sunday instead of preaching the word of God, and the brotherhood of man, harp on this theme of segregation and at every meeting take up collections to keep the movement alive. Their emissaries threaten the Negroes with bodily harm if they ride the buses. There are only a certain small number of Negroes who have cars in Montgomery. Thousands of Negro men and women, who are dependent upon their jobs for their very livelihood, have to walk to their work, arriving tired and despondent and dreading the long walk home in the cold or rain. This affects also many thousands of poor white people who cannot afford a car, and with the removal of certain buses are forced to take taxis to their work, an expense many cannot afford.

The preachers tell the deluded people, "You are sinning against God; You are sinning against the future of your children, if you do not obey the mandates of the NAACP." As long as we have to live in the same city, and depend one upon the other, at least we could have pleasant and amicable relations.

MRS. W. K. A.

Montgomery.

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Negroes, Look Around You

Editor, The Advertiser:

The white people of Montgomery are typical of the other white people of America, slow to anger and slow to make up their minds. But once they do they have always come out victorious.

The bus fare has already been raised 50%. Should you continue the bus boycott six months the loss would be repaid in 18 months and you will keep on paying and paying as long as you live. So what have you gained?

Where is your appreciation, your sense of duty? Look around your home. Who furnished the "know how" to build your homes and furnish them? Who furnished the "know how" to prepare your foods and medicines, give you electricity, make your clothes, design and build your cars and every other convenience you so richly enjoy, that goes with civilization. Now what have you done for yourself?

You are indebted to the white people of Montgomery for life itself. As the white doctor brought most of you into the world. The white man paid about 95 per cent for your education, furnished you jobs and a place to live, etc. Now suppose the white people of Montgomery would not hire you any longer or give you a place to live where would you go or do?

HILL LINDSAY

Georgiana, Ala.

◆

Ball Is Right

Editor, The Advertiser:

The most constructive advice given in any letter to you is contained in the one from Fred Ball in Monday's paper. Why is the law he mentioned not resorted to?

If the leaders of this boycott were rounded up and made to feel the punishment resulting from breaking this law, there seems to be no reason why normal condition would not return to Montgomery.

How pathetic that preachers of both races should be involved in leading people into such a state of affairs as now exists in our state capital? The trouble all began because a law was violated. It is inconceivable to contemplate the chaos resulting from the violation of many of our laws with reactions as those that followed the one violated by Rosa Parks.

MRS. GLENNIE E. TORBERT

Opelika, Ala.

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Advertiser

Jan. 1-24-56

The South Did Not Yield To Might

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Your editorial page Jan. 19 was good journalism. Not that you are always very bad.

I must disagree with you on yours and Margaret Crits' conclusion on the "story of nullification" that "the power to secede is an attribute of sovereignty the states have surrendered"—for that is to accept the doctrine that might makes right for which is the same as to try to justify the crucifixion.

Since we are taken back into the Union by force and so far as our status in Washington is concerned we are, but as a puppet state the same as Poland to Russia. But we do not enjoy a seat in the U.N. which we should apply for immediately, else an end of the puppet state status and any further extension of the "long train of abuses and usurpations pursuing invariably the same object."

After a train of 30 years of abuses and usurpations our forefathers simply ran out of powder and beans, no governmental philosophical principle was surrendered.

One writer notes a step-up of the pressure 18 years ago of what can but be another train pursuing the same object. How long the pressure can be withstood without another open break is the sole question now. Negotiation was of no avail before—it was a Whig called by Virginia as president of the peace conference in 1867. It failed; he then supported secession. John Tyler, no less.

So, if a Whig of his stature could not keep the peace with the party on which the Northern warring element was founded, how can we hope for a negotiated peace now?

Montgomery. JOHN KELTON.

WE Are For The U. S. Constitution

Editor, The Advertiser:

As one of your old and time-worn paid-in-advance subscribing contributors I beg of you to permit a brief reply to one of your assertions in your lead editorial of Jan. 22, which I do not believe the facts will substantiate nor corroborate. It is this:

"Whereupon the legislature, having voted to nullify the U.S. Constitution, voted to leave the Alabama Constitution just as it was."

It is believed that if your enterprising reporters would ask every member of the Alabama Legislature separately and individually if he would be in favor of nullifying the U.S. Constitution, he would answer "No."

Contrariwise: "Are you in favor of supporting and enforcing the U.S. Constitution?" It is believed that he would say: "Yes."

This because all patriotic American citizens would answer in unity and approximately one accord

I am not acquainted with any one who would nullify this sacred instrument we call the U.S. Constitution. In fact, all the people I "run with" are strongly in favor of it. We would fight for it; we stand for it and will keep on standing for it.

The thing you base your thoughtless, wild and unsupported assertion on put out by the U.S. Supreme Court in May, 1954, relating to the human mixture of public school students is not the U.S. Constitution and has never been. It was put out by Earl Warren, Bill Douglas, Felix Frankfurter and Hugo Black, et al., but it seeks to perform the very act the Constitution itself specifically provides and states they shall not do.

Members of the Alabama Legislature know all these things. The U.S. Supreme Court itself virtually admits it is out of its own jurisdiction in the decision. I understand at the bottom of the thing it says: "See Myrdal." These Alabama legislative patriots, without let or hindrance from the executive branch, undoubtedly have seen Prof. Myrdal.

All of them, wishing to preserve their own constitutional rights and prerogatives, acted accordingly and within the provisions of the U.S. Constitution. I say God bless everyone of them and I was sorry to see that one of our own Montgomery members felt he should vote "No" at such a time.

You know the farce you helped to make of the 18th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and that was not just a politicaly minded Supreme Court decision. It was an actual amendment duly approved by 36 states, yea more.

All the way from Virginia to Texas, it is predicted, this will look like a happy May day Sunday school picnic beside what we may reasonably expect in the not too far distant future.

That one decision will probably be properly objected to, but we will save, keep and hold fast to our Constitution which protects the several states of our blessed and divinely favored country.

CHESTER E. JOHNSON.

Montgomery.

Right Of Appeal

Editor, The Advertiser:

The city and county personnel department is constantly seeking well qualified applicants for employment with the city and county of Montgomery. If Miss Hazel Anderson feels that she has a legitimate grievance against this department, I would personally appreciate her filing an appeal with the city and county personnel board.

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The South Did Not Yield To Might

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Your editorial page Jan. 19 was good journalism. Not that you are always very bad.

I must disagree with you on yours and Margaret Crits' conclusion on the "story of nullification" that "the power to secede is an attribute of sovereignty the states have surrendered"—for that is to accept the doctrine that might makes right for which is the same as to try to justify the crucifixion.

Advertiser

Since we are taken back into the Union by force and so far as our status in Washington is concerned we are, but as a puppet state the same as Poland to Russia. But we do not enjoy a seat in the U.N. which we should apply for immediately, else an end of the puppet state status and any further extension of the "long train of abuses and usurpations pursuing invariably the same object."

Montgomery

After a train of 30 years of abuses and usurpations our forefathers simply ran out of powder and beans, no governmental philosophical principle was surrendere

One writer notes a step-up of the pressure 18 years ago of what can but be another train pursuing the same object. How long the pressure can be withstood without another open break is the sole question now. Negotiation was of no avail before—it was a Whig called by Virginia as president of the peace conference in 1867. It failed; he then supported secession. John Tyler, no less.

Jues. 1-24-56

So, if a Whig of his stature could not keep the peace with the party on which the Northern warring element was founded, how can we hope for a negotiated peace now?

Montgomery. JOHN KELTON.

WE Are For The U. S. Constitution

Editor, The Advertiser:

As one of your old and time-worn paid-in-advance subscribing contributors I beg of you to permit a brief reply to one of your assertions in your lead editorial of Jan. 22, which I do not believe the facts will substantiate nor corroborate. It is this:

"Whereupon the legislature, having voted to nullify the U.S. Constitution, voted to leave the Alabama Constitution just as it was."

It is believed that if your enterprising reporters would ask every member of the Alabama Legislature separately and individually if he would be in favor of nullifying the U.S. Constitution, he would answer "No."

Contrariwise: "Are you in favor of supporting and enforcing the U.S. Constitution?" It is believed that he would say: "Yes."

This because all patriotic American citizens would answer in unity and approximately one accord

I am not acquainted with any one who would nullify this sacred instrument we call the U.S. Constitution. In fact, all the people I "run with" are strongly in favor of it. We would fight for it; we stand for it and will keep on standing for it.

The thing you base your thoughtless, wild and unsupported assertion on put out by the U.S. Supreme Court in May, 1954, relating to the human mixture of public school students is not the U.S. Constitution and has never been. It was put out by Earl Warren, Bill Douglas, Felix Frankfurter and Hugo Black, et al., but it seeks to perform the very act the Constitution itself specifically provides and states they shall not do.

Members of the Alabama Legislature know all these things. The U.S. Supreme Court itself virtually admits it is out of its own jurisdiction in the decision. I understand at the bottom of the thing it says: "See Myrdal." These Alabama legislative patriots, without

let or hindrance from the executive branch, undoubtedly have seen Prof. Myrdal.

All of them, wishing to preserve their own constitutional rights and prerogatives, acted accordingly and within the provisions of the U.S. Constitution. I say God bless everyone of them and I was sorry to see that one of our own Montgomery members felt he should vote "No" at such a time.

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Advertiser p. 4-A

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Mon. 2-6-56

Give The Lord A Helping Hand

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Since the blue law of Alabama has been a general topic of discussion in the past few weeks I have given quite a bit of thought to it Being a partner in a county store and having been guilty of violating this law I would like to comment on it.

Montgomery, Ala.

The more I think along this line, the more two definite things come to my mind. One is that we disregard the Sabbath in keeping it holy and let the quotation "money is the root of all evil" cling to us and we to the almighty dollar and satan or that we take a hand in the work of our Maker and realize that a helping hand from Him would mean much more to us than the dollar we would take in on the Sabbath.

I realize that habit plays a big part in our lives and that we are prone to put off getting some of the necessities we need from the store until Sunday, but most of us seem to find time to go places we want to go and do the things we want to do. Why can't we take time out to get the necessities on the other six days?

After all, from Saturday night until Monday morning is not such a long time and most likely none of us will suffer from hunger for that period of time. In this my aim is to say to each of us, let us stop and think this matter over, then try it and with the helping hand of God, I am sure that we will enjoy and be proud of a greater community, a greater county, a greater state and a greater nation.

Let Montgomery County be on top by giving the Lord a hand in and share of our profits and respect on the Sabbath.

ABNER C. McGEHEE.

Hope Hull, Ala.

Look Who's Riding

Editor, The Advertiser:

As a very interested citizen of Montgomery it seems that the Negro citizens would realize that while they are walking in the cold rain and mud the leaders and "big wheels" are riding in big new cars.

These leaders don't feed them and they should think of that before donating their grocery and rent money. I feel for people who are so foolish as they can't see what is best for those who live here in the South. The North is North—the South is South and one or two people can't cram the North's ways on the South simply because they want to. Stop and think Negro citizens, if not I hate to think Montgomery's future!

Violence has already begun. So far I thank God no one has been hurt. Stop and think of this alone—don't let a loud-mouth influence you. Do what your own mind tells you.

MRS. C. T. BROWN.

Montgomery.

Outside Provocation

Editor, The Advertiser:

I feel that Negroes and whites have lived for years peaceably in Alabama and could have lived on that way if some of those agitators had stayed out.

The feeling has been much worse since some meetings have been held for speakers from outside Alabama.

Did you ever stop to think these bombings could have been done by some one not of the white race? Things have been done to stir up all that could be.

I feel sorry for the good colored people who have to suffer the acts of a few agitators.

M. J. WOODFIN.

Deatsville, Ala.

Futile Gesture

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have talked to any number of Negroes since this boycott started and am convinced that it is not the responsible educated type of Negro who is back of this. For many years Negroes and whites have gone along side by side in harmony, and these agitators from elsewhere come and prey upon the emotions or ignorance of a certain class and stir up the trouble. My maid tells me that many Negroes are told that "white people have it in for them." She also says they are told the bus men and white people will "jump on them" if they ride the buses.

If they were not being intimidated by their own, many would have started riding long ago. The futility of their actions is so apparent.

Don't they know that even if the federal court should outlaw segregation on the bus and other public transportation within the state, it would be a simple matter to just do away with such public transportation? So what do they hope to gain? Surely a small handful of disgruntled citizens, be they black or white, cannot change our way of life in the South which will endure until the end of time.

MRS. T. J. CARBRET.

Montgomery.

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Advertiser p. 4-A

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Montgomery, Ala.

Mayor Gayle Stands Firm

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—This is my first time to write you but I do think we should all congratulate our mayor for showing us how he stands on this race question in standing firm and not giving in to Negro demands in the boycott. If they are granted them they will only come back demanding still more.

Thurs. 1-26-56

Our city officials have seen to it that Negroes have good schools, good housing and fair and just treatment. Still they aren't satisfied. So it only proves one thing and that is they will not stop until they are allowed to come into our schools, churches and yes, even our homes.

p. 4-A

We are very proud of our mayor and two commissioners. Now if our governor would be man enough to come out in the open and tell the voters how he really stands on segregation.

If and when we do have a governor like that we will not be ashamed when we visit other states and say we are from Alabama.

We like to be able to hold our heads high with pride when any of our state, city and county officials names are mentioned. Let's all remember this when going to the polls.

Again let me say we should all let our mayor and commissioners know how proud we are of them.

Montgomery. MRS. W. G. BROOKS.

Congressman Powell And Folsom

Editor, The Advertiser:

I am fed up with Jim Folsom's accusing the legislature of throwing up "smoke screens" on racial issues. This is his method of attempting to pass legislation that would render our state helpless in the hands of the greediest lot of politicians since carpet bag days.

Along the same line let me submit to you the following:

¶ Negro Congressman Adam Clayton Powell came to Montgomery in November and was met at the airport in Cadillac No. 1 (not Cadillac No. 2). Negro Congressman Adam Clayton Powell was driven to the Mansion which belongs to you and you and you.

¶ Said Negro congressman drank Scotch and soda with James Elisha Folsom, who was elected by you and you and you.

¶ This same Negro congressman made inflammatory talks to Negroes after your James Elisha Folsom told him "integration is here. It is the law of the land."

Now, this is my point: Ever since that visit by the New York Negro congressman, unrest has been evident. The bus boycott began.

I lay the bus boycott squarely in the lap of Jim Folsom and his house drinking guest, Adam Clayton Powell. These two did more than anybody else to cause the bus boycott and as long as Big Foot talks as he does—for nothing but Negro votes—we are in for many grievious days.

WARREN B. MARSHALL.

Montgomery.

Publish It Not In The Streets Of Askelon—XX

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Montgomery

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P. 2-B

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Published In Askelon—IX

Advertiser Wed. 5-30-56

Letter To The Chicago Daily News

Montgomery, Ala. P. 4-A

¶ The following was written by Dr. Homer A. Jack, Unitarian Minister of Evanston, Ill., long active in human relations work in Chicago and elsewhere. Dr. Jack came here recently to investigate the bus boycott.—Ed.

RECENTLY Chicago's Mayor Daley announced that he was appointing a committee of public relations counselors to recoup Chicago's good name around the world. No doubt he had in mind Chicago's reputation for gangsters.

However, in recent years, I have found, from traveling in Africa and Asia, that Chicago's reputation has extended to racial violence.

Couldn't Mayor Daley and his committee begin their laudable work by clearing up the Trumbull Park situation?

Besieged Fortress

RECENTLY Police Commissioner O'Connor was quoted as saying that "We have not had a disturbance in Trumbull Park in six months." A few weeks ago I spent an entire day in South Deering—as I have periodically for almost the last three years—and here are my observations:

¶ The 27 Negro families now in Trumbull Park homes live as if in a besieged fortress and are protected by almost 100 police every 24 hours.

¶ Negro residents have almost never been able to walk the three blocks to the east to reach neighborhood stores.

¶ Negro residents have never been able to go to the neighborhood churches unescorted by police.

¶ Negro residents without their own autos must be escorted by police squad cars to a bus stop more than a mile from the project, to do major shopping and go to work.

¶ Negro residents are intimidated by aerial bombs which are set off in the neighborhood and which the police are unable to stop.

¶ The South Deering Improvement Association is as adamant as ever in its desire to drive Negro tenants out of the housing project.

¶ The *South Deering Bulletin* is still spewing its racial hate.

Racist Revolt

GOVERNMENTAL agencies, including the Chicago Housing Authority and the Commission on Human Relations, are all "concerned," but they and Mayor Daley apparently have no aggressive, coordinated policy to end this interposition of South Deering to the democratic right of all peoples to live in all neighborhoods.

Civic groups, including business, labor, church, and minority organizations, and the press, also periodically express "concern," but are doing nothing substantially to break the chronic nature of this racist revolt.

Must the Trumbull Park stalemate go on forever?

Is there not some new way to "solve" this problem, to get all concerned off the hook, and yet to do so without compromising one bit on the right of Negroes and all peoples to live anywhere, including in a public housing project in South Deering?

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Advertiser Fri. 5-25-56

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Montgomery, Ala.

Re 'Handicapped By Laziness'

Adv. 5-4-H

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — I have never seen the unemployment office in Montgomery but know enough about it and the laws governing its operation to tell ["Mrs. W."] is not qualified to interview, some excuse can be found to prevent his being assigned to certain units. In addition to the units which have *no* Negroes, the majority of those remaining unofficially keep the percentage of Negroes assigned to their units very low.

There is very little social intercourse between Negroes and whites—even in those units with relatively large Negro populations. For example, in mess halls Negroes usually eat at certain tables and very seldom does one see a "mixed" table.

The white-Negro off-duty relationship is not so rosy as pictured either. Fist fights and brawls between whites and Negroes in on-post clubs as well as in off-post civilian establishments are very common. Only recently a race riot occurred near here in Augsburg. Fifteen or twenty Negroes converged on a German *gasthaus* (cafe-saloon) which is frequented primarily by white soldiers, and tried to run the whites off. The police had to be called to quell the riot. These occurrences are not uncommon.

I have heard many professional soldiers say that the Army has been "in a mess" since integration took place. Granted that this judgment may be a bit rash and superficial, it nevertheless reflects the attitude of the majority of men now on active duty. And all of these men are not from Alabama or Georgia or even Mississippi.

WADE H. HALL.

Heidelberg, Germany.

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Tues. 5-1-56

The Seamy Side Of Army Integration

Montgomery, Ala.

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Since the furor caused by A. Lucy's admission and subsequent expulsion from the University of Alabama and the Montgomery bus boycott, I have seen many references to the "peaceful" integration of the Army which was supposedly achieved several years ago. After having spent almost two years in the army, it is evident to me that Army integration is more theoretical than real.

Of course a personnel office cannot refuse to accept a man solely because he is a Negro, but after the preliminary make a statement.

The Montgomery local office has two divisions and you chance to pass the lineup of colored applicants and claimants. I don't have figures to prove it but good reason to doubt if the percentage of Negroes (applicants and claimants) is much larger than white.

What it does prove is the insecurity in job opportunities for a class of individuals regardless of color.

By law they must apply for, search for, and be able to work to qualify for a maximum of 20 weeks benefits a year. If they avail themselves of this maximum their chances of earning another full 20 weeks by the end of their benefit year is unlikely.

The line may be long but the life is not easy nor secure. As for the doctor's certificate mentioned and with no reflection on the profession, you can get one, a great majority of the time, to fit the needs of the case. Should a claimant of these unemployment benefits present a certificate showing disability to work he would be automatically ineligible. He would then be a candidate for relief from other tax sources into which he has made no earmarked contribution as in the case of his unemployment contribution.

I know I am ignorant of the laws and functions of many governmental agencies and I, for one, will not make public condemnation of unfamiliar agencies.

LOUIS WILLIS.

Eufaula, Ala.

◆

Beware Of The Stalking Horse

Editor, The Advertiser:

Being fair in voting is most difficult. For we are dealing with fraud in the presentation of the subject matter to the voting public. The voter is put to a disadvantage by the mob psychologist and most of the time the mob psychologist is not a candidate but sells his talents to various candidates for pay.

Very few voters ever have a chance to get the facts in an election campaign. Voting happens to be our greatest guessing game and most voters are no better than me—they most generally guess wrong.

There are too many elections, too many candidates to choose from, and there are always the stalking horse candidate to further confuse the voter. The stalking horses are put out by the political fixers to get the man they want elected in the runoff and in the public office. As usual there were stalking horses in the May 1 primary and again it worked for the political fixers.

Fosters, Ala. NED MORTON.

Alabamian Calls Segregation 'Only Sane Way'

Journal + Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

MONTGOMERY, June 23 (AP)—The South, says George Wallace, must "let the world know" that racial segregation is "the only sane, sensible and non-hypocritical way in which our people can live in harmony together."

P. 2

As a member of the powerful platform committee at the Democratic National Convention, the circuit judge from Clayton, Ala., says he will make every endeavor to get that idea across at Chicago.

Wed. 6-24-56

"We have no apologies to make," Wallace declared Saturday. "The great majority of the men and women of the South of both races are men and women of goodwill. They can solve and work out any problem between them without the aid of Midwestern and Eastern politicians."

P. 22-A

AS A MEMBER of the platform committee, the south Alabama judge has been instructed by the state's convention delegation to seek readoption of the States' rights principles carried in the party platform in 1928. It says:

"We demand that the constitutional rights and powers of the states be preserved in their full vigor and virtue. We demand a revival of the spirit of local government without which free institutions cannot be preserved."

Wallace, in an interview, termed the 1928 position a "positive approach to the matter of federal encroachment on States' rights," and added:

"Those of us on the platform committee from the South must take the lead for the nation to fight any further efforts to weaken local government."

* * *

AS A JUDGE, Wallace recently threatened to jail any federal officer who might undertake an investigation of the courts in his circuit.

At Chicago, he said he will "oppose any of the so-called civil rights proposals, any attempt to endorse the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation; or any effort to tack a desegregation rider on new federal aid legislation, such as help for the schools."

Wallace said he plans to confer with Alabama's other member of the platform-writing committee, Mrs. Martha Roberts McBurney of Florence, and other members of the delegation about the segregation and related problems.

* * *

AS FOR HIMSELF, the judge said he also will recommend:

1. A farm program "designed to stop the downward trend of farm income" and assure Alabama farmers "a fair price for cotton, peanuts and other agricultural products."

2. Any proposals "that I sincerely believe to be fair to industry and labor."

3. Expansion of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the REA, especially in rural telephone development, "to counteract the efforts of the present administration to weaken these agencies that have meant so much to the people of Alabama and the nation."

4. An expanded Social Security program.

5. Continued benefits to war veterans, especially those disabled.

6. A "strong" anti-Communist stand both at home and abroad.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Sun. 5-27-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Make The North Obey The Supreme Court First

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I would first like to state that I have no sympathy for anyone who waves the Confederate flag and sings *Dixie* with total reverence, any more than I like anyone else who believes the South is decadent, defeated, and Southerners sit around drinking mint julips and smelling magnolias, at the same time, and firmly believe that the North is just as bad, or worse, in the subject of intolerance and segregation. The only difference lies in the ratio of Negroes to whites in both sections of the country.

Minneapolis is just as segregated in residential areas as in any Southern city, only the Negro population is smaller than most large cities. The schools are not segregated but then again the ratio is vastly out of balance.

The Supreme Court is the law of the land and must be obeyed. But this should take time. Lots of time. Segregation should be abolished in the North just as much as in the South. *And it should be abolished in the North first.* Let's hope we have less Senator Eastlands and Orville Hubbards, and more Editor Halls, (Jr. and Sr.). It makes me sick how these Northern reporters ably covered the Southern situation and completely ignored their own backyards. This is a national problem and should be handled as such, not geographically.

Put more heat on these Northern papers. We should clean our own homes first and then do it together.

THOMAS B. SWANSON.

Minneapolis, Minn.

◆

The Tide Can Be Turned

Editor, The Advertiser:

You doubtless have received many letters commending you for the series of articles that you have been running in your newspaper under the title of "Publish It Not In The Streets of Askelon" concerning segregation of the races in the northern states.

Please add my expressions to all the others, including my special appreciation of the excellent prose and wittiness of your writer, Tom Johnson. We are almost buried under an avalanche, but we can turn the tide eventually with an educational program in the South and in the North such as that which you are carrying on.

Keep up the good work.

W. M. Rainach
[State Senator]

Homer, La.

Kefauver's Self-Assurance

Editor, The Advertiser:

If we digest everything the Kefauvercrats have to say about him we would believe that it was an unfortunate thing that Kefauver was not born 200 years ago and lived to the age of Methuselah.

Believe him, and you will believe there was never anything done in the U. S. right. In his own estimation he has unseated Solomon.

He concurs in the decision of the Supreme Court's upset on the constitution on the segregation issue, and by so doing he would sabotage the constitution. The most competent senators in the Senate can't tell Kefauver anything, or advise him on any subject. He should be docked for non-attendance and rebuked for deserting his family.

He would not sign the manifesto, signed by 100 loyal Southerners, believing that the Southerners hold him in greater esteem than they do the NAACP, which organization he is playing ball with.

He is so full of egoism there is not room in his makeup for sensibility.

He has become the nation's pest for the great majority.

He has the same chance to be elected President as would Congressman Powers, the Negro from New York.

Springfield, Tenn. W. B. CHILTON.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser 9-1-A

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Interposition Is Now More Important Than Ever

Fri. 6-1-56

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Inasmuch as Montgomery is in the heart of the Deep South and, further, that you are quite enterprising in exposing the different views on the problems of the South, it only seems logical that we who have something to say on these questions should turn to you for our expressions.

Therefore, I am inclined to discuss with you the matter of interposition. In the United States, this doctrine is basic; has been under discussion before and since the Constitution was adopted, and only recently reasserted in six Southern states in connection with mixing the races in schools. Undoubtedly, too, the recent claim of the United States government that it alone has the right to punish traitors (not individual states) has caused citizens of the several states involved to re-examine the powers granted the U.S. government by the states.

The definition of the word "interpose" is "to come between." In the doctrine of interposition, the state goes between one of its citizens and a duty imposed upon that citizen by the United States government. That is, the state does so if it thinks the U.S. government oversteps its authority.

We all know, of course, that all powers not given to the U.S. government are held by the individual states. On the other hand, it is clear that the U.S. government can say what powers the states gave it. If it wants to, the U.S. government can say (through the Supreme Court's "interpretation" of the Constitution) that it has all legal power over each citizen of the United States, and that the individual state has none. This imaginary usurpation of authority by the U.S. government can be effectively stopped by the individual state when it declares the opinion of the Supreme Court is null and void (it interposes itself between the citizen and the U.S. government).

It works this way: Suppose a U.S. marshal tells a school superintendent that he must admit Nellie Jones to his school. The superintendent refuses; the U.S. marshal takes him into custody for trial. The court is duly organized and a jury selected. The jury will have to set him free because it was against the law of the state for the marshal to take him in the first place, and he is forever free of that offense (so-called) for the reason that the Constitution prohibits a man being tried more than once for the same offense.

Of course, all this is seen in advance by the marshal (and those above him in authority) and they are not foolhardy enough to go to all that trouble and expense.

In other words, the jury decides which law it wants to obey when they conflict. That is one of the beauties of trial by jury.

Our good friends of the past (John C. Calhoun; Thomas Jefferson; Andrew Jackson) held the Yankees' feet to the fire on this vital point. The New England Codfish Aristocracy thought they could give all power to the U.S. government and then take charge of the government, thus leaving the South out in the cold. But it didn't work!

Auburn, Ala. MARVIN RAY.

◆

The Egghead Mess In Washington

Editor, The Advertiser:

Ralph Bunche came to the State Department with some 10 or 12 other political scientists to formulate a plan for what is now known as the U.N. Two women political scientists were in the bunch. They were all fine people. They came from schools of highest learning.

But not one of them knew a thing about practical politics, national or international. Not one of them would make a creditable race for dog catcher if they should go before the voters for public office. They were college trained politically. How could they lay the groundwork for world politics with nothing to go on but book learning?

College trained politicians have got our foreign affairs in the mess they are in today. Our college trained social scientists are the main reason why our race relations are so bad today. And when and if they are ever straightened out it will be by leaders from the common people in both races.

Fosters, Ala. NED MORTON.

★ Tell It ★

Advertiser

To Old Grandma

Wed. 5-2-56

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Montgomery, Ala.

Ignore The Trouble-Makers

P. 4-A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—here is a question that I would like to ask concerning this controversy of the bus boycott.

Isn't all of this done for recognition? If the peole will let the matter alone and conduct themselves as we have always done as Southerners, all of the confusion will die because of the lack of recognition.

Ignore all of the trouble-makers.

EVANGELIST MURRAY J. HOLT.

Auburn, Ala.

◆

Laurels Justly Won

Editor, The Advertiser:

I rejoice with *The Advertiser* for the wonderful laurels you have so justly won.

You are hearing from the oldest native-born citizen in Union Springs (just 87). Well do I recall the friendship which existed between my first father-in-law, Capt. Edmund Randle, the one-arm hero of the battle of Chancellorsville, who was a great friend to your illustrious, the Honorable Mr. Wallace Screws. And well do I remember the visit Mr. Screws made on one occasion to Capt. Randle, and at his passing the cartoon drawn by "Spang" as he was seen wending his way to *The Advertiser* building and stood exclaiming "Goodbye, there he Troup boys."

I have this cartoon in my book of memoirs and prize it among my most highly possessions.

COL. HENRY J. ROSENSTIHL.

Union Springs, Ala.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser 1-4-57

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Montgomery Ala.

It's A Trap

Mon. 2-28-56

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Over the radio yesterday morning the announcer stated that the editor of your local paper had been challenged by the *New York Post* to investigate racial discrimination in this city.

It would be a mistake. *The Post* is pink. You would not have a chinaman's chance. Any incidents would be well hidden from you.

The New York press is biased and does not print the facts. The Southern manifesto was not printed. *The Herald Tribune* quoted Wayne Morse and gloated over the split in the Democratic Party. He said the Northern Democrats would vote to punish the South through the Powell amendment, etc. Yet nothing was given of the Southern side.

History is mistaught the same way through the universities as well as grammar school. JOHN T. BRYAN.

New York, N.Y.

◆

Another Unwritten Yankee Law

Editor, The Advertiser:

I was interested in your article, "Calling Detroit," also in your open letter to *The New York Post*, in which you suggested a tour of the environs of New York to learn of the attempted methods of segregation in vogue up there.

In the meantime I suggest that you also contact the press of Chicago and learn if the unwritten law or understanding between the real estate dealers and property owners, not to let any Negroes locate east of Cottage Grove, south of 40th Street or thereabouts, is still in effect or if encroachments have been made in this area in spite of the efforts of the white people.

Also ask them if the attempt to segregate the beach on the South Side of town is being maintained in an effective manner. Namely, the Negroes to be confined to the area north of 35th Street or thereabout. Is it not generally true that the motel operators in northern Illinois, Wisconsin and elsewhere up North dread to see Negroes apply for accommodations and will put up their NO VACANCY sign to head them off if they have a chance.

Is it not a fact and so recognized that property in a strictly Negro or white district holds its value and that when they become mixed that the bottom drops out of prices and you have the beginning of a slum.

We here in the South are open in our views and methods in preserving segregation to the advantage of both races. It is high time that the people up north take measures as we do to protect the cultural and economic values of their communities and that the Negroes take pride in their own race and advance the conditions in their ancesteral lands in Africa, etc., instead of being hell bent for what I call legalized intrusion.

I am a former yankee who fell in love with the South and one of our girls down here. The dealings that I and my wife's family have had with the Negroes have always been pleasant, they have done many a good turn for us and we have also helped them and hope the same good feeling will exist between us in the future in spite of all the furor from the outside. The Negroes have many admirable qualities but yet they are a different set of people and 99% of the ones down here recognize this fact.

If you care to publish this letter either in full or in part, please leave my name and address off of it as I work with the state and don't want Big Jim or any one else in the administration to cause me trouble. YANKEE.

Henry County.

◆

The Price Of Integration In N.Y.

Editor, The Advertiser:

Allow me to congratulate you on your refusal to come to New York City and do a series of articles on racial discrimination at the invitation of the editor of the *New York Post*, one James Wechsler. You would have as much chance to get the true story in the company of these as you would have trying to get the number of prisoners in Russian slave labor camps.

May I humbly suggest that if you really want to get a true picture of racial discrimination here in this communist island, this city of New York, you should come alone and take a look around for yourself. Go to the West Side, embracing the 60s and as far up town to 145th st. Visit the side streets in the 70s, 80s, and the 90s. Talk to the patrolmen on duty, visit the precincts, watch the mad pattern of the mongrels, see the filth and the human degredation that is so apparent.

Here amid these crime infested streets live thousands upon thousands of Puerto Ricans, Negroes, and a few poor whites that are unable in a financial way to get away from it all. Here crime runs rampant. Murders, robberies, muggings, doe addicts, prostitutes and homosexuals. The New York police are the finest in the world, but they are powerless to do anything about this situation. Several New York papers scream and rant about racial persecution whenever one of these criminal rats are caught. People are actually afraid to walk the streets at night. Most of the public parks are under a curfew. It is truly one hell of a place.

Decent people are moving to the suburbs as fast as houses can be built for them. Talk to the property owners in Brooklyn and other sections and you will find that they are reluctant to sell property to Negroes. As soon as one moves into a block that is all white, "for sale" signs appear in all the other houses. Property values go down immediately. The people move as soon as they can sell. Real nice people want no part of them.

I have lived here for over 20 years. I am an ambulance driver and I am in the midst of all this all the time. I know what I am talking about. I will gladly assist you in any way I can if you should need me. I have lots of friends on the police force and they will be able to give you the true facts. You don't want a guided tour. I am a Georgian by birth. HARVEY J. SMITH.

82 Palmetto St., Brooklyn, N.Y.

◆

White Exodus From N.Y. And D.C.

Editor, The Advertiser:

Have just read an article by Ray Tucker in which you issue a challenge to the *New York Post* about investigating and reporting on racial rejudices and clashes in the North.

We hope the *Post* will accept your challenge. I think you could find plenty to write about, and it should be given the widest publicity possible.

¶ Why are the white people selling their homes in the Bronx and moving out?

¶ Why have so many white families moved out of Washington, D. C.?

L. D. GRAVES, M.D.

510 Ingleside Ave., Tallahassee, Fla.

Publish It Not In The Streets Of Askelon—XIX

Advertiser p. 2-6

THE VICE CHAIRMAN of the National Democratic Party is the Illinois Negro congressman, William Dawson, and he is a whale spout when talking about Alabama race disharmony.

Ser. 5-27-56

The Chicago newspapers have a code to guide them in subordinating and masking Chicago race disharmony and their front pages belong to Miss Arthermine Lucy.

Montgomery, Ala.

These Illinois experts are so gluttonously busy with Alabama that they find no time to tell the truth about Illinois. That leaves the burden of enlightenment upon *The Advertiser*.

It is our expectation that the American press will eventually land solidly on its feet and give the American people a faithful picture of the Negro's rejection in the North, and we had thought recently that this was coming to pass. Then we saw the survey of Northern race disharmony broadcast by The Associated Press. It was written by Bem Price, a superficial, chattering stereotyper who, with the apparatus of the world's greatest newsgathering agency at his command, revealed less—less by far—than has *The Advertiser* with one reporter and a telephone. What this Price wrote was more apologia for the North than revelation. It was reportorial malingering, saturated with the purloined patter that may be paraphrased, "the North doesn't discriminate because it has laws against discrimination."

★

WHEREFORE we will illustrate the officiousness and deficiency of Congressman Dawson, the Chicago papers and The Associated Press.

How many citizens in Illinois and Alabama have ever been informed about the status of the Negro in Pekin, Ill., Washington, Ill. and Morton, Ill.?

Illinoisans have been drenched with the tale of the Montgomery bus boycott, but how many have had opportunity to learn about the status of the Negro in this trinity of suburbs clustering about Peoria?

None—the Negro has no status in Pekin, Washington, and Morton because there are no Negroes there. There are 5,000 Negroes in adjoining Peoria, but they are not allowed in the three cities. In short, the cities are Dearbornized.

★

AN ILLINOIS citizen, traveling through Texas, discovered in a Texas newspaper that *The Advertiser* was interested in these oddities of the land of the abolitionist and suggested an investigation.

The Advertiser put a simple message on the teletype to the Illinois AP and by afternoon had the following confirmation. This shows how easy it is for a newspaper after the truth to obtain it in this connection.

The AP reported that:

Re query: U.S. Census says Pekin, with 21,858, had 12 non-white in 1950, but census this year showed only one non-white among 25,156.

Morton, with 3,693, had six Negroes, all women, in 1950; and Washington, two Negro females among 4,285.

No later official figures, but Sam Belfer, secretary of Peoria Human Relations Commission, says no Negro householders or renters in three towns now. Believes may be few Negro domestic servants.

Barrier apparently unofficial covenant of residents, property owners, *strongly backed by officials.* Riley property owner were to rent to Negro he would be "ostracized and *city officials would get after him in various ways.*"

These three towns largely residential suburbs of Peoria where some 5,000 Negroes among 110,000 residents long accepted in schools and "a few" live without friction in white neighborhoods. Belfer says integration "has worked beautifully" in Robert H. Taft Homes, large public housing project in Peoria.

Pittman, secretary of Illinois Human Relations Commission, says one Pekin businessman wrote on survey form "the people of Pekin live in the dark ages and *do not allow Negroes to sleep overnight in city limits.*"

Reliable informant says farmer-horse breeder employed Negro groom near Washington few years ago and brought groom into Washington tavern where they were served, but farmer called aside and told firmly it wasn't done. This source says it

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Sun. 5-27-56

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Montgomery, Ala.

What Alabama State Employment Service Offers

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—We are very grateful for your having printed the letter by Mrs. W. in your issue of Sunday, May 20. We would never have known otherwise the extent to which the public can be misinformed about the State Employment Service. Obviously, Mrs. W. is under the impression that an individual must be ill or at least unable to work as a prerequisite to receiving unemployment compensation. This is a common misconception. Actually, the very opposite is true: ability and availability are prime requisites to receiving benefits.

P. 4-A

It is the responsibility of the Alabama State Employment Service to maintain accurate and up to date data as to the ratio of unemployment to the total labor force, the amount of unemployment benefits paid in any given period, the average duration of benefits, the number of job openings received, the number of workers referred to jobs, and the number of workers placed. It is not our purpose here to give a statistical report on the activities of this office; however, the information is of public record and available to any person upon request.

As for the crowds of Negroes standing outside the employment office, Mrs. W. could not have known that these Negroes were waiting for employers to pick them up for day labor. We have never condoned the practice of recruitment on the streets and sidewalks outside the office, but have met with poor success in trying to curtail that practice. Many employers pick up workers from among those waiting outside the office without attempting to place an order for workers with us. This, of course, employers are free to do since, to our knowledge, there is no law prohibiting the practice. However, employers who use the facilities of the State Employment Service agree that our techniques for selection of the right worker for the right job are far better than random recruitment and selection.

Within recent months, the writer had occasion to stop an employer engaging in this practice outside our office and we asked what type of workers he was seeking. The employer wanted to hire two truck drivers. Of the two individuals he had selected, one had never driven a truck for pay, did not have a driver's license and all of his regular experience had been as a short order cook. The other individual had driven a truck, but his driver's license was no longe valid. After this had been brought to the employer's attention, he was happy to place an order for workers with us and he remained inside our office at an interviewer's desk while suitable applicants were selected for him. This employer called back several weeks later to thank us for opening his eyes to what the employment service could offer.

We acknowledge the fact that some individuals reporting to this office might be receiving unemployment benefits to which they are not entitled. Our staff is constantly alert to detect and or to prevent fraud and we are always grateful for any public cooperation directed toward reduction of improper payments. At the risk of citing information which may be common knowledge to many people, the following are primary requirements for receiving unemployment compensation:

¶ The individual must not have quit his employment voluntarily without good cause connected with his work.

¶ Must not have been discharged for disconduct connected with his work.

¶ Must be able and available for work.

¶ Must seek work on his own in addition to his contact with the employment service.

¶ Must have had recent employment with employers covered by the Alabama unemployment compensation law.

The benefits paid through the Montgomery local office alone amount to approximately $50,000 per month. This is less than these individuals actually earned during a similar period to qualify for benefits, but is considerably more in the cash registers of the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker, were it not for these unemployment benefits.

Aside from the poyment of unemployment compensation, the Montgomery local office of the Alabama tate Employment Service placed 697 individuals on no-agricultural jobs during April, 1956. The jobs varied from professional and managerial, technical and sales jobs, right through the scale of occupational categories ranging from aircraft mechanics to ditch diggers.

Montgomery is a growing city and the Alabama State Employment Service hopes to grow with it. We hope that the citizens of Montgomery will find the time to learn about the Alabama State Employment Service, what it is, how it operates, and how it can help the employer and the worker. We hope that you will consider this a standing invitation to visit us at any time for a guided tour through our office. We will be delighted to show you first hand some of the interesting things we encounter daily in serving you.

G. PAUL ROLLIN JR., Manager,
Alabama State Employment Service.
Montgomery.

★ Tell It ★ To Old Grandma

Advertiser P. 4-A

Mon. 5-28-56

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Montgomery, Ala.

No Prank

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I think the parents of every small boy between 8 and 12, or thereabouts, in the vicinity of South Hull and Felder and Rose Lane, should find out where their boys were around 8:30 on Tuesday night.

I was driving out South Hull and several boys darted from behind shrubbery, hurled something at my car which exploded just below the window, causing a terrific noise and impact, and water or some other fluid flew all over my face and clothes and ran down the side of the car. If it was water there was something mixed with it as it was sticky on the car and had a burning sensation to the side of my face.

As I stopped I caught sight of these boys darting down into the dark behind a house. I went into the house on the corner to make inquiries and the children did not belong there. Driving around the block several times did not disclose there whereabouts. If I could have found them of course I would have turned the matter over to the police. I would like to warn the parents of boys who do such things that they are responsible for their children's actions and this could have caused a wreck, heart failure or any number of things.

This is much too serious a matter to be called a boy's prank. These are the sort of children who as they get into the 'teens will join the gangster element. My purpose in writing this is that parents find out if their boys did such a thing and perhaps prevent its recurrence, which might have much more serious results. I refrain from signing my name to this letter for fear I might be the victim of still more serious "pranks." Has it come to the point that one can't drive safely down the streets of Montgomery at night?

Montgomery. CITIZEN.

Alabama Editors Are Saving

Advertiser P. 2-A

Sun. 5-27-56

Montgomery, Ala.

Bloc Voting

The Brewton Standard

During the past two weeks, articles in this paper have outlined the facts of Negro bloc voting in Escambia County as they relate to state and local politics.

On the local level, those two stories high light a development whic hmust be carefully considered by citizens and politicians alike in future elections. The Negro vote, and the weight it can swing, is of major importance now, and will become of even greater importance in voting to come.

It must be pointed out that development of this bloc vote is both normal and to be expected. The same thing has occurred in other sections of the conntry wherever there are racial groups concentrated in relatively small political units. The Negroes in Harlem, the Italians in Brooklyn, the Jews in Manhattan, the Irish in Boston, the Poles in Pittsburgh and Hamtramck — all these racial and national groups vote as a bloc in nearly every election.

It is as reasonable for the Negro to vote in his own self-interest as it is for the white citizen to ballot on the same account. If that self-interest is identical for all Negroes, then bloc-voting can be expected.

Yet, over the long haul, this tendency will sooner or later break down as Negroes learn to decide on an individual basis whether they are voting in their own interest, or whether they are "being voted" by someone else.

From Afar

The Sylacauga News

Two major newspapers, one published in Illinois and one in New York state, have taken up recent editorials which have appeared in this column on the subject of segregation, and in rebuttal to our contention that segregation is not limited to the South, they take vigorous exception. Their comments are not argumentative, they simply express an undeviating opinion and an almost fanatical misconception of the true status of the Negro in the South. This attitude is not only unfair to the South but is wholly unfair to the Negro. He is not given credit for the remarkable advance made by his race as a whole, his own social structure, or his own racial pride, but the Northern editors see in him a downtrodden people, slightly removed from slavery.

How wrong can people be, and how unjust it is when people who are supposed to mold public opinion set them-

selves up as authority on a subject with a single basis of hearsay evidence—both editors having admitted they had never been south of the Mason-Dixon Line. It's just segregation "you-all" and that's that.

◆

A Third Party?

The Union Springs Herald

Most of the state delegation elected to the National Democratic Convention was swept into ofice by the Citizens' Council. Alabama's delegation will go to the convention pledged to fight against a strong pro-segregation plank. Just what will happen this year at the Democratic convention is anyone's guess.

Certainly if the Southern delegation walks out, they will not walk into the Republican Party, because they are aware that their cause would be just as much in jeopardy there.

The South has walked out of conventions before for a principle. They formed the Dixiecrat movement, which was merely a mild protest vote. This time, with the South angered by the Supreme Court's ruling, and with hundreds of White Citizens Councils forming all over the South and in other sections of the nation, there is a good possibility that a third party will be born that will grow to be quite a big boy.

Such a party will not win the next election, or the next, but it must not be forgotten that the stronger the issue the more likely the new party is to survive—and who can deny that today the South's need is great indeed?

★ Tell It ★
To Old Grandma

Advertiser
Wed. 6-27-56

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Montgomery, Ala.

Abusing The Word

P. A-A

EDITOR THE ADVERTISER—This letter is directed to a certain correspondent to your paper, Mrs. Nanina Champney Alba of Tuskegee, Ala.

Fathers Day was created for men who are fathers of *children* and not characters who are forerunners of some idea or concept. Can you prove that "Chaucer is the father of English poetry? The Mississippi is the Father of Waters and that Satan is the Father of Lies?"

When ou ydo this, your statements can be accepted.

These baseless assertions should be carefully weighed before you allow them to be printed in your paper.

W. H. EDWARDS.

Snow Hill, Ala.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Sat. 5-26-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

Published In Askelon—VIII

P. A-A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I thought this clipping might interest you since I understand you are collecting these items.

ROBERT M. CALFEE.

2755 Berkshire Rd., Cleveland Heights, Ohio.

¶ *The following clipping, enclosed by Calfee, is from* The Cleveland Plain Dealer.—*Ed.*

A 30-year-old Negro electrical worker, charging that he had been barred from a union because of his race and color, yesterday won a public hearing before the city's community relations board.

The open hearing will be the first ever held in Ohio. It is the first case of a discrimination charge to go this far under Cleveland's fair employment practices ordinance.

Theodore Pinkston, Florida-born, father of three and a veteran who served in the Army in Japan, is making the complaint.

He named as respondents:

Local Union No. 38 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. George J. Brown, president of the local. Vincent Skodis, business manager of the local.

They kept him out of the union ever since he first asked to get in back in May, 1951, Pinkston is charging.

Frank W. Baldau, director of the community relations board, said as he issued notices of the hearing:

"The board and Mayor Celebrezze had several sessions with the union, trying to solve this one by conference and conciliation.

"They were unsuccessful. The union denies him the right to compete in the open market for electrical work.

"They refuse him journeyman status or even a chance to go through apprentice training.

"For decades this union has let non-union Negro electricians operate only in heavily populated Negro areas.

"Pinkston has been on the civil service list for city jobs, but he claims he was kept out of the jobs because the union keeps such jobs for its members."

The national office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has asked permission, Baldau said, to attend the hearing.

So has the fair employment practices committee of Pittsburgh.

Mortimer Riemer, attorney for the union, said: "It is a difficult situation. There are a lot of equities on the side of the union. But I prefer not to comment on it now."

Starting in 1947, the Urban League here tried to break through the color barrier in negotiations with the late Clayton Lee, then business manager of the union.

◆

Timely Pronouncement

(TELEGRAM)

Editor, The Advertiser:

Sen. Sparkman's espousal of Sen. Hubert Humphrey and other South haters as vice-presidential candidates comes at a crucial time to warn us he is unfit to serve as chairman of Alabama's delegation to the Democratic convention. Our delegates should elect as chairman a man who represents the thinking of the great majority of the people of Alabama.

Mobile, Ala. R. E. WRIGHT.

Engelhardt hits video talk of NAACP lawyer

Mont. Ad. 5-24-56 Brom, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 24—(AP)—A formal statement on a request to answer nationally televised statements on the Montgomery bus boycott situation was awaited here today after indications the request might be rejected.

Mont. 5-24-56

An associate of the producer of "Youth Wants to Know," on which the statements were made, said they might be regarded as the close rather than the opening of a two-sided discussion of segregation matters.

Thurgood Marshall, general counsel for the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, discussed the boycott on a Sunday broadcast. Tuesday State Sen. Sam Engelhardt, executive secretary of the Alabama Assn. of Citizens' Councils, charged Marshall with "false statements."

38a

ENGELHARDT SAID in a telegram to Theodore Granik, producer of the program, "We feel Marshall's statements only added fuel to flames already burning here." Engelhardt asked "in the interest of fair reporting" equal time "for persons acquainted with the situation as it really exists . . . to prove Sunday's presentation is another example of NAACP exploitation."

The telegram did not reach Granik's Washington office before it closed yesterday, Sylvan Marshall, an associate of Granik, said last night.

SYLVAN MARSHALL said a formal statement would await a conference with Granik and (NBC) network officials. But in what he labeled "informal" comments, Sylvan Marshall indicated he thought Thurgood Marshall's appearance might be considered as giving Negroes equal time to reply to an appearance on the program several weeks ago of Sen. Thomas Wofford.

Sylvan Marshall said Wofford "fairly well explained the Southern point of view."

Macon Solon Says Capital In Dire Period

Advertiser P.8-d

State Sen. Sam Englehardt of Macon County told members of the Exchange Club yesterday that "Montgomery is going through a period unlike any other since the reconstruction."

Trib. 3-2-56

"It has been much overplayed by foreign correspondents — both Yankees and those from overseas," he said of the segregation situation in Montgomery and in the South.

Montgomery Ala.

Englehardt described the brutal manner used by the NAACP in going into Negro houses and threatening the occupants if they confessed to be for segregation.

"Our aim in dealing with this race problem is the White Citizens' Council," Englehardt said.

Asked by a member of the club to comment on the advisability of persons of both races meeting as an unbiased committee to work out a solution he said:

"We cannot negotiate segregation. The Negro will not give in and we cannot give in. However, the longer this thing goes on the more our membership in the councils will increase."

In connection with his talk, Englehardt played a tape recording of a speech by Roosevelt Williams, a Negro official in the NAACP, who spoke at a secret meeting in Jackson, Miss., in December of 1954.

Sen. Englehardt was introduced to the club by MacDonald Gallion, assistant attorney general of Alabama.

BACKED BY SELLERS

WCC Leader Asks TV Network For Time To Answer NAACP

Advertiser Wed. 5-23-56 P.1

Montgomery, Ala.

State Sen. Sam Englehardt Jr., executive secretary of the Alabama Association of Citizens Councils, yesterday requested equal time on a national television network to answer "an example of NAACP exploitation."

Englehardt charged that Thurgood Marshall, general counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, made "false statements" about the Montgomery bus boycott during a broadcast ("Youth Wants To Know") Sunday.

In a telegram to Theodore Granik, producer of the television program, Englehardt requested equal time "for persons acquainted with the situation as it really exists."

Police Commission Clyde Sellers endorsed Englehardt's request.

"I'm in complete agreement with the council's requests," he said. "I think we should have equal time to defend ourselves against the half truths told by Marshall, which were very detrimental to our city."

Englehardt's telegram concluded: "We feel Marshall's statements only added fuel to flames already burning here. In interest of fair reporting, we again request time to prove Sunday's presentation is another example of NAACP exploitation.

Engelhardt Calls For 'Favorite Son'

Post-Herald Brom, Ala.

Yielding To Illinois Held 'Inconceivable'

Tues. 8-7-56

MONTGOMERY, Aug. 8 (AP) — Adlai Stevenson's firmer stand on civil rights brought a fresh demand from a citizens' council leader today for a favorite son presidential candidate from Alabama.

P.1

Stevenson said last night the Democratic National Convention should write into the party platform an endorsement of the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation.

State Sen. Sam Englehardt of nearby Macon County sent a telegram to Sen. John Sparkman, chairman of the Alabama delegation, saying the favorite son idea suggested by citizens' council members earlier has become "most urgent."

"It is absoultely inconceivable how Alabama can yield to Illionois after Adlai's pronouncement yesterday . . ." the telegram said.

Sparkman has said he wants the Alabama delegation, first on the rollcall of states, to yield to Illinois so Stevenson can be the first presidential candidate put up for nomination at the convention next week.

Laurie Battle, the vice chairman, said in Birmingham yesterday it was his "understanding" that a majority of the Alabama delegates are for that.

Englehardt also expressed resentment over Stevenson inviting Alabama delegates to a party honoring Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt Sunday night.

Alabama's Gov. Folsom Unruffled By Storm of Racial Controversy

Herald Tribune

New York Sun, 3-18-56

He Plans to Tell the People There's No Real Crisis

By Robert S. Bird

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Mar. 17 —The most relaxed man in the whole state of Alabama today is the man around whom the storm of race conflict beats most furiously. Gov. James E. Folsom, who is remembered in the North as "Kissin' Jim" and is known to all hereabouts as "Big Jim," remains totally unruffled by the winds that shake the colonnaded Capitol of Alabama.

While the outside world looks in alarm on recent events in Alabama and his own citizens cry for action from him, "Big Jim" sits enigmatically on Olympus. Or more exactly, sits most of the time in his office in the Capitol, and much of the remaining time on the grassy bank of his favorite fishing stream.

Imperturbable

He was just as imperturbable the other night sitting in the Executive Mansion, discussing the Alabama situation with this correspondent over champagne and t-bone steaks. In fact, he was so relaxed that when the time came to sit down to dinner he unnotched his belt several inches and attacked his meat in shirtsleeves from the lordly Chief Executive's chair at the head of the state dining table.

Mrs. Folsom, an attractive and thoroughly charming woman, had chided the Governor for insisting that our small dinner party of four (including the Governor's executive secretary) be served in the state dining room. The table was big enough to seat a regiment of hussars and the chandelier, had it been fully lighted, could have illuminated Times Square.

She suggested that the family dining room would be cosier. But the Governor over-ruled her with an indulgent wave of hand as if to suggest that the presence of this interviewer rendered the occasion at least a semi-state affair, even if not full dress. We dined informally in the midst of elegance.

Slow-Talking

Gov. Folsom's height is well known—six feet, eight inches. But that might as well read eight feet, six inches, because when a person of ordinary height stands beside "Big Jim," a couple of extra feet in his height wouldn't seem to make much difference. He is a startlingly big man.

Give such a man the personality of an overgrown, slow-talking, hard-to-get-mad country boy with lots of hidden savvy, and the first lineaments of his portrait appear. Enhance that with a political genius capable of engaging the fiercest loyalties and deepest enmities; of shrugging off abject defeats, personal contumely, back-firing razzle-dazzle political stunts, and rancor toward unrelenting enemies, and some highlights begin to emerge.

Touch up the picture with a hint of a brooding, introspective look in the gray eyes, and a habit of lapsing into silences that he never seems to notice —and which he finally breaks by picking up the thread of conversation where he left off. Then dress this loungy giant in well-tailored clothes, invest him with legendary personal misdeeds both bizarre and horrendous, make his political maneuvers often seems suicidal and wholly inexplicable, give him a cat's ability to land on his feet—and you have a recognizable sketch of "Big Jim" Folsom, the so-called enigma of Alabama.

At this moment, he would appear to be the most unpopular person in the State of Alabama. It all happened since integration became an issue, and his unpopularity seems to extend even to those ordinarily loyal constituents in the rural areas who voted him into office in the fall of 1954.

Herald Tribune

With the people of the state demanding piteously that he do something to help stem the

Associated Press

Gov. James E. Folsom

"black tide" which threatens to engulf them, he is accused by some extremists of inaction so flagrant as to warrant impeachment. He speaks with disrespect of the White Citizens Council movement, which is organizing throughout the state to fight integration, and a result is that some hitherto Folsom supporters are plotting his downfall. He gives a mild rebuke to Negro agitators and the cry goes up that he is really a "nigger lover" —the vilest label that can be pinned on a man here.

The desperate legislators, in seeking to appease the folks back home, put through nullification and interposition legislation, along with other measures so wild as to cause even them to smile a little nervously, and the Governor says "hogwash," then goes fishing.

After six weeks of traveling around Alabama, encountering passion, fear, hatred and frustration in abundance, it was quite an experience to sit down and talk about it for four hours with the most relaxed man in Alabama.

Either he's all wrong and Alabama is in a mighty bad fix, or he's a lot right and Alabama is safe; safe for itself and safe for the Union, with certain painless modifications of viewpoints still to be attained, perhaps.

At any rate, the Governor's alleged inaction is now ended. This week he intends to go out among "the people" and tell them that there is no real crisis at all here in Alabama.

In Courthouse Towns

He's going to tell them that there's nothing to worry about, to watch carefully against white folks trying to stir up trouble, to calm down and sit tight and let him handle matters in his own way.

He'll give his personal report to the people in his own way in the courthouse towns of all the sixty-seven counties, he says, and he won't even talk about his own little campaign to win office as a Democratic national committeeman. He's in that race against a couple of formidable candidates, including the author of Alabama's nullification law.

In short, the Governor is about to go to his people with aid and comfort in their frustration. He is one of them and they know it. And if their aroused passions are as elemental as the good earth itself, so is his unworriedness. At least, so he suggests. Wise in all the tricks of Southern stump - politicking, "Big Jim" may yet quiet down this wave of race hatred. If he does, it will be another Folsom miracle.

The experts laugh at the idea, they say he's too late; this time he has fallen flat on his face for good. He shrugs with unconcern. He may not win the committee post because, as he says, the wave of race hatred will not have passed until nearer the fall election. And this committeeman showdown is to be in May. But he will draw fire away from other Folsom candidates, and away from his own legislative program. Later, he is convinced, all misunderstanding will pass. "I've been through it all before," he says with weary recollection.

"Let them spleen their vent, or vent their spleen, or however you say it," he adds. "All I want is for the people to speak."

The Governor has just launched what he considers to be an ingenious bit of strategy. He has called for a constitutional convention to "legalize" the "hogwash" of nullification and interposition. As it happens, the Governor has long wanted a constitutional convention for altogether other reasons, largely to further his own state legislative program, which includes reapportionment in certain counties which are generally anti-Folsom. His Legislature in the past had no intention of giving him this constitutional convention because it feels that might open the door to all kinds of Folsom law-making mischief.

But now they are feeling the sting of a real needle, because the Governor has got a very simple stump-talk rationalization for the convention. Nobody understands interposition anyway, the rural folk least of all. They are backing it on the theory that any medicine is better than none. But here comes "Big Jim" saying that it is humbug medicine and the real cure is a constitutional convention "to make everything legal." He pretends to be surprised that the legislators are nettled.

"In a convention they can even see-seed from the Union," he explains. "They can authorize me to call out the National Guard against the Federal troops. Like I say, there's been so much hell-raising I thought they would want to do it."

"Why," he says with a gleam in his eye, "they could require the Governor to take an oath promising not to support the Constitution of the United States. You know that all the state, county and local officials of Alabama are bound by oath to support the Federal government? Only a constitutional convention can release them from that oath. Let the people speak in convention assembled!"

Would the Governor accept release of his oath to the Federal government in such a convention?

Sun. 3-18-56

"Sam Houston didn't," he grins, "but all the other Confederate Governors did."

"But would you?"

P. 27

"Sam Houston didn't."

This may be "hogwash," but the truth is the Alabama race situation seemed a lot less inflammatory to this correspondent after his session with "Big Jim" Folsom. And this much is certain, Gov. Folsom is, whether by design or not, a moderating influence on the race crisis in Alabama.

Folsom Blasts Racial Critics

Ala. Journal

Fri. 3-30-56

TROY, Ala. (AP)—Striking out at critics of his segregation stand, Gov. James E. Folsom charged last night that "nullicrats and mobocrats" are seeking to break up the Democratic Party in Alabama.

Montgomery Ala.

The governor is scheduled to continue his "Report to the people" today in South Alabama with addresses in Elba at 2 p.m. and at Andalusia at 7 p.m.

Warning that nullification means lawlessness, Folsom told some 450 persons here last night that the "faces you see today in the nullicrat party are the same ones you saw in the Dixiecrat Party in 1948."

P. 7

FOLSOM IS CANDIDATE

Folsom is a candidate for national Democratic committeeman from Alabama in the May 1 Democratic primary. One of his opponents is State Rep. Charles McKay of Talladega, sponsor of the nullification resolution approved by the Alabama Legislature. The resolution declares that Alabama is not bound by the anti-segregation rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court.

In a sidewalk address at Luverne earlier yesterday before a crowd estimated at 175, Folsom said "Any organization which advocates utter chaos does not have a place in my program."

And he emphasized: "I have never entertained a Negro socially in my life, but I reserve the right to do so."

The governor has been criticized for a statement last fall by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, New York's Negro congressman, who said he had a drink with Folsom while in Montgomery and was allowed use of the governor's official automobile.

Answers Citizens Council—

Folsom says he'll not be bound to private groups

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 29—(AP)—Answering a Citizens Council leaders charge that he had declined to answer a questionnaire stating his views on the racial issue, Gov. James E. Folsom said he "won't swear allegiance" to any private group.

"I won't swear allegiance to the leadership of any private group," he said in a prepared statement yesterday.

"I didn't swear allegiance to the Dixiecrats in 1948. I didn't swear allegiance when they walked out of the Democratic Convention in 1948 and later knocked the president off the Democratic ballot in Alabama. I was a loyal Democrat."

The governor referred to the States Rights uprising of 1948 when Alabama along with three other Southern states withheld their electoral college vote from President Truman, the Democratic nominee, in protest at the party's civil rights stand.

Half Alabama's delegation to the 1948 Democratic National Convention walked out of the convention when the civil rights plank in the party platform was adopted.

LUTHER INGALLS, chairman of the Montgomery White Citizens Council, told a group of pro-segregation members of the group Tuesday night that Folsom's name was among those "conspicuously absent" in the roll call of candidates getting on the record as favoring continued separation of the races.

Citizens Councils have sent out questionnaires to all candidates in statewide races asking their views on the segregation issue.

Gov. Folsom repeated his declaration that "I am not going to swear allegiance to any private group today because they are the same faces, rank, serial number and issues that led the Dixiecrats in 1948.

"I have got friends on both sides of this segregation issue," the governor's statement said, "but I am not going to swear allegiance to the leadership of any group that's trying to tear up the Democratic Party in Alabama because it was too hard to rebuild after 1948.

"Before 10,000 people in Montgomery and on every stump in the state I said I was for segregation. My views are well known on the subject. I was and I am for segregation."

"I said it while I was a candidate so that the people would know my stand before they voted and that's all I have to say on the subject."

Folsom, at Elba appearance, lashes at Citizens Councils

ELBA, Ala., March 31—(AP)—Gov. James E. Folsom brought his "report to the people" to his native Elba Friday in his campaign as a candidate for Democratic national committeeman.

The governor attacked White Citizens Council leaders whoon have criticized him for refusal to sign the Legislature's interposition resolution and other measures aimed at preserving racial segregation.

HE FACETIOUSLY "pleaded guilty" to bringing Negro salves into the South.

"My administration has been accused by the people who are trying to tear up the Democratic Party of everything except bringing slaves to this country 200 years ago. I'm pleading guilty to that here today," he declared

Folsom added that despite the criticism, "by my personal efforts we have kept our schools segregated and by my personal efforts we're going to keep them segregated for the rest of my administration."

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this shows how important it is to have a godly man at the head of a nation.

And now note the following: "And Jehosaphat bowed his head with his face to the ground: and all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem fell before the Lord, worshipping the Lord. And the Levites, of the children of the Kohathites, and of the children of the Korhites, stood up to praise the Lord God of Israel with a loud voice on high" (Verses 18 and 19).

YOU SEE THEN that the king and his people were very humble and prayerful and that they were keeping their eyes upon God. They rose early in the morning and moved on toward the enemy; and, as they moved, Jehosaphat said to them, "Hear me, O Judah . . . Believe in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established; believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper."

Next, after consulting with the people, he appointed singers unto the Lord, who were to praise the beauty of holiness as they went out before the army.

Then, as they began to sing, their enemies were stricken with death. The Lord fought the battle. As a people, we have enemies today; and our greatest peril comes from the forces of evil in our own land. If we win, we must keep our eyes upon the Lord.

Talmadge Rips Supreme Court At Rights Rally

BUENA VISTA, Ga., March 29 Former Gov. Talmadge, lashing out at the Supreme Court ruling on segregation, asserted here today that "no authority can force people to do something against their will."

Speaking to about 500 persons attending the Marion County States Rights Rally he was introduced as "our next senator" by Clark W. Duncan, temporary council chairman.

"Regardless of what the Supreme Court does and says, Georgia people will continue to run Georgia," he declared, urging every section of the state to organize and present a united front on segregation and states rights.

Blistering attacks on the Supreme Court decision were also made by Leonard Wilson, who was expelled from the University of Alabama for statements he made while Negro Autherine Lucy was a student there; and Peter Zack Geer, Colquitt attorney and former Miller County representative.

HOMETOWN PLEA

Governor Again Blasts GOP In Elba Address

BY STUART X. STEVENSON
Advertiser Alabama Editor

ANDALUSIA, Ala., March 30—Gov. Folsom wound up a busy schedule here tonight winning the first game of a double-header on his homegrounds in Elba this afternoon with a smash over the centerfield fence.

About 350 people including a dozen women trudged up two flights of concrete stairs to the courtroom to get a first-hand report from the native son of Coffee on his stewardship.

The crowd from every beat in the county sat in silence as "their boy" lambasted the Republicans, told how he usd airplanes to get big business and "black-topped them roads" but they broke out in a wild whoopee when he roared "so help me God that crowd's not going to tear up the Democratic Party."

He was referring to the group that walked out during the last national convention.

Big Jim made a stirring plea to the home folks in reminding them "I need your support to protect your party, our party of the people."

This direct come-on for their vote in the forthcoming primary was obvious enough and effective. He is one of the three in the race for post of National Democratic Committeeman.

In reporting to the people on his stewardship, Gov. Folsom related that he had labored for nearly eight years in "getting to the top" with my program. Then he outlined what he described as "the facts of life."

First came the attack on the newspapers for "lying" about the mansion expense, use of planes and spending. From this he swung his big bludgeon at the Republican administration "which has given us $200 heifers running around the pastures with $5 calves."

On the subject of roads Gov. Folsom said 15 projects in Coffee County costing some $600,000 were under way "and when I come back next year I hope the entire 100 miles promised for this county will be finished," he added with a quick reflex.

Big Jim kept the opposition in the minds of the listeners in Elba with a repeated barb at the Republicans. He reiterated the price of the heifer and the calf.

Actually nothing new was developed by the governor in his free-wheeling talk to the home crowd. He didn't seem to stir the business, political and professional folk present and the large array from the branchheads didn't exactly grasp at reference to "destruction of our freedoms and liberties by the wild bills" passed recently by the legislature.

On segregation he emphasized that "you'll beat the Nullification Act five to one if they let you vote on it."

PEACEFUL TALKS

Then he told how he had handled the segregation issue peacefully and "without going wild" about it. Gov. Folsom told the home folks they knew he hadn't been "around with Negroes socially, but I've talked with all of them and done it peacefully."

Just bare mention was made of other phases of his program including the state docks, ABC Board, education and old-age pensions. He promised to continue his fight to get $50 per month for every person 65 years of age and over and he urged all to "get your names in the pot."

The Elba speech lasted 22 minutes and it required nearly twice that long for the governor to finish shaking hands with his enthusiastic admirers. Finally he broke away to go into a huddle with the county commission.

spots on you," he said.

Folsom let the interposition resolution go into effect without his signature after the Legislature gave it almost unanimous approval earlier this year.

Folsom Is Chided For Not Signing Interposition Edict

PRATTVILLE, March 21 (U.P.)—A White Citizens Council leader chided Gov. James E. Folsom here last night for refusing to sign an interposition resolution declaring null and void the U. S. Supreme Court segregation decrees.

Attorney Alston Keith, Selma, chairman of the Dallas County Citizens Council, told the Autauga Citizens Council "Alabamians never again will elect a person to the governor's chair who would fail to sign the interposition resolution."

"We have a fence in Alabama that is white on one side and black on the other and you can't straddle it without getting some

Advertiser 9-1
Montgomery, Ala.

FOLSOM MEETS THE PRESS

Gov. James E. Folsom's face registered a variety of expresisons yest... press conference. This panel shows the governor as he listen to a question, ...ment to prepare his answer, gives his reply, then realizing he has made a good point d... to elaborate.

Wed. 9-5-56

Folsom Favors Troop Use To Quell Racial Disorder

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Wed. 9-5-56, 38a Ala

By BOB INGRAM

Gov. James E. Folsom said yesterday he agreed with the action of Tennessee Gov. Frank Clement in ordering National Guard troops and tanks into the rioting city of Clinton after 12 Negroes enrolled in the previouly all-white high school there.

"That's all he could do," Folsom replied emphatically when asked to comment on the Clinton situation. Gov. Clement ordered a contingent of Guard troops into the city following an outbreak of mob violence which resulted when the Negroes were admitted into the school.

"Certainly would have done the same thing," Folsom continued. "In fact, I would have called out the Guard if that girl Autherine Lucy had returned to the University."

"In fact, that thing (the University incident) slipped up on us we would have called out the Guard the first time," Folsom added. "I didn't realize the Highway Patrolmen we had sent over there couldn't handle the situation alone."

"It's regrettable to have to do something like that but we are going to maintain law and order," Folsom added. "There will be no mob rule in Alabama as long as I am governor."

Meanwhile, the governor said he was not too concerned about a sudden revival of Klu Klux Klan activity in Alabama and the South...

"I haven't heard much lately of any klucking in Alabama," Folsom said. "They've got a perfect right to meet if they want to, but they've got to keep their masks off."

Turning to the national political scene, Folsom said he returned from the meeting of Southern Democratic Party leaders with Adlai Stevenson and Sen. Estes Kefauver in Knoxville last week "high spirited and confident" about the Democrats' chances.

"There's no question thaa we will have a Democratic Congress next year," Folsom predicted.

When asked if this meant the Republicans might remain in the White House, the governor replied:

"No, not if our shepherds shoot at the leader of the wolf pack."

"I'm glad to see Stevenson now calling it the Eisenhower foreign policy, the Eisenhower farm program instead of the Republican program," Folsom continued, warming to the subject. "He's ain't God."

"I never did think he was God. I told them a long time ago that he wasn't God," Folsom added. "They never did fail to gut me, Harry Truman or Franklin D. Roosevelt. That's what a President is for, to be gutted."

"I've been shot at a lot. I like it and I hope to get shot at some more," Folsom added.

The invitation was readily accepted, when a reporter asked for comment on Atty. Gen. John Patterson's action last week in gaining a court order withholding payment on two road-building contracts which he alleged were illegal.

"I read all about that, but didn't think much about it," Folsom declared. "If there is anything illegal going on over there in the Highway Department it is going to get straightened out."

"In a $200-million-a-year business there are going to be a lot of mistakes made, technical and otherwise," Folsom said. "When I find them I'm going to try to correct them."

Advertiser 9-2-A

Governor Will Seek County Road Markings

Concerned over the increasing number of traffic deaths on county roads, Gov. James E. Folsom said yesterday he intended to recommend that legislation be enacted requiring such roads be marked in the same manner as state roads.

Wed. 9-5-56

"In traveling county raods it is well to note that they are not properly marked," Folsom pointed out. "People tend to forget they are on county roads and drive as fast as on state roads, which are properly marked."

As a result, Folsom continued, "many of our worst accidents are on county roads."

Col. Bill Lyerly, director of the Department of Public Safety, added weight to this by noting that five of the nine traffic fatalities reported during the long Labor Day weekend occurred on county roads.

"But until these roads are properly marked," Folsom concluded, "I would like to urge all motorists to drive carefully on county raods."

The governor also called on motorists to take extra precautions since schools are opening in the immediate future, and to be particularly careful when driving in the vicinity of school buses.

"When those kids get off a school bus they are liable to go any direction, including straight up if they can," Folsom said.

COUNTY OFFICIALS MEET

Advertiser 9-1
Sat. 9-1-56
Montgomery, Ala.

Folsom Sees Demo Victory; Outlines Legislative Slate

MOBILE, Ala., Aug. 31 (AP) — Gov. James E. Folsom gave Alabama county officials an outline of his views and plans in politics and government today and threw in a guarded prediction of Democratic victory in the national election this fall.

The governor flew to Mobile from Knoxville, Tenn., where he attended a regional conference of Democratic leaders.

Folsom made these comments at the final business session of the annual convention of the Alabama Assn. of County Commissioners:

1. That as long as he is governor, there will be no desegragation of the public schools.

2. That he has no intention of calling a special session of the legislature at its general session beginning next May.

4. That no new taxes will be proposed.

5. That the remainder of his term will be devoted primarily to "administration" and not to introducing new ideas in state government.

6. That he plans to "retire from politics" at the end of his present term.

7. That he will give active support to the reapportionment amendment which will be submitted to Alabama voters at the November general election.

Referring to the Knoxville meeting, Folsom told the county officials "I bring good news if you are Democrats and bad news if you are Republicans."

He said the "Democratic leadership of all the Southern states" was in agreement in supportiing Stevenson and Kefauver, who were present at the conference.

Commenting on the segregation issue, Folsom remarked that "there are 500 school districts in Alabama and before segregation can go, a case must be won in each district."

"I have been working with Negro leaders for two years," he said, "to keep such cases out of the courts."

Folsom took a thrust at the "Freedom - of - Choice" school amendment which was approved in last Tuesday's special state election.

Says He's For Segregation—

Gov. Folsom Refuses Allegiance To Council

MONTGOMERY, March 28 (AP)—Insisting "I am for segregation," Gov. James E. Folsom said today he ignored a pro-white Citizens Council questionnaire because "I won't swear allegiance to any private group."

Folsom issued a statement in reply to criticism from a Citizens Council leader, Luther Ingalls of Montgomery.

Ingalls told a rally last night that the governor's name was "conspicuously absent" from the list of candidates for office speaking out in favor of segregation.

Folsom said he told listeners throughout the state during his campaign for governor in 1954 that he stood for racial separation.

"My views are well known on the subject," he declared. "I was and I am for segregation. I said it while I was a candidate so that the people would know my stand before they voted, and that's all I have to say on the subject."

However, the governor declared, "I am not going to swear allegiance to the leadership of any group that's trying to tear up the Democratic Party in Alabama, because it was too hard to rebuild after 1948."

The governor said he didn't swear allegiance to the Dixiecrats in 1948. I didn't swear allegiance when they walked out of the Democratic convention in 1948 and later knocked the President off the ballot in Alabama. I was a loyal Democrat."

He referred to the States Rights revolt that year when Alabama's presidential electors, chosen on the Democratic ticket, cast the state's 11 electoral votes for the Thurmond-Wright ticket instead of for Harry Truman, the Democratic nominee.

Actually, the presidential candidate's name never appears on the ballot in Alabama—only the names of candidates for presidential elector.

Folsom said the Citizens Council leaders "are the same faces, rank, serial number and issues that led the Dixiecrats in 1948."

Citizens Council leaders have sent questionnaires to all candidates for office in the May 1 Democratic primary asking how they stand on the segregation question.

Folsom is running for Democratic National Committeeman. One of his opponents, State Rep. Charles McKay of Talladega, is a leader of the council in his community.

Two of the three candidates for president of the Alabama Public Service Commission, John E. Drinkard of Cullman and Billy Tucker of Birmingham, did not return the questionnaire, Ingalls said.

The third aspirant, incumbent Jack Owen, was present at the meeting and addressed the group. He pledged to continue his fight to maintain the separation of races on public transportation in Alabama.

John Crommelin, retired Navy admiral from Wetumpka, who is running for the U. S. Senate against Sen. Lister Hill, also spoke in favor of segregation. Ingalls read a letter from Hill reaffirming the senator's support of segregation.

However, Ingalls noted the senator had not answered his questionnaire, but returned it with a note written across the front "proclaiming in bold handwriting his support of segregation."

The two candidates for U. S. House of Representatives from the Second District, Rep. George Grant of Troy, the incumbent, and Wilbur Nolen of Montgomery, a member of the state House of Representatives, also expressed pro-segregation views.

Grant told of his support of the recent Southern Manifesto presented in the U. S. Congress, while Nolen later stated that it "is not the time to present a mere manifesto, but to present a united front."

One of 68 to do so—

Folsom disregards Council's questions

BY FRED TAYLOR, News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 14—Gov. James E. Folsom is one of the 68 candidates—representing a majority of public and party office aspirants—refusing to answer questionnaires sent them by the White Citizens Councils of Alabama.

A check of councils' files in state headquarters offices here disclosed that 46 candidates sent in answers in one form or another to the nine questions submitted to them by registered mail on racial matters and the acceptance of Negro votes.

Macon State Sen. Sam Engelhardt Jr., executive secretary of the state organization which sent out the questionnaires March 20, said "I think sufficient time has elapsed for replies to have come in from all candidates who intend to answer."

Sen. Engelhardt, who made the council's answer files available to this reporter, announced at the time the questionnaires were made public that answers would be made public.

Answers varied

SOME OF THE questionnaires were answered "yes" or "no," as requested by the councils, while other answers were in elaborated form, written on the face of the questionnaires or set out in separate letter.

A number of candidates balked at the council quiz shortly after the questions were made public, declaring they considered them bullying and intimidating.

Appearing recently on WAPI-WABT's "Legislative Report" radio-TV discussion program, both Sens. Broughton Lamberth of Tallapoosa and E. L. Roberts of Etowah, candidates for alternate delegate-at-large to the Democratic National Convention, said they would not answer the council's questionnaire.

Lamberth, who is Gov. Folsom's Senate floor leader, said "Everybody's for segregation. No, I don't intend to answer the questionnaires."

OF CANDIDATES replying to the questionnaires, some experienced difficulty in answering questions Nos. 4 and 5. And they took pains to elaborate in answers, rather than put down "yes" or "no."

No. 4 asked: "Do you here and now deny the Negro vote?"

And No. 5 asked: "Do you here and now say to the Negro that you do not want his vote?"

Candidates also were asked if they would give "whole-hearted support" to actions already taken by the Legislature toward maintaining segregation.

Another question sought to elicit an expression from candidates that they would fight "any attempt to bring integration to this state."

Still another query asked if the NAACP, "or any other organization dedicated to the breakdown of Alabama's policies on segregation," had made any direct or indirect contribution to the candidate's campaign.

And they were asked, among other things, if they believed in the Citizens Councils of Alabama movement, if they were members of or willing to join any council unit.

Folsom's stand

GOV. FOLSOM, candidate for Democratic national committeeman, made it clear he would not answer the questionnaire.

He had declared his adoption of what he termed a "no slate, no hate, uninstructed and undecided platform."

In his "report to the people" speeches up and down the state, Folsom made no direct references to the Citizens Councils or to Talladega Rep. Charles McKay Jr., one of his opponents for national committeeman, who is chairman of the Sylacauga Citizens Council. But he blasted away at both without calling them by name.

Addressing a crowd at Troy, Gov. Folsom said "the Nullicrats and Mobocrats want to tear up the Democratic Party in Alabama."

He was shooting at McKay, the White Citizens Councils and at members of the Legislature who voted for McKay's interposition resolution which declared the U. S. Supreme Court integration decision "null, void and of no effect."

Folsom, who has fought the Dixicrats since the 1948 revolt against Truman and Barkley, added:

"Nullification means lawlessness, riots and disorder. Nullification means secession. The faces you see today in the 'Nullicrat Party' are the same faces you saw in the Dixiecrat Party in 1948. But we will not let them destroy the Democratic Party in Alabama again."

McKay, McCord answer

ENGELHARDT'S files disclosed that McKay and Roy D. McCord, Gadsden attorney, who are Gov. Folsom's opponents in the race for Democratic national committeeman, submitted answers to the questionnaire.

McKay's answers were straightaway "yes" and "no," in compliance with councils' request. He pointed out that he is chairman of a council.

McCord answered all questions "yes" and "no" as requested by the councils, with exceptions of Nos. 4 and 5.

As to whether he would deny the Negro vote, McCord wrote:

"I don't understand this question," adding "I don't think Negroes ever should have been allowed to vote."

Regarding No. 5 as to whether he wanted the Negro vote, McCord had this reply:

"Any man who is running for office will accept any legal vote he can get. I cannot be honest and answer otherwise."

McCord added that he believed in "strict segregation." He said he is not a council member, writing "All I know of them is what I read in the paper. I will have to see a copy of their constitution before I can intelligently answer this question."

U. S. Senate race

BOTH SEN. LISTER HILL, up for renomination in the May 1 Democratic primary, and his opponent, retired Adm. John G. Crommelin, answered the questionnaire.

Sen. Hill's answer, which had been read earlier in a Citizens Council meeting at Montgomery's Municipal Auditorium and announced as acceptable by council leaders, was written in longhand on the questionnaire form:

"I shall continue to fight, as I have fought through the years, for the maintenance of segregation and the preservation of our Southern customs, traditions and way of life."

Crommelin gave "yes" and "no" answers, as requested by the councils to all nine questions.

But Crommelin wrote in the word "bloc" in quotations in Nos. 4 and 5, which made them read: "Do you here and now deny the Negro bloc vote?" and "Do you here and now say to the Negro that you do not want his bloc vote?"

He answered "yes" to both, with this word added.

Owen answers

JACK OWEN, up for renomination as president of the Alabama Public Service Commission, was the only one of three candidates in this race to answer the questionnaire. The other two are Cullman's John E. Drinkard and Birmingham's Billy Tucker, shown by Englehardt's files to have sent in no replies.

Owen answered the questions straight away, but elaborated his replies to questions Nos. 4 and 5 to say:

"I want every vote that is cast for me to be counted for me, with the understanding that if I am reelected, I will continue to do everything in my power to maintain segregation in Alabama."

As to joining the Citizens Council, Owen wrote Sen. Englehardt:

"I have been advised that a person in a judicial position is not eligible for membership in the Citizens Councils of Alabama. I, as president of the Alabama Public Service Commission, would be ineligible."

Sen. Englehardt explained that no questionnaires were sent to candidates in the Supreme Court, Court of Appeals and other judgeship races, since the councils did not consider it appropriate to request answers from judicial post aspirants.

Congressional answers

ONLY TWO OF this state's nine congressional seats are being contested in the May 1 Democratic primary, with the veteran Rep. Frank Boykin being opposed for renomination in the First District by Jim T. Hamrick, Prichard automobile man.

Another veteran congressman, Rep. George Grant of Troy is opposed for renomination by State Rep. Wilbur Nolen Jr., Montgomery real estate and insurance man. All four sent in answers.

Congr. Boykin gave "yes" and "no" replies, writing an emphatic "Hell, no," to No. 3 asking if the NAACP had contributed directly or indirectly to his campaign. And he elaborated his answer to Nos. 4 and 5 regarding acceptance of the Negro vote to state:

"If our good Negroes want to cast their votes for me, knowing of my stand against integration, that is their privilege."

Boykin wrote at the bottom of the questionnaire: "I belong to the Linden and Camden Citizens Councils and will join others in my district. The CIO in Mobile has endorsed my opponent."

Hamrick likewise answered the questions "yes" and "no," stating he was a member of Citizens Councils.

But Hamrick substituted "NAACP" for "Negro" in questions Nos. 4 and 5 to say that he would deny and would not accept this vote.

Grant and Nolen

CONGR. GRANT answered the questions straight away "yes" and "no," but also substituted "NAACP" in questions Nos. 4 and 5. He said he is a Citizens Council member.

State Rep. Nolen replied "yes" and "no" up and down the line without changing the wording of any question, adding that "I am a member of several councils in the Second Congressional District."

Although they have no opposition, Reps. George Andrews in the Third District, Kenneth Roberts in the Fourth and Armistead Selden Jr. in the Sixth also answered the questionnaire to emphasize their support of measures to maintain segregation.

They, along with all other Alabama congressmen and senators, signed the recent Southern Manifesto to resist integration attempts.

Delegate races

OF THE 35 candidates for 16 delegate-at-large places on Alabama's delegation to the Democratic National Convention, 16 sent in replies and 19 ignored the questionnaire.

Of the 67 candidates for 36 district delegate posts—four are to be elected from each of the nine congressional districts—22 replied and 45 let the questionnaire go unanswered.

It was significant that none of the delegate aspirants in the North Alabama Seventh and Eighth Districts, which have comparatively little Negro population, sent in answers. Six candidates are seeking the four delegate posts from the Seventh and 15 are running for a like number of seats from the Eighth.

And in the winding Fifth District, which stretches from Central Alabama all the way across Sand Mountain to include Marshall and DeKalb Counties, only one of six candidates answered the queries. The northern part of this district has comparatively little Negro population.

The one answer came from Guntersville's Gene Starnes, a member of Alabama's 1952 Democratic delegation at Chicago (he was for Dick Russell for the Democratic presidential nomination). Starnes answered by letter to point out that both of his grandfathers were Confederate soldiers, adding:

"No one can doubt my stand on segregation. I am, I have been and always will be for segragation. I favor abolishing our public schools, if it takes that to maintain segregation as we have in the past.

"The NAACP or any other radical organization will not tell me how to vote and who to vote for at the convention. I am not, and will not be obligated to any clique of candidate, should I be elected."

Other candidates for the four Fifth District places are C. G. Allen of East Gadsden; State Rep. F. L. (Hello) Ferrell of Mentone; J. C. Henderson of Alexander City; Probate Judge Wiley Hickman and former State Rep. Ed Miller, both of Gadsden.

(Editor's note: The News Monday will carry in further detail the names and answers of the other district and at-large delegate candidates, together with names of those who declined to answer the councils questionnaire.)

Folsom refuses allegiance to hate councils

Afro-American P.3 Sat. 4-14-56 Baltimore, Md.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (ANP) —Gov. James E. Folsom, answering a Citizens Council leader's charge that he had declined to answer a questionnaire stating his views on the racial segregation issue, said last week that he "won't sware his allegiance" to any private group.

Luther Ingall, chaiman of the Montgomery council, told a group of pro-segregation members Tuesday that Folsom's name was among those "conspicuously absent" in the roll call of candidates on record as favoring continued racial separation in Alabama.

* * *

FOLSOM, IN a prepared statement later in the week, said:

"I didn't swear allegiance to the Dixiecrats in 1948. I didn't swear allegiance when they walked out of the Democratic convention in 1948 and later knocked the President off the Democratic ballot in Alabama. I was a loyal Democrat

"I am not going to swear allegiance to any private group today because they are the same faces, rank, serial number and issues that led the Dixiecrats in 1948."

On the same subject, Folsom ddclared emphatically he would support the Democratic Party's nominee, whoever he might be, "with every ounce of strength I've got."

Gov. Folsom, returning to the segregation subject, also repeated his earlier statement that he would call another special session of the Legislature if no action was taken during the current session on his plan for a convention.

"I want to gently remind them that they've established a platform and they ought to carry it out," Folsom said. "I want them to let the people decide."

am for segregation. I said it while I was a candidate so that the people of Alabama would know my stand before they voted, and that's all I have to say on the subject."

"I am not going to swear allegiance to the leadership of any group that's trying to tear up the Democratic Party in Alabama, because it was to rebuild after 1948," Folsom added.

The governor said he didn't "swear allegiance to the Dixiecrats in 1948. I didn't swear allegiance when they walked out of the Democratic Convention in 1948 and later knocked the President off the ballot in Alabama. I was a loyal Democrat."

He referred to the States Rights revolt that year when Alabama's presidential electors, chosen on the

IN NULLIFICATION RESOLUTION

Advertiser Fri. 3-23-56

Folsom Charges Alabama Legislature Violated Oath To U.S. Constitution

Montgomery, Ala. P.1

'VIEWS WELL KNOWN'

Gov. James E. Folsom charged yesterday in a press conference that members of the Alabama Legislature "individually and collectively" violated their oath to uphold the U.S. Constitution when they passed the Nullification Resolution.

The governor, back in his office after a three-day stumping tour of Northwest Alabama, resumed his insistence that the Legislature "let the people decide at the polls" whether they favor nullification.

"The only way we can nullify the Supreme Court decision is through a convention assembled by the people," Folsom said. "And that resolution they passed calling the decision null and void is actually null and void itself."

On another subject, Gov. Folsom said Sen. Estes Kefauver's upset victory over Adlai Stevenson in the Minnesota presidential primary Tuesday "means he's (Kefauver) strong in the midwest."

"I don't know what he's doing, but if I was him I'd keep on doing it," Folsom said regarding Kefauver's victory.

Asked if he thought the outcome of the Minnesota Primary had dimmed Stevenson's chances, Folsom said, "According to the papers he's not the front runner any more."

Council Chief's Attack Brings Folsom Rebuttal

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Mar. 29, 56

Answering criticism aimed at him at a meeting of the Montgomery White Citizens' Council here Tuesday night, Gov. James E. Folsom declared yesterday he had ignored a questionnaire that organization sent him because "I won't swear allegiance to any private group."

Folsom's statement came in rebuttal to a remark made at the political rally Tuesday night by Luther Ingalls, a chairman of the local group.

Ingalls told the crowd of more than 2,000 present at the rally that the governor's name was "conspicuously absent" from the list of candidates for public office speaking out in favor of segregation.

Folsom, in his statement released yesterday, said he had told the people of Alabama in his 1954 campaign for governor that he stood for racial separation.

"My views are well known on the subject," he declared. "I was and

Democratic ticket, cast the state's 11 electoral votes for the Thurmond-Wright ticket instead of for Harry Truman, the Democratic nominee.

Folsom said the Citizens' Council leaders "are the same faces, rank and serial number and issues that led the Dixiecrats in 1948."

Citizens' Council leaders have sent questionnaires to all candidates for office in the May 1 primary asking how they stand on the segregation question.

Folsom is running for Democratic National Committeeman. One of his opponents, Rep. Charles W. McKay Jr. of Talladega, is a leader in the council in his community.

THREE CHOICES

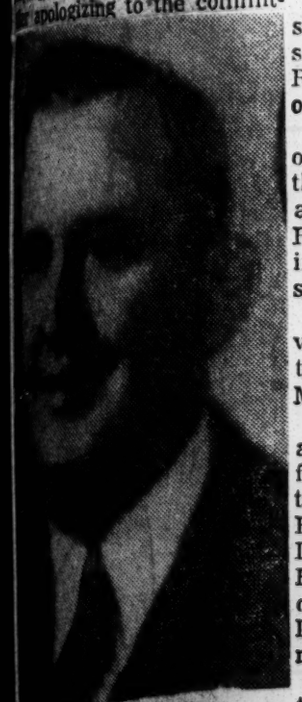
Segregation 'Compromise' Attacked By State Lawmaker

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sun. 2-28-56 P. 1

A member of the Alabama Legislature warned yesterday that if the white people of the state continue to "give in and be compromised" on the race issue "we will have but three choices to make—sell our homes and get out of Alabama, be humiliated or take up our shotguns."

Rep. W. L. (Doc) Martin of Greene issued that warning in speaking in support of a resolution he had introduced to the legislature's interim committee on education requesting President O. C. Carmichael to furnish to the committee the names and addresses of students who signed a petition favoring the readmission of Miss Autherine J. Lucy to the University.

Such a petition was circulated on the University campus last week and reportedly was signed by 500 students, faculty members and others.



REP. W. L. MARTIN

Later apologizing to the committee for having referred to the Negro student as "Miss Lucy" in his resolution, Martin added:

"If we expect to keep Negroes out of our white schools, it becomes the leadership of the Legislature to take this action. Let's find out who these students are who want to go to school with Negroes, and let's let them go."

It was at this point that Martin warned that continued compromise on the part of the white people would leave them with but the three choices—"sell out our homes and move out of the state, stay here and be humiliated, or we can take up our shotguns."

"I don't want to do any of these things, but I want to stay in an Alabama that is controlled by white people," Martin said. "It is time to let the people know that white supremacy is going to stand in Alabama."

Martin's resolution, introduced just as the committee had completed its detailed, two-week study of school financing, touched off a flurry of debate.

Sen. Albert Boutwell of Jefferson questioned the "benefit" of such a resolution, and Sen. Ben Reeves of Pike called it "out of order and improper."

"I feel as strongly as anyone on the racial question, but I think the resolution is out of order and improper at this time," Reeves continued. "I suggest you introduce it at the next special session, and I will be for it."

Moments later the committee voted 15-7 to adjourn until 9 a.m. today, thus avoiding a vote on the Martin resolution.

The seven members who voted against adjournment—and in effect were supporting the resolution—were Martin, Reps. Charles Ramey of Hale, Jimmy Dement of Limestone and James Branyon of Fayette and Sens. Roland Cooper of Wilcox, Walter C. Givhan of Dallas and E. O. Eddins of Marengo.

Martin said later th purpose of the resolution was only "to find out who signed the petition." Earlier, Sen. Cooper in support of the resolution had noted "we aren't doing this just to kick them out of school. We just want to see who signed the petition."

The segregation uprising overshadowed action taken by the committee regarding the school crisis.

The committee, after making several amendments to a report adopted last Friday, passed a resolution recommending that Gov. James E. Folsom call a special session of the Legislature to open Wednesday of this week.

The group meets with Gov. Folsom at 9 a.m. today to present their formal report.

Earlier yesterday afternoon, the committee voted to restore the appropriations to Jacksonville and Troy State Teachers Colleges which previously had been cut. Jacksonville was given back the $30,000 slashed last week, and $20,000 was returned to Troy.

To make up for this $50,000, the committee voted to cut that amount from the Teachers Equalization Training Fund.

Later, the committee heard arguments against a cut of the civilian rehabilitation fund of $211,000, but took no action on a request to restore this appropriation in full.

Martin Asks List Of UA Petitioners

Post-Herald Tues. 2-28-56

Legislative Unit Kills Action

P. 1 Birmingham, Ala.

FROM PRESS REPORTS

MONTGOMERY, Feb. 27 —A "Black Belt" legislator today lost a move to have the University of Alabama present a legislative school study committee with a list of student petitioners asking that a Negro co-ed be re-admitted to the school.

Rep. W. L. (Doc) Martin, a veteran Greene county lawmaker, offered an interim committee studying school money needs, a resolution requesting University President O. C. Carmichael to furnish the group the names of students who favor readmittance of Autherine Lucy.

Martin's resolution set-off a mild flurry of debate, led by Sen. Albert Boutwell of Birmingham. Boutwell, Sen. Ben Reeves, Pike County, and Garet Van Antwerp, Mobile County, objected to the resolution on the grounds that the committee was called to study school finances and not segregation questions.

The committee voted to adjourn on a motion by Rep. Otto Simon, Mobile County, killing action on the matter. Speaking for his resolution, Martin said:

"If we expect to keep Negroes out of our white schools, it becomes the leadership of this Legislature to take this action. Let's find out who these students are who want to go to school with Negroes, and let's let them go.

"The time has now come when the white people in Alabama have but three choices remaining. We can sell our homes and move out of Alabama, we can stay here and be humiliated or we can take up our shotguns."

"I don't want to do any of those things, but I want to stay in an Alabama that is controlled by white people," Martin said. "It is time to let people know that white supremacy is going to stand in Alabama."

Sen. Boutwell questioned the need of such a resolution.

"I wonder how much benefit would come from this," he said. "I don't see how it would help us in solving the financial problems of education."

Sen. Reeves of Pike voiced similar sentiments.

"I feel as strongly as anyone does on the racial question, but I think the resolution is out of order and improper at this time," Reeves declared. "I suggest you introduce it at the next special session, and I will be for it."

Moments later the committee voted 15 to 7 to adjourn until tomorrow.

Martin said later the purpose of the resolution was only "to find out who signed the petition."

Earlier, Sen. Roland Cooper of Wilcox had noted: "We aren't doing this just to kick them out of school, we just want to see who signed the petition."

The committee concluded two weeks of study of the general education appropriation bill today. Post-Herald

The group will meet with Gov. James E. Folsom tomorrow morning and present the committee report for his consideration. P. 1.

Folsom withheld until tomorrow or later in the week the announcement of the date and content of the next special session that had been expected today.

The committee approved a motion to have the governor call the session for Wednesday.

Press Secretary Ralph Hammond said the governor might issue the special call tomorrow or he might wait until later in the week.

Alabama Solon Says State 'Compromised' by Unrest

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Tues. 2-28-56 P. 13

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 27 (AP)—An Alabama legislator said today the time has come when white Alabamians must either move out of the state, "stay here and be humiliated, or take up our shotguns."

Rep. W. L. Martin of Greene County said white Alabama citizens have been "compromised" to such an extent by recent racial unrest that they apparently must choose one of those three courses of action.

WANTED LIST

He did not elaborate on the "compromise." His remarks came during an unsuccessful effort to get a list of the University of Alabama students who requested that a Negro coed be readmitted to the Tuscaloosa campus.

The interim legislative committee investigating school finances adjourned without taking a vote on Martin's proposed resolution asking university President O.C. Carmichael for the names of students who signed a petition urging that Autherine Lucy be readmitted to the university.

500 SIGNATURES

The petition circulated on the campus last week reportedly was signed by about 500 of the university's 7,000 students. Miss Lucy, the first Negro ever admitted to the university, was barred from the campus "for her own safety" following violent demonstrations three weeks ago.

Speaking for his resolution, Martin said:

"If we expect to keep Negroes out of our white schools, it becomes the leadership of this Legislature to take this action. Let's find out who these students are who want to go to school with Negroes, and let's let them go.

THREE CHOICES

"The time has now come when the white people in Alabama have but three choices remaining. We can sell our homes and move out of Alabama, we can stay here and be humiliated, or we can take up our shotguns."

Martin said the purpose of the resolution was only "to find out who signed the petition."

Meanwhile subpoenaes for ranking Tuscaloosa police officers and the editor of the Tuscaloosa News have been issued to appear as witnesses at the Lucy hearing at Birmingham Wednesday. The subpoenaes are in addition to those for most of the principals in the coed's fight for readmittance to the university.

ALABAMA HOUSE
PROBE ALABAMA NAACP
STATE APPROPRIATION TO
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
OUT-OF-STATE SCHOLARSHIP
FUND FOR NEGROES

House Adopts Plan To Probe NAACP Ranks

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Fri. 3-2-56

By BOB INGRAM

The Alabama Senate yesterday passed by a unanimous vote a resolution petitioning the U.S. Congress to provide federal funds to move Negroes out of the South, giving shocking evidence of the mounting racial tensions in the state.

Meanwhile, the House of Representatives on a vote of 75-0 approved a resolution calling for an investigation to determine if the Alabama chapter of the National Assn for the Advancement of Colored People had been infiltrated by Communists.

These two resolutions highlighted the opening day of a special session which had been called for the primary purpose of solving the financial problems of education

MASS TRANSFER

Sen. E. O. Eddins of Marengo County introduced the resolution seeking federal funds for a mass transfer of Southern Negroes to other sections of the nation. After it cleared the Senate the resolution was stalled in the House and sent to the Rules Committee.

Noting that the South's race problem grows out of the overwhelming number of Negroes who are "untrained, unskilled and uneducated," the Eddins resolution said the problem "can be solved by the emigration of Negroes to areas where they are wanted and needed and can be assimilated."

Continuing, the resolution urged Congress to appropriate funds "to finance apportionment of Negroes among the several Northern and Western states."

Rep. Charles W. McKay of Talladega, in speaking in support of the resolution in the House, said in his opinion "it's not strong enough."

"I think it should include a clause making it a felony for any Negro so transferred to later return to the South when he discovers he was far better off here," McKay declared.

When asked if Congress would also pay off any debts the Negro people might have incurred in the South, McKay replied:

"I am sure most white Southerners would be happy to cancel all the Negro debts if they didn't have to put up with them (the Negroes) any more."

Rep T. K. Selman of Walker sponsored the resolution calling for an investigation of the NAACP. He said racial tension had mounted too fast in Alabama adding "I believe it to be the work of the Communists working through the NAACP."

He suggested that the committee might subpoena Autherine Lucy to testify next Monday at 9 a.m. the date previously set at which time she was to reenter the University. The resolution was sent to the Senate Rules Committee.

Advertiser

Other pro-segregation bills dropped in yesterday included:

1. A measure by Rep. W. L. (Doc) Martin of Greene providing that the state's $350,000 appropriation to Tuskegee Institute be cancelled in the event any Negro is admitted to a white school.

2. A second measure by Martin based on the same conditions would kill the $82,500 out-of-state scholarship fund set up primarily for Negroes.

3. A bill sponsored by McKay to tighten entrance requirements at all state-supported schools.

4. A resolution by Rep. Charles Ramey of Hale requesting that President O. C. Carmichael of the University of Alabama forward to the Legislature the names of all students who signed a petition 10 days ago urging the readmission of the Negro coed This resolution was sent to the House Rules Committee.

Adv. 3-2-56

The segregation developments far overshadowed other matters on yesterday's opening of the fifth special session.

During the day bills were introduced to carry out five of the six items listed in the call issued by Gov. Folsom. The bills included a measure to reduce the school appropriation; a proposal to place the Legislature on an annual salary of $1,900; a bill to create the biracial commission recommended by Folsom; a measure to increase the corporate income tax to 5 per cent, and a series of bills relating to the oil and gas industry in the state.

The final matter contained in the call was the creation of interim committee to make a study of state government.

Gov Folsom addressed the Legislature yesterday, outlining the six matters in the call, and urging that the Legislautre "help keep the rough edges on the racial problem smoothed off."

During the afternoon the two houses formed a committee of the the whole to begin a study of the school situation. The committee will return to its work at 10 a.m. today, with the legislative session to resume next Tuesday.

In speech tomorrow—

Mayfield to announce stand on segregation

BIRMINGHAM, March 27—(AP)— Justice James J. Mayfield of the Alabama Supreme Court announced today he would make "my position on segregation completely clear" in a speech tomorrow at Lanett, Ala.

Mayfield, a candidate for reelection to the post he won in November, 1954, included the segregation announcement in a statement on his campaign.

Segregation has been a primary political issue in Alabama since the Supreme Court of the United States outlawed segregated schools in May, 1954.

Mayfield's statement came a few hours after one from politically prominent Judge Roy Mayhall in which Mayhall disclaimed any connection with a "so-called 'Folsom slate' in the May primary.

Mayhall, chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, is running against incumbent Justice Davis F. Stakely for the Supreme Court.

MAYFIELD, whose opponent is State Sen. James Coleman, scheduled the Lanett address last Feb. 15 before the Valley Lions Club. He had been invited earlier and the segregation topic was suggested by I. B. Barron, the club secretary, in a letter written Feb. 13.

Mayfield's statement did not refer to Coleman by name, but asserted that he (Mayfield) had been forced back into politics by "my opposition."

THE STATEMENT:

"Under the charter of the White Citizens Councils, judicial and law enforcement officers are prohibited from membership.

"I received a WCC questionnaire, as did other candidates, relative to my stand on segregation. Shortly thereafter, I received a letter from the WCC pointing out that judicial and law enforcement officers were not required to answer this questionnaire.

"Yet during all of the time since I have had an opponent for the place on the Supreme Court, he has used the White Citizens Councils of Central Alabama as a political forum and has addressed many of their meetings.

"When I was elected by the people of Alabama as a justice of the Alabama Supreme Court I made a public statement that I was withdrawing from all political activity. This I have scrupulously followed. The fact that my opposition has forced me back into the political arena is not a matter of my choosing.

"But since I have been forced back into political activity, I intend to make my position on segregation completely clear at Lanett before the Valley Lions Club at 12:30 (EST) tomorrow."

Mayhall's statement, issued from Jasper yesterday, followed an assertion by State Sen. Albert Boutwell that Mayhall is on a "handpicked slate" Gov. James E. Folsom is supporting in the May 1 Democratic primary.

"My candidacy is linked to no one except the people of Alabama," said the Walker judge, who is chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

"As a candidate in the Democratic primary," Mayhall added, "I point out that I have always been a member and a leader of the loyal Democrats, and as such I know I have invoked the enmity of some who would destroy the Democratic Party in Alabama for either their own selfish motives or for the creation of a third party to give them political power.

"It appears to me that they will do well to declare their own slate, rather than to try to place my candidacy on the slate of any other candidate."

FOLSOM IS a candidate for Democratic national committeeman from Alabama. He is opposed by Rep. Charles McKay of Talladega County and Atty. Roy D. McCord of Gadsden.

The governor currently is making a series of speeches around the state, reporting on the record of his administration. He also has discussed his stand on segregation, which has been criticized by some pro-segregationists.

Folsom has denied that his talks are political, calling them a "report to the people."

Boutwell, from Jefferson County, charged that Folsom is quietly passing on to his followers the names of those candidates he wants elected.

Boutwell said Folsom is boosting Mayhall over Stakely; and also endorsing Supreme Court Justice James J. Mayfield and Court of Appeals Judge Rowan Bone for reelection.

Montgomery Council recruiting support

MONTGOMERY, March 27—(AP)—The pro-white Montgomery County Citizens Council has undertaken an extensive postcard and letter-writing campaign aimed at recruiting support in the Northern and Eastern states for segregation.

LUTHER INGALLS, the Council's legal adviser, said each of the "at least 13,000" members has been asked to send five or more pieces of mail to friends, relatives and others "telling people about segregation and why we think it's necessary to maintain it in the South."

Council officers, in mimeographed letters to each member, have suggested also that they write President Eisenhower, Chief Justice Earl Warren, members of Congress and "Northern newspaper editors."

Each member likewise is requested to get friends here to join the campaign, adding to the volume of mail.

Ingalls said some of the letters and postcards also will go to "some people in the South." He mentioned President O. C. Carmichael and members of the board of trustees of the University of Alabama.

A NEGRO CO-ED, Autherine Lucy, was admitted to the University on court order last month but was barred from the campus after mob violence Feb. 6. When Federal Judge Hobart Grooms in Birmingham ordered her readmitted, the trustees expelled Miss Lucy for unproved charges she had made against University authorities in connection with the rioting.

The board also expelled a pro-segregation student, Leonard Wilson of Selma, for his activity during the campus demonstrations and for remarks against school officials.

Negroes, whites to join national prayer

NEW YORK, March 27—(AP)—Negroes and whites in many communities across the country are expected to join tomorrow in "national deliverance day of prayer," outgrowth of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N. Y.) said today.

Powell, himself a Negro minister, is chairman of the committee beehind the movement. He listed these as among the bigger cities where observances will be held:

New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Washington, Columbus, Cleveland, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Atlanta, Galveston Honolulu.

"We will pray," he said, "for the deliverance of all who suffer from persecution and we will pray for the salvation of all who are afflicted with racial prejudice."

Powell said it is impossible to estimate how many persons will take part because "this is a movement, not an organization." He said the emphasis will vary from city to city.

Representatives of the Montgomery Negro community which has shunned the city bus lines in protest against segregation, will appear at meetings in most big cities, Powell said.

In New York he will be E. D. Nixon, treasurer of the Montgomery Improvement Assn.

Mayfield says he won't honor court decision

LANETT, Ala., March 28 —(AP)— An Alabama Supreme Court associate justice today pledged to uphold segregation and accused the U. S. Supreme Court of "twisting the federal constitution so as to arrive at its infamous integration decision."

Justice James J. Mayfield, a candidate for reelection, said in a speech prepared for delivery to a civic club here that he "will not stand by and see the United States Supreme Court abolish our Southern way of life."

The U. S. high court had ordered integration in the nation's schools. Mayfield declared he has taken an oath to uphold the state constitution, which forbids mixed schools.

"I HAVE SWORN to uphold the Constitution of the sovereign state of Alabama, and when I can no longer carry forth my oath of office to maintain segregation in Alabama, I shall resign," he told the Valley Lions Club here.

Mayfield said he had promised to withdraw from politics when he took office, but declared that he was "forced back into the political arena by political opposition."

He is opposed in the May 1 primary by Sen. James Coleman. Although he mentioned no names, Mayfield in a statement yesterday accused Coleman of using the White Citizens Councils of Central Alabama "as a political forum."

THE ALABAMA justice said he has met personally most of the federal judges in the South, "and with two exceptions it is my belief . . . that when the time comes they will stand up like men and be counted, and will deny the validity of the integration decision . . ."

He did not amplify his statement, and he did not name the federal judges to whom he referred.

"As one Southern justice of a Southern supreme court, I do not feel myself bound by, nor will I be bound by, a decision that I know is morally and intellectually dishonest and based on no legal precedent or legal authority," Mayfield declared.

COURT RULING LASHED

Mayfield Vows To Keep Segregation In Alabama

LANETT, Ala., March 28 (AP)— Alabama Supreme Court Justice James J. Mayfield today lashed the U.S. Supreme Court's decision ordering integrated schools, and pledged to uphold segregation in his state.

Mayfield opened his campaign for relection in a speech before a civic club here. He reminded his listeners that he had taken an oath to uphold the state constitution, which forbids mixed schools.

"When I can no longer carry forth my oath of office to maintain segregation in Alabama, I shall resign," he declared.

Mayfield is opposed in the May 1 primary by Sen. James Coleman.

Referring to the U.S. Supreme Court's decision ordering integrated schools, Mayfield said he does "not feel myself bound by, nor will I be bound by, a decision that I know is morally and intellectually dishonest and based on no legal precedent or legal authority."

He reminded that Alabama has adopted a resolution which seeks to nullify the U.S. court's ruling, "and when we are joined by other Southern states we will be able to assert sufficient power within the federal government to effect some form of relief."

He added that "courts, state or federal, cannot coerce a whole people. You cannot rule a whole people by judicial decree. That is a province of the legislative branch of the government, which the Supreme Court of the United States attempted to usurp . . ."

Mayfield Stands For Segregation

Post-Herald
Bham, Ala.

Denies He Is Bound By High Court Order

Thurs. 3-29-56

LANETT, March 28 (AP)—Alabama Supreme Court Justice James J. Mayfield today lashed the U. S. Supreme Court's decision ordering integrated schools, and pledged to uphold segregation in Alabama.

Mayfield opened his campaign for re-election in a speech before a civic club here. He reminded his listeners that he had taken an oath to uphold the state Constitution, which forbids mixed schools.

MAYFIELD

"When I can no longer carry forth my oath of office to maintain segregation in Alabama, I shall resign," he declared.

Mayfield is opposed in the May 1 primary by Sen. James Coleman.

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He said he has met personally most of the federal judges in the South, "and with two exceptions it is my belief . . . that when the time comes they will stand up like men and be counted, and will deny the validity of the integration decision . . ."

He did not amplify his statement, and did not name the judges to whom he referred.

"There are many people in the Northern states who have traveled and lived in the South since the war. They are conversant with our problems and are coming to our aid and assistance in ever-growing numbers. We in the South will not have to fight our battle alone," Mayfield declared.

RACIAL RULING HIT BY ALABAMA JURIST

Commercial Appeal

Justice Won't Be Bound By Law, He Says

Thurs. 3-29-56

LANETT, Ala., March 28. — (UP) — An Alabama Supreme Court justice said Wednesday he will not be bound by the "morally and intellectually dishonest" anti-segregation decrees of the United States Supreme Court.

Judge James J. Mayfield, candidate for re-election to the state's highest court in the May 1 Democratic primary, said he spoke for himself but felt the "majority" of the state's justices agreed with him.

Judge Mayfield added he would resign before he would abandon his oath to the Alabama Constitution which requires racial segregation. He said he believed most of the other justices would, too.

The main speaker at the local Lions Club, Judge Mayfield said, "Courts, state or Federal, cannot coerce a whole people. You cannot rule a whole people by judicial decree. That is a province of the legislative branch of the Government."

Judge Mayfield said he doesn't believe Southern courts will punish defendants charged with refusing to abide by the high court's decisions. "When the time comes," he said, "they will stand up like men and be counted; and will deny the validity of the integration decision and state as Southern men that they are not bound thereby."

The judge said, "The result of the threat of nullification has invariably resulted in compromise that preserved the union."

He predicted if other states join Alabama in its interposition resolution declaring null and void the anti-segregation decrees, "we will be able to assert sufficient power within the Federal Government to effect some form of relief."

Extremists Dominate South's Racial Fight

Star, Wed., 3-7-56
Washington, D.C. P.9-A

By Star Staff Correspondent

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Mar. 7.—The extremists are in command on both sides of the South's racial problem—the citizens councils, pledged to defend segregation to the bitter end, on the one side, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, calling for immediate and full integration, on the other.

There is no difficulty getting expressions of opinion from either of these groups. They will even spell their names for you, to make sure you got them right. But to get a quote from those who believe that some middle ground must be found for resolving the race issue now is impossible.

I interviewed three persons who were said to represent the socalled "moderate" approach to the race problem. All refused to talk unless their names were withheld.

The first was a 32-year-old Negro businessman. He said:

"The difficulty here is no more than what has been going on all along. It has just been brought out in public. The Negro still wants an end of segregation. There are no moderates among the Negroes on that point. There is a difference on how and when you get there.

"I was taught by my father that segregation was evil and must be done away with.

"There has been an increase of feeling and tension between races, but that is only natural in view of what has happened.

"We had legal sanctions against integration, the separate but equal theory. The Supreme Court has removed those sanctions and it has given the Negro a chance to fight. He feels it has given him a real good case.

"All of the violence and threats of violence are coming from whites who would rather die than see segregation removed. The Negro is not on the war path. We are not going to push people off the sidewalks. His position is that he will defend himself if attacked.

"Price You Have to Pay"

"It is impossible to bring about an end of segregation without trouble so long as you have political leaders who advocate trouble as the price you have to pay.

"They tell the Negro if he gives up the fight against segregation he will have peace. Sure, it would be the most peaceful and harmonious relationship you ever saw. All of the world tensions would be worked out too, if we capitulated to Russia.

"But we want peace without segregation and if it means a decade or so of tensions we will buy it at that price.

"I am for an agreeable plan to work this thing out. I'm for that. If it took 5 or 10 years of fruitful negotiations, I would be willing to go along with that. I believe the NAACP would too. You know these court things cost a lot of money.

"If we could only find some one to sit down with and talk to and get something started. But it is mighty discouraging when no one shows up and over at Montgomery you have the Legislature with a hopper full of crazy bills. It just makes you think there is no point in arbitration.

Need of A Plan

"Any show of the political leaders to put some plan into operation would be acceptable to the Negroes. But nothing has been started here. If someone suggests some plan of gradual integration and the Federal judge accepts it, sure we will go along."

A leading member of the clergy:

"The thing that disturbs me are these two extreme positions. The White Citizens Councils, growing up all over Alabama, is one extreme—it seems too much like the Klan.

"The other extreme, the NAACP, is presently pushing too hard for the good of its own cause. A little breathing spell might do a lot of good.

"Those representing Miss Autherine Lucy made a terrible mistake when they accused university officials, particularly Dr. Carmichael (Dr. Oliver C. Carmichael, president of the University of Alabama), of conspiring in the mob action. I just don't understand it, because they admitted in court they had no evidence.

"The day they drove the girl from the campus, Alabamians were deeply ashamed and a majority of them, at the time, were ready to see that she was protected and brought back. The Negro cause gained tremendous sympathy.

Feelings Reversed

"But the following day they made the accusations against the university officials, people who had risked their lives to protect Miss Lucy. Feelings were reversed. The cause, even as far as I am concerned, is lost. I don't want to see her get in. I don't think it essentially was her fault but the impression was given throughout the world that those officials fomented the riot. You can never undo that kind of harm.

"My hope would be that the next Negro applicant would be in the graduate school—law or medicine. You could accomplish such an entry with the least complications. You would have none of the social complications as you do when you put a Negro girl in the dormitory.

"I think Negro students should be admitted to the university. It is a public institution. There are certain fields of learning there that are not available at Negro institutions. There is no comparable training offered in Alabama in law, medicine, and to a lesser degree, in certain undergraduate courses.

"As human beings Negroes are entitled to the same treatment as whites, there is no question about that.

"No one down here has put forward a positive approach toward complying with the Supreme Court decision (ending segregation in public schools).

"Now" or "Never"

"Even if a workable 25-year plan would be proposed for the Deep South I believe the Supreme Court would accept it. But the NAACP says "now" and the citizens councils say "never." No one seems to see the handwriting on the wall.

"This thing must be done and it must be done with a minimum of friction, if it takes, 15, 25 or 30 years. In Alabama the plan must be set up on almost a county-by-county basis. For they have ratios of population ranging from 80 per cent Negro in the "black belt" to almost no Negroes in some Northern counties."

'Hire Our People, Or Forget Our Trade,' Says Ala. Minister

Call P. Fri. 6-22-56

Kansas City, Mo.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—(ANP)—"Stores that get our trade are going to have to employ our people in jobs besides maids and butlers," a Baptist minister and vice-president of the newly-formed Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights told a meeting of 800 Negroes last week.

"The money they get from us," he continued, "they use to educate their children, to build their homes, and then they treat us like dogs."

The Rev. R. I. Alford made the statements and urged the applauding crowd to "spend their money where it is appreciated."

Meanwhile, Rev. F. L. Shuttleworth, president of the organization, appointed a transportation committee and denied an earlier report that serious trouble was expected in that area.

The Rev. Mr. Shuttleworth said, "there are going to be some questions put to them (the transportation officials) and I don't see what could bring on any trouble about that."

PARLEY STUDIES ISSUES IN SOUTH

Times P. 27-C
Fri. 4-20-56

Leaders of 8 States Meet in Mississippi to Discuss Region's Key Problems

New York

ARDEN HOUSE PATTERN

38a

Group Will Seek to Arrive at Some Common Group on Pressing Topics

Special to The New York Times.

BILOXI, Miss., April 19—A four-day conference at which representatives of a cross-section of southern life will study "the major problems that confront the region" opened here today.

Known as the Southern Assembly, the meeting is the first regional follow-up to the American Assembly, which was founded by General Eisenhower in 1950 when he headed Columbia University.

The American Assembly is a national, nonpartisan program of continuing conferences that brings together representatives of business, labor, farm groups, political parties, the Government and the professions for discussions looking to workable solutions of difficult domestic and foreign issues.

The national project, under the aegis of Columbia University, has held eight conferences of three to five days' duration at Arden House in Harriman, N. Y. President Eisenhower has described this project as one of "the most important steps" in his career.

Leaders in 8 States Meet

Forty-five men and women prominent in varied fields of endeavor in eight southern states opened the first session of the Southern Assembly under the aegis of Tulane University and with the co-sponsorship of Columbia. The meetings are being held in the Buena Vista Hotel overlooking the Gulf of Mexico.

The conferees, in a series of closed roundtable discussions and one open plenary session, will bring the give-and-take of friendly debate to the general subject of "State Governments in the South: Their Functions and Problems."

During their secluded deliberations the participants will discuss questions of one-party and two-party political systems in the South, the regulation of pressure groups in the legislative process, taxation, public education, industrial development, Federal grants-in-aid and the impact of the states rights theory of government.

Such problems as public school racial segregation and taxing and fiscal expenditures to beat the expanding urbanization and industrialization of the region will also be reviewed.

Basic Idea of Parley

The basic idea of the conference is to provide a mental workout for informed citizens in the hopes they can arrive at some common ground on many pressing problems.

A spokesman for the conference will summarize daily the general theme of the closed roundtable sessions. The findings and opinions of the group will be correlated and presented at an open plenary session on Sunday.

Dr. Henry W. Wriston, former president of Brown University and a director of the American Assembly, and Clifford C. Nelson, also representing the American Assembly, are attending the Southern meeting as observers.

The Southern Assembly participants include bankers, farmers, labor leaders, business men, educators, journalists and state agency heads from Alabama, Tennessee, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Oklahoma and Arkansas.

Dr. Robert W. French, vice president of Tulane and an American Assembly discussion leader, is chairman of the Southern Assembly. Dr. L. Vaughn Howard, Professor of Political Science at Tulane, prepared the discussion program.

Scientists to shun undemocratic cities

Apr-American P.1

ATLANTA—The council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science voted 72-13 Friday for a resolution banning future meetings in cities that tolerate discrimination based on race or creed.

Before it becomes fully effective, however, the resolution must be submitted to a mail ballot by all 325 council members of the AAAS the largest scientific organization in the world.

The action came after the organization's biology section, headed by Dr. Montague Cobb of Howard University, Washington, had voted not to participate in the Atlanta meeting "because the city permits segregated hotels, restaurants and public transportation."

Sat. 1-7-56

THE FORMAL request that the association "not meet again in a city where segregation is practiced" was made by the Council for the Advancement of Negroes in Science, NYC, according to Dael Wolfle, administrative secretary of the AAAS. The council also had received a half dozen resolutions urging it to take a stand against segregation and asking that the organization not meet in cities where racial segregation and discrimination is permitted.

The resolution adopted by the council stressed that AAAS objectives of "free scientific discussion and exchange of ideas cannot be fulfilled if free association of the members is hindered by unnatural barriers."

* * *

"IT IS PRETTY clear that it is referring to racial and religious discrimination," declared Dr. George W. Beadle of the California Institute of Technology, geneticist and retiring AAAS president.

Sat 1-7-56

Text of the resolution follows:

"The AAAS is a democratic association of all its members; no one is barred from election because of race or creed.

"All members are privileged to cooperate freely in the fulfilment of the association's high objectives which are the furtherance of science and human welfare. No member is limited in his service because of race or creed.

"In order that the association may attain its objectives, it is necessary and desirable that all members may freely meet for scientific discussions, the exchange of ideas and the diffusion of established knowledge.

* * *

"THIS THEY must be able to do in formal meetings and informal social gatherings. These objectives cannot be fulfilled if free association of the members is hindered by unnatural barriers.

"Therefore, be it resolved, that the annual meeting of the AAAS be held under conditions which make possible the satisfaction of those ideals and requirements."

The next seven annual meetings are scheduled in northern cities where racial segregation is not part of the law. They are New York, 1956; Indianapolis, 1957; Washington, 1958; Denver or Cleveland, 1959; Philadelphia, 1960; Chicago or St. Louis, 1961, and Boston, 1962.

ADD TO SCIENTISTS to SHUN

"The amount of interest provoked by the resolution shows we will get some progress. I hope it will be a favorable ballot."

So Dr. ontague Cobb commented Saturday on the resolution.

Boycott Atlanta

Scientists Move Against South's Bias

Courier Sat. 2-7-56

By WILLIAM FOWLKES
Editor, Georgia Courier

Pittsburgh

ATLANTA—The nation's anthropologists, chairmaned by Dr. Montague Cobb of Howard University, boycotted the parent body's recent meeting in Atlanta because of segregation in the hotels and auditoriums.

Furthermore the council voted to submit by mail to all members a resolution against holding future meetings in cities that practice segregation.

Attending the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science were some 5000 persons. Only 87 of the Council's membership were present.

In deferring a vote on the segregation issue the Council termed the matter national, not regional. Copies of the resolution are to be mailed to the 235 members representing 265 scientific societies.

Results of this mail ballot will be announced in the near future.

The AAAS is the largest scientific organization in the world.

by one of its affiliated groups, the section on anthropology.

That section's chairman, Dr. W. Montague Cobb, of Howard university, Washington, D. C., explained his group would not take part in the Atlanta meeting because it was "at a place where there is segregation in hotels, restaurants and public transportation."

Defender

Cobb and other individuals, plus such organizations as the National Association of Science Writers, the Council for Advancement of Negroes in Science, and the American Association of Scientific Workers submitted similar petitons asking the AAAs not to meet in cities where racial segregation is practiced.

P.2

The council's resolutions committee presented its own proposal however, which is the one to be voted upon next week in the mail ballot.

The retiring president of AAAS, Dr. G. W. Beadle of the California Institute of Technology, said the resolution was "aimed solely to seek equal opportunity and use of facilities in future convention cities for all races."

The resolution would not be effective until 1963, because convention cities for intervening years already have been selected, with New York chosen as next year's site.

Scientists Put Off Voting On Bids Issue

Defender Sat. 2-7-56 P. 1

By HARRY TRIMBORN

ATLANTA — (INS) — Councilmen of the American Association for the Advancement of Science put off last Friday a vote on a resolution that would keep the organization from holding its annual conventions in cities where racial segrgation is practiced.

Only 85 of the 325 council members were present at the closed meeting to consider the issue. They voted 72-to-13 to take a mail ballot of all council members rather than make the decision themselves.

Chicago Ill.

The association's 122nd annual meeting in Atlanta was boycotted

Scientists Say Impossible To Predict Action In South On Segregation

P. 1

Advocate

See Race Relations In State Of Marked Confusion

Sat. 2-7-56

ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 3—There is a lot of difference, a couple of sociologists observed Wednesday between what it said and what it done about the big changes going on in racial relationships in the South.

Jackson, Miss.

The public pronouncements from leaders on both sides of the issue can pretty well be predicted, the two told a session of the American Association for the Advancement of Science but, they added, "It is quite impossible to predict" exactly what action will be taken in any given Southern City or any particular phase.

The two, Dr. Harlan W. Gilmore of Tulane University and Dr. Nicholas J. Demerath of the University of North Carolina, noted that while Southern cities remain Bi-Racial the old patterns have been broken.

Advocate

State of Confusion

The best that can be said of the present patterns of racial relationships they said is that they are in a state of marked confusion."

One reason for the change in racial relations in Dixie's cities can be attributed to another big Southern change outlined by another speaker. Dr. Homer L. Hitt of Louisiana State, described the drastic population shifts that have steadily drawn both whites and Negroes away from the farm, with Negroes generally moving to the cities and the whites to the cities' suburbs.

P. 4

Gillmore and Demerath said the traditional formula for interracial relations in Southern cities has been changing since World War One.

"For at least the past 15 years," they noted "one could find in almost any Southern City unpunished violations of almost every supposed formula of interracial relations with the possible exceptions of interracial marriage and nonsegregation in public schools."

Groups Solidified

Now this change in formula has become the most controversial issue in the region. Each of the two groups, white and Negro populations "is more solidified as a conflict group than in the past," the sociologists said, "but in spite of this, the issues are not very clearly drawn."

They observed:

"As a gesture of loyalty to his side, a Negro is supposed to avow a desire to abolish every racial formula of the past, and similarly every white is supposed to pretend to oppose all such change.

"Actually this is not the state of mind many, perhaps most, individuals on both sides. There are many changes which Negroes would not try very hard to get and likewise there are some changes which most whites would not miss a bridge game to prevent.

No Clear Conception

"Of what they think the New South should be in the field of race relations."

Other changes in Southern cities outlined by the authors included changes in their economic function, loss of social and economic control of the old families,' emergence of middle-classes as a political factor.

Scientists Vote Not To Meet In Segregated Cities

Call Fri. 2-3-56 P. 1

WASHINGTON. (ANP) —Officials of the world's largest general scientific organization have voted 219 to 28 not to hold future meetings in cities where racial segregation is practiced.

Courier Mail Ballot

The mail ballot of the executive council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science was ordered at the association's meeting in Atlanta last December, following protests over segregation practices in that city. Two members of the group resigned.

Dael Wolfle, administrative secretary for the AAAS, said three members of the executive council did not vote.

The association has about 50,000 members.

Jewish Congress Demands Assistance For Children Of World, Regardless Of Race

Globe

The need to aid the world's children, regardless of race, religion or nationality, was highlighted today (Tuesday, December 20) by the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress at its annual Hanukkah Luncheon at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was honored for "her outstanding contribution to the welfare of the children of the world" at the event, which benefitted the Louise Waterman Wise Youth Center in Jerusalem. Dr. Martha Eliot, Chief of the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and Judge Hubert Delany, one of the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and an outstanding lay leader of the Episcopal Church of America, also spoke.

Prominent among the guests were representatives of 14 member nations of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. The Hon. Justine Wise Polier, Justice of the Domestic Relations Court of New York City and national Women's Division president, presided at the luncheon.

Judge Polier Reports on Center

The more than 1,500 women leaders who attended heard Judge Polier report that young people of all races, religions and nationalities are today availing themselves of the facilities offered by the Louise Waterman Wise Youth Center in Jerusalem. The Youth Center, which was built and is maintained by AJCongress' Women's Division, in cooperation with Israel's Ministry of Education, is the only institution of its kind in Israel. The Center provides recreational, cultural and educational activities for Israel's young people, Jewish, Christian and Moslem; and during the Summer months, through affiliation with the World Hostel Movement, to young people of college age from all nations.

"I would like to feel," said Judge Polier, who is the daughter of the founder of AJCongress' Women's Divison for whom the Jerusalem institution is named, "that the Youth Center is a symbol and a promise of what Israel itself may come to mean, not only in the Middle East but throughout the world when peace shall come. There is no tradition more meaningful to Jews, whether they live in Israel or in other lands throughout the world, than the teaching of the prophet, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.'

Presentation to Mrs. Roosevelt

"Knowing that the hope of mankind lies in its children, that the test of all civilization, as the test of civilization in any single country is reflected in the treatment of its children," Judge Polier declared, "we feel that we should today broaden our horizons, and together review what needs to be done, what should be done, and what can be done for children throughout the world. In facing this challenge, there was one person whose name, as whose life, reflected her deep devotion, her untiring effort and her complete love for all children." Judge Polier then presented Mrs. Roosevelt with a piece of ancient Jewish silver as a token of appreciation for Mrs. Roosevelt's service to children everywhere.

Judge Delany Dauds Israel

Justice Delany, in his address, recalled two sections from the 25th chapter of the Book of Leviticus: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," which is engraved on the Liberty Bell; and "Ye shall not therefore oppress one another." "These are words of faith and moral commitment that have moved Jews throughout the centuries to lead in the struggle for human freedom and dignity," Judge Delany said, adding that, "Whenever I work or travel in America on behalf of my people, I find among those Americans most ready to give of their substance and themselves in the struggle for full justice to Negroes are members of the Jewish community in every range of life.

"I believe and know that Israel will help to bring understanding between peoples, renewed faith in human dignity and freedom not only for the people of Israel who are rebuilding their ancient homeland but, in time, will become a source of inspiration for all people in all lands who cherish the great ideal of human brotherhood."

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

VOTERS WARNED ON 'HATEMONGERS'

Times p. 11-L

Sat. 5-12-56

American Jewish Committee Says 'Bigots' Are Adopting New Political Tactics

New York, N.Y.

By IRVING SPIEGEL

Special to The New York Times.

CLEVELAND, May 11—The American Jewish Committee warned here today of what it described as a major change in tactics by "organized hatemongers."

This change according to the oldest organization in the country, devoted to the defense of Jewish civil rights, can have sharp political repercussions in the Presidential campaign.

The warning was in a report based on data gathered by the committee's fourteen area offices in the last six months. It was submitted to the agency's 200-member executive board, which opened its three-day annual meeting at the Statler Hotel.

The report said that bigots had failed to infiltrate the Republican and Democratic parties and were concentrating on "political grievances of sincere ultraconservatives."

Third Party Called Aim

It added that bigots "see their greatest political opportunity this year in the growing desire of the ultraconservatives to form a third party, or failing that, to force a realignment in the Democratic and Republican parties."

While the average American citizen "has built up strong antibodies against intolerance," the report declared, "efforts to inject bigotry into the forthcoming campaign are appearing with alarming frequency now, almost six months before election day."

The report said that President Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson, as the Republican and Democratic nominees for President were subjected "to some of the most vicious and venomous attacks by professional bigots" in the 1952 campaign.

It warned of an "increasing tendency by racists to coordinate their activity with ultraconservatives during recent months," adding that the President and the Democratic candidate again would be "prime targets" for hatemongers in this year's campaign.

President Eisenhower's decision to run again has left "several die-hard elements groping for some third or new party as a means of continuing their opposition to him," the report declared.

It said that ultraconservative elements had long felt that the Republican and Democratic parties had moved "to the far left."

Political dissidents among the ultraconservatives, it asserted, were "being wooed by bigoted agitators," who "are interlarding openly anti-Semitic and anti-Negro appeals with legitimate stands favored by ultraconservatives."

3-Point Appeal Sounded

To meet what it called "the danger from a possible coalition of bigoted agitators with political dissidents among the ultraconservatives" the report proposed a three-point appeal as follows:

1. All political candidates should take the strongest measures to prevent any expression of racial or religious bias by any of their adherents and should "condemn publicly and emphatically every occurrence thereof."
2. National leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties should condemn any attempt, from whatever source, to inject racial or religious bias into the campaign.
3. Every community should have a nonpartisan, nonsectarian committee to keep "a watchful eye on campaign activities and call to the attention of political leaders any instances of racial or religious prejudice."

Irving M. Engel of New York, president of the American Jewish Committee, said that this program did not call for censorship but was aimed at "alerting American voters to a potential danger."

ARKANSAN TO BACK NULLIFICATION PLAN

Commercial Appeal

Constitutional Amendment Is Proposed

Sun. 1-22-56

BALLOT TITLE SOUGHT

Memphis, Tenn.

By KENNETH JOHNSON

From The Commercial Appeal Little Rock Bureau

P. 7

LITTLE ROCK, Jan. 21.—Prosecretation leader James Johnson of Crossett said Saturday he plans to sponsor a proposed amendment to the Arkansas Constitution "to nullify and circumvent" the desegregation rulings of the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. Johnson, an attorney and former state Senator, didn't detail exactly what he will propose. An assistant said, however, it would be a combination of ideas, including the principle of interposition adopted recently by the Alabama Legislature.

Submits Proposal Soon

The first step Mr. Johnson said he will take, however, is to submit the proposal to Atty. Gen. Tom Gentry Monday for approval of a ballot title.

The former state Senator, who became involved in the controversy over the Hoxie School Board's integration ruling, also announced he will stage a series of television appearances to explain the amendment to the people this summer. The telecasts will start following approval of a ballot title, he said.

"When this amendment is approved, it will absolutely guarantee continued segregation in the public schools of Arkansas and in other phases of Arkansas society," said the Crossett attorney. Mr. Johnson was a candidate for attorney general in 1954, and has been mentioned as a candidate for governor this year.

Council Director

Mr. Johnson is director of the White Citizens Council of Arkansas, is the Arkansas representative on the executive committee of the Federation for Constitutional Government, and also is on the policy committee of the organization called, "For America."

All three groups, he said, are dedicated to the preservation of states rights.

In Fort Worth, Texas

State Press

Pools Closed Until Race Issue Settled

Fri. 5-18-56 P. 1

Little Rock, Ark.

The city recreation board decided last week to not to open public swimming pools last week after an appeal for desegregation was made. The pools were scheduled to open June 2.

Fort Worth has operated five swimming pools for whites and one for Negroes in the past. A proposal to build a new pool for Negroes was made by City Council Barney Holland. The board voted to keep the pools closed until the proposal submitted by Holland could be explored.

Attorney Clifford Davis, spokesman for a delegation from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said, "By now it is obvious that racial segregation in recreational facilities can no longer be sustained as a proper exercise of the police power."

Golf courses maintained by the city were desegregated last year. Many of the other facilities, in addition to the swimming pools are still maintained on segregated basis.

NEGRO GROUP VOTES 'WAIT-SEE' ATTITUDE

Commercial Appeal

Doesn't Like Segregationist Stand Of Candidates

Sat. 6-16-56

From The Commercial Appeal Little Rock Bureau

P. 17

LITTLE ROCK, June 15. — A Negro political organization Friday officially voted a "wait and see' attitude toward the question of whom they will support for governor in this summer's Democratic primaries.

Leaders of the Arkansas Democratic Voters Association made it clear they didn't like the segregationist stands of all three major candidates, including Gov. Orval Faubus.

In addition, they set up a committee to "scrutinize" the campaign platforms of all gubernatorial and other state candidates.

The head of the association—I. S. McClinton of Little Rock—blasted the anti-integration proposals being backed by Governor Faubus and another candidate for governor, James Johnson of Crossett.

McClinton declared the proposals to be "an insult not only to the culture of the trained colored people, but also a discredit to the fine judgment of the thinking white citizens of our state."

McClinton said efforts will be made to weld Negro voters into a "common front" in this year's campaign and hinted that sooner or later, if the race gets hot, some of the candidates may end up asking for Negro support.

In the meantime, he appointed a five-man committee which will function as a study team on the candidates. It will be made up of Dr. H. H. Rheinhart of Warren, Rev. C. F. Odom of Little Rock, S. V. Clement of Stuttgart, Rev. N. L. Dove of McGehee and Andrew Howard of Marianna.

The Negro political leader estimated there are 90,000 potential Negro votes in Arkansas this year, and said he believed "we can vote at least 60,000."

Professor Says Interposition Used Loosely

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Sat. 6-9-56

HOT SPRINGS, Ark., June 8 (AP) —Paul H. Sanders, Vanderbilt law professor, has said that the U. S. Supreme Court has "rather consistently invalidated" some basic points in the doctrine of interposition.

However, he said that the high court never has ruled directly on the question.

Sanders also pointed out that "an essential tenet of the interposition doctrine is to challenge the right of the court to make any final decision with regard to those matters."

Sanders, who has made a special survey of recent Supreme Court decisions on race relations, addressed the 58th annual convention of the Arkansas Bar Assn.

He said that "declarations of the Supreme Court seem to have rather consistently declared invalid the premises needed to give legitimate status to state interposition."

Some Southern states have taken steps toward interposition as a means of combating the U.S. Supreme Court decisions which declared segregation of white and Negro school children unconstitutional.

Sanders said that the term interposition is being used "loosely today to cover any protest."

He said that there are several legal steps that may be used to change a Supreme Court decision:

1. A constitutional amendment.

2. A change in the law by Congress. Sanders cited the Tidelands Case as an example of a congressional action that overruled a high court decision.

3. Withdrawal of jurisdiction. He said that Congress has virtually complete power over Supreme Court jurisdiction and could decide that the court had no authority to rule in the segregation cases. Sanders said this method had been tried unsuccessfully on at least six different occasions.

4. Changing size of the court.

SUPREME COURT HIT AS 'RIGHTS USURPER'

Commercial Appeal

Clarence Manion Points To Constitution Threat In Monopolization

Memphis, Tenn.

Sat. 5-26-56

By The Associated Press

LITTLE ROCK, May 25. — Clarence Manion, a nationally-prominent attorney, charged here Friday that the United States Supreme Court is the architect of centralized government which eventually might destroy the United States Constitution.

Mr. Manion, en route to El Dorado for a states rights rally Friday night, cited the Supreme Court's ruling against segregation as the latest example in the court's usurpation of states rights. He said this trend in the court's thinking has been in the making since 1920.

Resistance Is Urged

"We must either reconcile ourselves to a complete monopolization of Government in Washington or adopt some alternative," declared the South Bend, Ind., lawyer.

The alternative he suggested was resistance by the people to "any excess of power on the part of any branch of the Federal Government—the Supreme Court, the President or the Congress."

He said the states rights provision in the Constitution "is the axis on which the whole constitutional system turns."

For America Leader

Mr. Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame Law School, was President Eisenhower's appointee on the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in 1953. He was asked to resign in January 1954.

He presently is co-chairman of For America, an organization of conservatives.

Mr. Manion was met here by James Johnson, Crossett attorney and former state senator, who is campaigning for governor this summer.

SEGREGATION ISSUES STUDIED BY GENTRY

Commercial Appeal

2 Proposals May Be Placed On November Ballot

Fri. 4-27-56

ENDORSED BY FAUBUS

Memphis, Tenn.

By KENNETH JOHNSON

From The Commercial Appeal Little Rock Bureau

P. 4

LITLE ROCK, April 26. — Two proposals aimed against integration and endorsed by Gov. Orval Faubus were handed to Atty. Gen. Tom Gentry Thursday for approval of ballot titles.

R. B. McCulloch Sr., Forrest City attorney who drafted them, delivered copies of the proposals to Mr. Gentry. The attorney general said it probably would be several days before he could issue a ruling on validity of the ballot titles. He said other requests were ahead of them.

Final Endorsement

Governor Faubus placed his final endorsement on the measures Wednesday night during a conference at the executive mansion with Mr. McCulloch and others of an East Arkansas committee opposing integration.

The Governor appointed the committee about two months ago, shortly after he had issued a policy statement saying Arkansas would not be pushed or "bullied" into an immediate end of segregated schools or other public facilities.

One of the proposals is a resolution of interposition, the other a proposed initiated act for a pupil assignment law.

Amendment Sought

The interposition measure, if adopted at the Nov. 6 general election, would place Arkansas on record as calling for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States against Federal authority over state schools or other "domestic institutions" within the state.

The measure endorses the idea of "racially separate but substantially equal public schools" within the various states.

The proposed pupil assignment law, the more lengthy of the two measures submitted to the attorney general, would give school districts sole authority to assign

pupils to schools which they must attend.

The assignment of a pupil would be made upon a large number of factors, and to the end that each application for admission to a school would suffer "no detrimental effect" by reason of his being assigned to that particular school.

Signatures Needed

Available room and teaching capacity, the geographical location of the pupil's residence in relation to schools, the psychological qualification of the pupil for the type of teaching and associations involved, together with any and all other factors "except the factor of race" would be among criteria set up for a school board to follow in assigning a pupil.

Sponsors of the two measures will have to obtain 30,000 signatures on each to get them on the November ballot. Mr. Gentry has 15 days in which to approve their ballot titles, or substitute new titles.

SEGREGATION SESSION PLANNED AT CONWAY

Georgia Representative Will Be Speaker Friday

From The Commercial Appeal
Little Rock Bureau

LITTLE ROCK, March 25.—Arkansas pro-segregation leaders will hold a rally Friday night at Conway.

Sponsoring the meeting will be the Faulkner County Chapter of White America, Inc., it was announced here Saturday by Amis Guthridge, Little Rock attorney who is a state leader in the organization.

Mr. Guthridge said United States Representative James C. Davis of Decatur, Ga., a long-time exponent of segregated races in Georgia, will be one of the principal speakers.

The meeting will be under chairmanship of a member of the Arkansas Legislature, State Representative Russell Roberts of Conway.

Former Gov. Ben T. Laney, now of Altheimer, will serve as master of ceremonies. James D. Johnson of Crossett, former state senator and now heading the White Citizens Council of Arkansas, will be another speaker.

Mr. Guthridge, Mr. Laney and Mr. Johnson have appeared together in previous meeting opposing integration movements.

Mr. Johnson will again speak in behalf of a proposed constitutional amendment he is sponsoring for this year's general election ballot. The proposal would give the state Legislature full authority to oppose by every lawful means the Supreme Court's ruling against segregated facilities.

FAUBUS CHALLENGES TWO FOES' RECORDS

Governor Charges Johnson 'Preying On Emotions Of The People'

By WILLIAM BOOZER
Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, July 23. — Gov. Orval Faubus, defending his record as Arkansas' chief executive against attacks by two major opponents, Monday night renewed his challenge to his opponents to cite any public accomplishments of their own.

In an address carried over a five-station television network, the Governor charged Jim Johnson with "preying on the emotions of the people" in hammering on segregation issues.

Snoddy's Record Attacked

He said his other main opponents — Jim Snoddy of Alma — "hasn't told you the good things he did while in the Senate because there weren't any."

Both Mr. Johnson and Mr. Snoddy are former members of the state senate, and Mr. Snoddy has also served as secretary of the senate.

The Governor again urged a "realistic and practical" approach to segregation problems, and repeated his promise that no school district in the state will be forced to integrate so long as he is Governor.

Attended Funeral

The 30-minute speech was his first in the final full week of campaigning. The Governor is seeking nomination for a second two-year term in the July 31 Democratic primary.

Monday afternoon, the Governor attended the funeral of a great-uncle, Hiram Thornsberry of Combs, near the Governor's home at Huntsville. He returned here by plane from Fayetteville.

In his television appeal, Gov. ernor Faubus outlined accomplishments of his administration, including additional welfare aid, industrial development, more efficient tax collections and blockage of utility rate increases by the Public Service Commission.

The speech was carried on three Little Rock television stations and one each at Fort Smith and El Dorado. A film of the address will be shown Friday on Memphis, Texarkana and Monroe, La., stations.

The governor will be at Wilson, Osceola and Blytheville Tuesday.

New Integration Efforts Charged By Johnson

By KENNETH JOHNSON
Staff Writer

CONWAY, Ark., July 23. — Jim Johnson of Crossett charged Monday night Gov. Orval Faubus has allowed the state's new medical center to be integrated —"even to the staff."

It was the newest charge which the Crossett attorney and former state senator has hurled on his main campaign theme of this governor's race — segregation. He also accused the Governor of having brought in "outside" people to try to solve state problems.

Most Patients Colored

"The majority of patients at the new 10-million-dollar medical center are colored, and they are putting all patients into integrated wards. And not only the patients, but the staff and internes also are working on an integrated basis."

He also took the Governor to task for out-of-state appraisers being brought into Arkansas to study county assessments with a view to bringing about assessment equalization.

He recalled that Governor Faubus, when he was running two years ago, criticized then Gov. Francis Cherry for bringing in an out-of-state man (Herbert Eldridge of Texas) as state highway director.

"But now Governor Faubus is bringing in out-of-state so-called experts to solve the Trkansas tax problems."

Mr. Johnson's speech here Monday night was his only public appearance of the day for the most part, he was tied up in conferences with visitors to his Little Rock headquarters. Conway is the birthplace of Mrs. Johnson. She planned to campaign in Northwest Arkansas this week.

No Comment On Talk

Two of his visitors Monday were Amis Guthridge, Little Rock attorney and executive secretary of White America, Inc., in Arkansas, and former Gov. Ben T. Laney, ardent states' righter now living near Pine Bluff.

Mr. Johnson had about a 30-minute conference with Mr. Laney but later declined to say what was discussed.

His headquarters also announced that Mr. Guthridge will do some speaking for him this week. It wasn't explained, however, whether Mr. Guthridge will be speaking as an individual or as a representative of White America.

Visitors to Mr. Johnson's headquarters in Little Rock are greeted by a large Confederate flag on one wall, and a smaller flag of the United States on another wall.

Mr. Johnson plans a television speech Tuesday night in Fort Smith.

Snoddy Implies Faubus Approved Dog Racing

From The Commercial Appeal
Little Rock Bureau

LITTLE ROCK, July 24.—Jim Snoddy, stepping up his attack on the record of Gov. Orval Faubus, implied Monday night that the Arkansas Racing Commission had approval from the Governor through a "letter of assurance" for dog racing at West Memphis.

In a television address here, the gubernatorial candidate said the "whole racing franchise muddle into which the Faubus administration plunged Arkansas" can be described in a single word — "turmoil."

The criticism of Governor Faubus' handling of the dog racing controversy came as the Alma businessman blasted the Faubus record in detail.

Recorded excerpts from the Governor's opening campaign address were used in the half-hour telecast, as were reproductions of newspaper headlines documenting the Faubus program.

"In the controversy over dog racing and horse racing the Faubus record shows that he has decorated himself with the halo of insulted honesty," Mr. Snoddy said. "Does the halo fit? It looks ridiculous.

"The Governor says he was offered a bribe, making the statement months after he says it happened. And then he shut up, as if he had put his foot in his mouth.

"In the light of Faubus stated intention to control the actions of all commissions, would it be logical that the chairman of the state racing commission would act upon such an extremely important political matter as a franchise for a dog racing track in West Memphis without consulting the Governor?"

"And yet a group of East Arkansas men, including some prominent in the Governor's political family, were given a letter of assurance by the Faubus racing commission, declaring that a franchise would be granted for dog racing in West Memphis, when enough stock was sold to build the plant."

The "letter of assurance" obviously referred to a letter which Robert Roach of Little Rock, former chairman of the racing commission, wrote to Southland Racing Corp. months ago in connection with dog racing at West Memphis. Mr. Roach resigned after the letter was made public.

Mr. Snoddy promised that if he's elected, he will "lead, suggest, plan, recommend and administer — not pressure, rule, make deals or create turmoil."

He will speak Tuesday morning at Conway and shake hands in the afternoon at Tuckerman. A big four-county rally is planned for him Tuesday night at Newport starting at 7:30.

PETITIONS ARE FILED BY SEGREGATIONISTS

Constitutional Amendment Is Supported

42,000 SIGN NAMES

From The Commercial Appeal
Little Rock Bureau

LITTLE ROCK, July 3.—Petitions supporting a proposed pro-segregation amendment to the state Constituiton were filed Tuesday by the wife of one of the candidates for governor.

Mrs. James Johnson, wife of the Crossett attorney and former state senator who is campaigning on an anti-integration platform, filed them with Secretary of State C. G. Hall.

42,000 Signatures

Mrs. Johnson said they contained nearly 42,000 signatures and that additional names would be submitted before the Friday midnight deadline for filing proposals for the November general election ballot. About 33,000 names are required.

Mrs. Johnson said one petition she brought was circulated by an Ashley County Negro and contained all Negro signatures.

Mr. Johnson, who earlier had said he intended to obtain about 300,000 signatures for the measure, was campaigning in Paragould Tuesday.

The proposal he is sponsoring would, if adopted, direct the Legislature to take whatever steps considered necessary to oppose any encroachments of the Federal Government on states rights.

Against Court Ruling

Actually, the measure doesn't mention integration, but Mr. Johnson's campaigning and public statements in support of the measure have been directed against the Supreme Court's ruling and other moves threatening the segregated school system in Arkansas.

The proposal specifically directs that the Legislature should oppose all "dangerous invasions or encroachments" upon states' rights, with such opposition to include interposition and nullification."

Secretary Hall had not completed a count of the signatures. He said sponsors of other proposals had called indicating they would have their petitions in before the Friday midnight deadline.

Anti-Racing Move

Anti-racing forces have said they would file petitions Thursday, as well as the Arkansas Farm Bureau Federation on its proposal to "freeze" senatorial districts as they now exist, so that rural representation in the Senate would remain unchanged with population changes.

The two anti-integration measures backed by Governor Orval Faubus still were out Tuesday, but the Governor's office said it was expected petitions on those would also be filed Thursday.

All state offices will be closed Wednesday for July 4 holiday observances.

PAPERS ATTACK NEGRO, JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Daily Worker
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 6-2-39

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—Five men, believed to be key figures in the spreading of race hate literature, were arrested Friday in Charlotte on charges growing out of recent attacks on organizations designed to aid minority groups.

A police raid on the businesses and homes of the white suspects Thursday uncovered a quantity of unsigned literature attacking the Anti-Defamation League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Police said they also found application blanks for membership in the Ku Klux Klan, a klan robe and mask, a printing press, dynamite, guns, a roster of members of the States' Rights League, nude photographs, and plates of photographic comic drawings.

SPECIFIC CHARGES

Specifically the five men are charged with distributing and mailing pamphlets attacking Alfred E. Smith, president of the Charlotte branch of the ADL, an arm of the B'nai B'rith Jewish order.

The charges were brought under state laws which make it a misdemeanor to mail or transmit threatening written or printed material which is not signed.

Leaflets seized by police said the Anti-Defamation League is "The American Jewish Gestapo of secret police and an offspring of B'nai B'rith, a so-called brotherhood of Jews."

This group of leaflets also contended that ADL "intimidated and coerced the Charlotte City Council to pass an ordinance banning what they called hate literature."

$1,000 BOND

Each of the five men, who live either in Charlotte or its suburbs, must post $1,000 each for release until trial.

Arresting officers said pamphlets were also found deriding the NAACP as "The National Association for the Agitation of Colored People."

Those under arrest were identified as: Arthur W. Bryant, 35, owner of the Art Stone Works; Percy Clarence Wyatt, 44, a stonemason, who said he was a native of Winston-Salem; Joe Bryant, owner of the Bryant Stone Co.; Albert Rogers and E. E. Rogers.

FAUBUS, OPPONENTS SWAP HOT CHARGES OVER SEGREGATION

Arkansas Candidates Appear At Annual Picnic On Portia Grounds

38a
Ark

'PUSSYFOOTING' DENIED

Johnson Accuses Governor Of Ducking Issue, But State Executive Hits Back —Snoddy Also Appears

By KENNETH JOHNSON
Staff Writer

PORTIA, Ark., July 4. — Arkansas candidates for Governor fired their hottest political shots here Wednesday. Most ammunition was provided by the integration question.

Two candidates, James Johnson of Crossett and Jim Snoddy of Almyra, appeared Wednesday morning with Gov. Orval Faubus, the man they're gunning for, making an afternoon appearance.

The speeches and the hot weather lasted all day—since state and district candidates also appeared.

Mr. Johnson launched the integration question when he accused Governor Faubus of "pussyfooting" on segregation.

"If Jim Johnson hadn't stayed on him for over a year, he never would have mentioned the issue," said the former state senator.

Speaking in the area where the Hoxie school dispute is still a hot issue, Mr. Johnson drew heavy applause when he declared that if elected he will close school out at Hoxie, Charleston and Fayetteville—as well as in the University of Arkansas and state colleges—to preserve segregation.

Faubus Hits Back

Those three towns and the colleges have adopted integration. Referring to proposed pupil assignment laws which Governor Faubus is sponsoring for the November ballot, Mr. Johnson said that if elected he will be the state "assignment officer."

Governor Faubus hit back when he got to the speaker's stand in late afternoon.

The Governor derided Mr. Johnson's claim he had delayed a stand on integration. If anything, he said, he was far ahead of the former state senator. He said he had first brought up the issue two years ago when campaigning for governor, while Mr. Johnson was running for attorney general.

"He didn't mention it in his race," the Governor charged.

The Governor drew applause when he told a milling, perspiring crowd of several thousand that as long as he is Governor, "no school district will be forced to mix the races."

He also said he will recommend to the 1957 Legislature that a special fund be set up for the attorney general's office to pay for extra state legal help handling school integration matters for local districts.

In referring to two anti-integration proposals he is sponsoring for the November ballot, he said petitions and signatures to get them on the ballot will be filed Thursday in Little Rock.

Snoddy: 'Today And Always'

The third candidate, Mr. Snoddy, made only a brief appearance, and pledged himself to be "for segregation today, tomorrow and always."

"I will never be for gradual integration. I believe facilities should be separate but equal," he declared.

He also promised "there will be no increase in taxes while I am Governor."

The other two candidates for Governor, S. K. Prosser of Conway and Ben F. Pippin of Little Rock did not appear.

38a 1956

BILL-PROPOSED TO PAY NEGROES MOVING COSTS
OUT OF STATES WHERE RACIAL SEGREGATION IS
PRACTICED

Bill Proposes Paying Negroes' Moving Costs

Courier Journal
Louisville Ky.
Thur 5-17-56

Washington, May 7 (AP)—Representative Andrews (D., Ala.) proposed today that Negroes wishing to move out of states where racial segregation is practiced be offered federal loans to cover the cost of resettlement.

Andrews introduced a bill that would create a three-member commission on human resettlement to carry out the proposal.

White House Racial Talks Urged by Agnes Meyer

Post + Times Herald P. 17

Thurs. 4-12-56

Washington, D.C.

Agnes E. Meyer last night called for a bi-racial White House Conference to seek a peaceful solution to the "grave Southern upheaval."

The wife of the chairman of the board of The Washington Post Co. declared this Nation must choose now "between freedom and slavery—not just for the Negro but for mankind."

Because, she emphasized, one of the gravest dangers inherent in the revolt of the deep South is the formation of a "Nation-wide party of revolt" which will thrive on hatred at a moment when calmness is needed.

"The art of Government is foresight—and never was it more needed if the President is to make the contribution which only he can make to quench the fires of wrath that threaten to sweep through the whole Nation," she said.

"Calls Conference at Once"

"A White House Conference should be called at once of the most reputable white and Negro leaders who could be counted upon to seek pragmatic and rational approaches to justice."

Ultimately, Mrs. Meyer said there should be bi-racial committees at State and community levels.

In the address prepared for delivery before the biennial convention of the American Jewish Congress in New York, Mrs. Meyer said that the mounting hostility between whites and Negroes in the South is not an isolated phenomenon but a "more acute form" of the disregard of law and justice which has plagued this Nation for several years.

Springing from the South's revolt, Mrs. Meyer warned, is a new organization, calling itself the Federation for Constitutional Government and planning to coordinate the activities of the White Citizens Councils.

This orzanization, Mrs. Meyer added, is looking beyond the South and hopes to appeal to extremists in both political parties.

"Menace to Prestige"

". . . Thus we have a double problem—to allay the growing intolerance of the White Citizens Councils and to keep them from using this intolerance as the fulcrum of a third party movement that would become a menace to our Nation's prestige abroad and to the peace, the social progress and the curtural development of our country here at home," she warned.

It is not enough, Mrs. Meyer declared, for President Eisenhower to make "paternal admonitions" to "curb the rising passions of the extremists and give encouragement to the silenced forces of moderation."

"Isn't it high time that we call upon our sociologists anthropoligists and political scientists to climb out of their ivory towers and apply their wisdom to the heated turmoil of life?," she asked in requesting the White House Conference.

Their knowledge, Mrs. Meyer continued, also should be used to help raise the status of the Negro in the North. The North, she pointed out, has segregated local schools in heavily populated Negro quarters such as Harlem. Therefore, Mrs. Meyer said, the North has no right to be critical because the South hesitates to desegregate its schools in heavily populated Negro counties.

"The only hope of carrying out the Supreme Court decision in such Southern counties, lies in gradualism," she said.

Mrs. Meyer also cautioned leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to practice patience, not to press for action in such counties.

"If, on the other hand, the NAACP will bring its court cases in Arlington, Va., and other counties that had already decided to proceed with carefully made plans to integrate their schools, the success of these pilot projects will gradually prove to the South that the world will not come to an end if white and Negro children go to school together," she said.

The Supreme Court ruling on segregation, Mrs. Meyer emphasized, has reforged "the most powerful weapon in our democratic arsenal."

But, she observed, the decision could not have come at a more difficult period in the Nation's history. This Nation, she said, is not threatened so much by the existence of a powerful totalitarian enemy but by the symptoms which made the rise of totalitarianism possible in other lands.

"The chief battle, therefore, is not with an external enemy," she said. "It lies within ourselves and our own institutions. It is a question of our own readiness to recognize that we are moral agents, directly responsible for our own actions."

GEN. FACES HEARING ON BIAS TALK

Daily World
Thurs, 2-2-56
Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, —(SNS)— Maj. Gen Eugene M Caffey, Army judge advocate, will return here Wednesday to explain full details on charges that he praised an attack by Rep. John J. Flynt, Jr. (D-Ga) on desegregated schols.

P. 1

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY) made the charges against Caffey and demanded Tuesday in a letter to President Eisenhower that Caffey be dismissed as Army judge advocate general. The Negro Congressman from New York said Caffey had violated his oath to uphold the Constitution by lauding a speech that denounced the Supreme Court for its ruling against segregation in public schols.

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Maj. Gen. Caffey was quoted as praising the Georgia congressman's speech before the Georgia Legislature January 24. Caffey maintains that he was misinterpreted, and that he was praising Flynt's speaking ability and not the content of the speech.

He was quoted as saying to the Georgia Legislature Monday:

Daily World
P. 6

"If I were going to make a speech I would hope to make one like that."

In his communique with the president, Mr. Powell said:

"If such butterance had been made by any GI, Negro or white, against any law of our land, he would have immediately been subjected to court martial."

"The fact that Mr. Caffey is a major general and occupies the highly sensitive position as judge advocate of the Army makes his remarks the more heinous."

Alcatraz Has Baseball Racial Fight

Daily Worker
Atlanta, Ga.
Tues. 5-22-56

SAN FRANCISCO—(INS)—A first throwing riot between white and Negro inmates of Alcatraz Federal Prison was disclosed Monday by officials of the famed island institution in San Francisco Bay.

The fighting broke out yesterday in the recreation area of the "rock" after a Negro inmate, Leroy Fuller, stabbed and slightly wounded a white prisoner, Charles Schultz, during a baseball game.

A number of first battles between white and Negro ball players and spectators ensued but prison guards waded in and speedily halted the hostilities.

Paul J. Madigan, warden of the nation's "toughest" prison, announced there were no injuries, among guards or inmates, except for minor cuts suffered by Schultz who is serving an 18-year term for bank robbery.

Fuller, an army prisoner, is serving a sentence of 23 years for rape and murder.

Warden Madigan Saic both Fuller and Schultz face discipilinary action.

Faced by Color Bar

California Band Spurns Mardi Gras

Courier p. 7
Sat. 2-11-56
Pittsburgh, Pa.

(Special to The Courier)

LONG BEACH, Calif.—Die-hard Dixie "tradition" has prevented the Long Beach Youth Band from marching in the New Orleans Mardi Gras parade. The New Orleans Carnival Committee won't permit the band's two Negro musicians to participate, the band director said Thursday.

Director Gordon Carmen, after a conference with Mayor George M. Vermillion, said:

"If all our band members can't participate in the parade, then none of us will. It's a matter of American principle."

The thirty-piece band was one of several invited to take part in the parade Feb. 14.

"An official, who declined to fully identify himself over the telephone, said that the Negroes could attend the Mardi Gras if they wanted to and could participate in another parade sponsored by a Zulu organization."

IN NEW ORLEANS, Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison's public relations office said the city had no control over the Mardi Gras parades, which are sponsored by private organizations with secret memberships. The city only issues parade permits, the officials said.

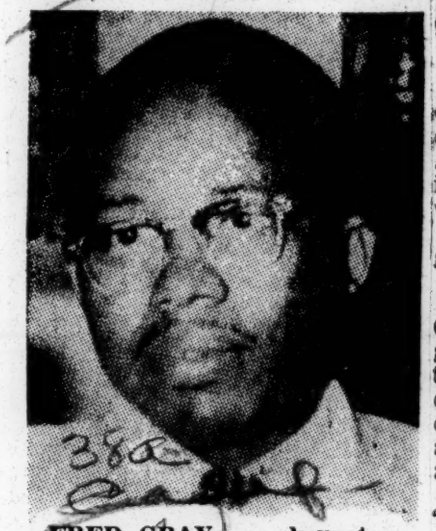
Also in New Orleans, Zulu Club President Jim Russell told the Courier that no persons responsible for other carnival club parades could offer to place any musicians in the Zulu parade.

"Unless our club agrees, those bands we hire are the only ones to appear in the Zulu parade," Russell declared.

L. A. lawyers workshop to focus on policy brutality

Tribune
Los Angeles, Calif.
Wed. 10-17-56

Police brutality, a growing problem in Los Angeles, will occupy a panel of lawyers taking part in the first Civil Rights Lawyers Workshop of the Los Angeles branch Naacp, set for Saturday, Oct. 27, at the Statler hotel.



FRED GRAY . . . keynoter

Central avenue lawyer Walter L. Gordon, Jr., who has had a long experience with police victims and many brushes with policemen using illegal means of arrest or molestation of citizens, will spark the panel.

Other speakers will be Al Wirin, of the American Civil Liberties Union, which has come to the rescue of many police victims, and G. L. Vaughn, Jr., legal redress committee chairman of the Naacp.

Keynote speaker for the workshop will be Fred L. Gray, 26-year-old Montgomery lawyer, chief legal figure in the many court fights which have grown out of the fight by Negroes of the Alabama town against jim crow.

Attorney Jack Tenner, columnist on the Tribune, will serve on a panel with Gray and Naacp president T. G. Neusom, devoted to Constitutional problems as relating to transportation and education.

Other panels and panelists are: housing — Attys. Loren Miller and Paul Sweeney; and civil rights — Attys. Welford Wilson, Carl A. Earles, and Edward Maddox.

West Coast scribe raps musician bias

Calif.

SAN FRANCISCO—Ralph J. Gleason, columnist for a local daily, last week took a pointed swipe at Musicians Local 6, for its recent refusal to consolidate with Musicians Local 669.

The former is a lily-white aggregation. The latter is colored.

IN HIS morning column, Gleason noted that "mixed groups appear everywhere" and that "jazz clubs, theatres, recording studios accept musicians, by and large, on their ability and their drawing power and not on their color."

He pointed out there still "occasional" cases of discrimination, then went on to note contributions American musical ambassadors, such as Louis Armstrong, Lionel Hampton and Dizzy Gillespie have made to world understanding.

Pitt. 12-29-56

GLEASON continued: "That is why it is all the more depressing that last week, in a vote to amalgamate the colored and white locals of the American Federation of Musicians in San Francisco, the white local saw fit to reject the proposal.

It hardly seems necessary to point out how utterly out of step with history this action was, and that amalgamation is inevitable, if only when the CIO and AFL themselves amalgamated."

Pasadena Faces Pool Bias Suit

Defender Sat. 1-21-56

Chicago, Ill.

PASADENA, Calif. — A $1,000 damage suit has been filed against South Pasadena officials by Mrs. Mildred McClain Johnson charging that her nine-year-old adopted daughter was denied use of the city pool last August.

The complaint states that German-born Susan McClain went to the municipal pool with a neighbor, John Abbott, and his two daughters.

The Abbott girls were admitted, but the clerk and assistant manage told Abbott that Susan "wont be allowed in the pool because of a department rule barring Negroes," the suit states.

FROM ORPHANAGE

Mrs. Johnson, who adopted Susan from a German oprhanage in 1952, said she appealed to Don Dollkuson, assistant city manager, who said there was no written authority for the "rule", but refused to guarantee that the incident would not recur.

Named as defendants in the suit besides Dollison, were:

Frank Clough, city manager; Mayor Joseph Partsch; Robert Seiler, superintendent of the Department of Recreation; Neil Cornell, manager of the South Pasadena Swimming Plunge, and two pool employees.

To tour parks free of discrimination

Afro - American

Baltimore, Md.

BERKELEY, Calif.—Mr. and Mrs. Adolph (Dolly) Hodge of 3028 College Ave., have made plans for a summer tour which will include 11 of America's finest national parks.

The tour will begin July 10 and end Aug. 13. Dolly said he has maded the trip five times and reports that there is absolutely no discrimination. They shall visit:

Glacier, Wateron (Canada), Yosemite, Muir Woods, Big-Trees, Kaibab Forest, Zion, Bryce, Cedar Breaks, Grand Rapids, Yellowstone, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, Bonnieville Dam, Chinatown and Disneyland.

Segregation Survey

Afro-American

A poll on the segregation issue just completed for the Catholic Digest offers some interesting figures. P. 4

Fifty-eight per cent of Northern whites and 17 per cent of Southern whites favor integration. The overall average shows 48 per cent for equality while 42 per cent are opposed.

The report indicates that generally younger people are less prejudiced than their elders. Sat. 6-9-56

Sixty-seven per cent of persons between the ages of 15 and 34 are ready to do away with segregation while only 45 per cent of persons 55 and older would end discrimination.

The report provides a rude awakening for those Southern spokesmen who are so certain that their colored neighbors are happy under the segregated way of life.

Baltimore, Md.

The survey proves that colored Americans, both literate and illiterate, both from North and from South by a whopping 95 per cent favor integration —and the sooner the better.

While the question of Constitutional rights is not one that can be decided by a show of hands, this survey performs a useful service if it does no more than show up the Dixie demagogues to be congenital liars.

'Gen. Clark has shifted his allegiance to Sen. Eastland'

Afro-American Baltimore, Md
Sat. 5-12-56

WASHINGTON

"Gen. Clark has shifted his allegiance from the support of the Constitution to the support of Sen. Eastland. . . .

"It's very strange that he never made these statements until he started on the payroll of South Carolina. It shows that some people will sell out if there's enough money. . ."

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.), was talking about Gen. Mark W. Clark, former Fifth Army commander and now president of the Citadel, South Carolina military college.

General Clark told the Southern Regional Conference of State Governments in Charleston, S.C., last week that he opposed integration in the armed forces. The integration program was adopted in 1950.

* * *

"I DID NOT feel that we should integrate then, and I don't think so now," General Clark said.

"The worst division I had was a colored division," he added, referring to the 92nd (Buffalo) Division. It was spread out over a third of the whole Fifth Army front in Italy.

The division was commanded by then Maj. Gen. Edward M. Almond, now retired. He said from his home in Anniston, Ala.:

"I endorse General Clark's statement 100 per cent."

* * *

MILITARY AND government officials say that neither General Clark nor General Almond made such statements while on active duty.

"Our position is that General Clark didn't say that while he was in uniform," said James E. Evans, civilian aide to the secretary of the Defense Department.

"Integration is working," Mr. Evans told the AFRO on Wednesday.

"Whatever was said about the Army during that period can be attributed to segregation, discrimination and illiteracy."

* * *

GENERAL ALMOND said to his division after victory in Europe:

"With deep reverence, I salute those officers and men who have died while performing their duties. . . .Those of us who remain are obligated to help insure the peace and understanding so needed for the future welfare of our country.

"And I urge that we make the same unselfish efforts which in the past have contributed so much in individual and unit actions."

* * *

POWELL TOLD the AFRO that as a result of General Clark's statement he has "asked the army to furnish me a record of the courage and heroism of colored troops."

He said he also requested information comparing the performance of colored soldiers in the jim-crow army and under integration.

"I happen to know that the army has this material," Representative Powell said, "It shows that the efficiency and morale of colored troops increased when they were integrated. The AWOL record is lower."

* * *

ROY WILKINS, executive secretary of the NAACP, said colored soldiers "were trained and used in World War II under the most humiliating segregation. All authorities recognize that this affected their morale."

Mr. Wilkins said General Clark "speaks with the voice of the past" in opposing integration.

Carey McWilliams sees end to legal segregation by '66

Tribune Fri. 5-4-56
Los Angeles, Calif. p.3

WASHINGTON, D. C. — End of legally-sanctioned race segregation during the next 10 years was predicted here last week by Carey McWilliams, author-editor of the Nation, who was final speaker on Howard university's three-day program, "The Impact of Desegregation upon American Life."

McWilliams said that the South is undergoing a drastic social change and has accomplished a century of progress in the past generation. "The South today is also on the threshold of a revolution in politics," he said, "one which will bring about dissolution of the entire political apparatus of segregation."

The author saw five factors precipitating the political revolution, (1) diversified agriculture, (2) industrialization, (3) social change, (4) financial change, and (5) mass migration of Negroes from the South.

The social change is being brought about by the introduction of three new groups on the southern scene, according to McWilliams. They are the "new southerner," the "transplanted Yankee," and the "transient."

The new southerner was described as the young businessman or industrialist who, although raised in the South, has been exposed to a more liberal education, and, consequently, does not share many of the old opinions. The transplanted Yankee is the young executive from the North, sent South to supervise operation of industries which are controlled by eastern capital. He defined the transient as the worker who seeks employment wherever it is available, and whose political and social beliefs are varied.

"These three groups have caused a split in the top power groupings of the South for the first time in its history," McWilliams claimed.

The writer also saw the emergence of a third party in the near future. "It will come not from the left, but from the right," he declared, "and will be made up of the conservatives of both the Democratic and Republican Parties."

McWilliams said that the conservative elements of both parties have three common traits; they are anti-labor, states righters, and racists. Southern conservative is anti-Negro; while the western conservative is anti-Jew, he said.

Gen. Clark's Segregation Stand Hit

Herald P.11-A
Fri. 5-4-56
Miami, Fla.

NEW YORK — (UP) — Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, New York Democrat, said it was "obvious" that Gen. Mark Clark had "sold out to the Eastland-Jimmy Byrnes fifth column against American democracy."

CLARK

The Negro congressman said he had asked the Army to give him "a complete breakdown" on charges made against Negro troops by Clark, who is now president of The Citadel, South Carolina military college.

Clark was quoted recently as saying he had been opposed to integration in the Army in 1951 and he was still so opposed.

He later said he meant that he still thought he was right in 1951 although he would not advocate reversing the policy at this time.

Powell lined Clark up with Sen. James O. Eastland, Mississippi Democrat, and James F. Byrnes, former governor of South Carolina.

"I have this day requested the Department of the Army to give me a complete breakdown on the charges made by Gen. Mark Clark against Negro troops; also previous quotations by Gen. Clark when he praised Negro troops, and lastly an analysis of the morale and efficiency of Negro groups after they were integrated as compared to when they were segregated," Powell's statement said.

"It is obvious that Gen. Mark Clark had his price and has sold out."

What to do about it

Afro-American P.5

(From a statement by George S. Mitchell, Director, Southern Regional Council.)

One blessed thing is that the corn pone curtain has turned to cellophane. . . . Now the United States as a whole worries about how things are in the South. That's healthy. . . .

As to what to do, one of the first things is to aim our efforts aright. In situations of what is called racial tension, nearly every vague well-wisher says to himself, "My, aren't the white people excited! I had better go and fan them down."

Whereas the real excitement is among the colored people, and the right thing to do is to help local communities answer the needs and hopes of the people climbing up.

Where that is done peace returns; where it is refused, excitement grows.

* * *

COLORED PEOPLE HAVE HAD a long, dusty march. And they are still trudging along in the dust.

They have heard that the Constitution of the United States promises them "equal protection of the laws," and they would like to get that.

They collected a lot of two-dollarses, and paid them in to the NAACP to get some brilliant colored lawyers to stand up in front of the nine judges of the U.S. Supreme Court and ask for that equal protection of the laws.

And the judges said that they were entitled to it.

Whereupon a great hope spread down the column of dusty marchers.

Whereupon some governors and law officers and politicians mostly in the South said, "Shucks. That don't mean a thing. You boys keep on like you were."

* * *

THE POINT IS THAT people are not going to keep on like they were. They wish and can pay for standing as regular Americans.

Paradoxically, the present situation has a built in feature of improvement. In the past, the colored people have not been organized and when some were offered employment on the old disrespectful terms, enough would take it so that all had to knuckle under.

On this go 'round unanimity of purpose reaches a stage quite like organization. . . .

The thing to do is for white and colored community leaders, being from each race respected and truly representative people, to sit down together and find the local facts, and agree on a course of action to meet the changes of the times.

And wherever that is honorably done the town will be surprised and pleased to find how reasonable, how careful, and how workable will be the proposals that will result. If there is what is called "trouble" it will end with some people around a table.

* * *

FAR BETTER if the people gather around the table before and do what can be agreed upon.

The innermost demand of the colored people is recognition of equal human dignity. Any community which will contrive to recognize that, publicly and privately, will be notably rewarded.

The colored people will put their shoulders to the wheel, which is a thing that three centuries of scorn taught them magnificently to avoid! And the towns where the colored population becomes a participating force will get ahead; in industry. business, and culture.

I expect that a few years from now emissaries will come to some of these better towns, from the ones that stuck with southern tradition, and will ask "What in the world did you do?" The answer:

"We just treated everybody human, And it worked."

Negro Community Urged To Take Lead In Fight For Race's Rights

World Birmingham Ala. Tues 2-21-56

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, widely known social scientist, of New York, flatly dumped the responsibility in the lap of the "Negro community" to lead the way in working toward realization of full citizenship rights and freedom as human beings in these changing times.

Dr. Clark, in an one-hour and six-minute long address, issued this commission to the communities before a capacity 16th Street Baptist Church audience attending the 23rd annual forum last Friday night.

The forum, sponsored by the 23-year-old Periclean Club, is an annual climax of the Negro History Week celebration.

TWO YEARS FROM TODAY

Suggesting that the Negro cannot restreat, cannot postpone his rights as a citizen, the noted associate professor of Psychology at City College, New York, declared that "The Negro community which maintains racial segregation and discrimination without fighting against it is not worthy of the May 17, 1954 United States Supreme Court's decision."

COULD DIE IN A FEW NIGHTS

Dr. Clark pointed out that racial segregation was imposed on Southern states overnight. "Thus," he suggested, "that stigma can be eliminated in only a few nights."

Negroes are not afraid, he said. "They have been hardened because of years of oppression and false promises." He declared that the current movements taken by several Southern states to circumvent the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions, such as the economic squeeze, firing Negro teachers' threats, and maintenance of racial segregation in public schools by "police power," will not do and cannot be of any effect.

PRAISES MISS LUCY

Lauding Miss Autherine J. Lucy, University of Alabama's first Negro co-ed, for her "unswerving courage and conduct" during her recent almost life-taking ordeal with the bigots and race-hating rioters on the University's campus, February 6, Dr. Clark told the audience that "In all history human beings who have not demanded, worked, or sacrificed for their rights have become inferior and have been treated as such. Human beings who have accepted their stigmatized status without protest have become inferior people. There is no social tension when the oppressed group accepts inferiority."

The speaker thundered, "Conflict somes only when a group that knows that it is not inferior is being treated as if it were."

THERE IS HOPE

City these local forces which are doily fighting racial segregation, discrimination and infringement of human rights. Dr. Clark declared that "You have ushered in a glorious period of American history and a golden era of progress for the Negro. Take notice of this fact. Since 1954, over 200,000 Negro children who were previously relegated to segregated schools are now attend non-segregated schools in which they are learning to be free, equal and truly competent American citizens."

"This," the speaker observed, "is a time of hope, of challenge, and of excitement. We are on the threshold of substantial progress in human relations and full and equal rights, responsibilities and obligations as American citizens. No force or combination of forces can stop this for the Negroes. If it is denied the Negro, it will be denied to all. This is the irresistible logic of the contemporary world."

GRADUALISM A SMOKE SCREEN

He said, "Those men of good will who maintain that progress in race relations must be 'gradual' should be warned that they are unwittingly falling into the trap of racial fanatics. Gradualism becomes the 'reasonable' verbal smoke screen for those who would deny the Negro his rights forever. Essentially, the issue of gradualism is spurious. It has become an empty catchword designed to postpone indefinitely the coming to grips with an admittedly complex and disturbing social problem." World

Dr. Clark related further that "No student of social change or knowledgable layman expects significant changes in social patterns will occur 'overnight' or 'immediately.' All changes, including social changes, require time. To state that they must be gradual is to state the obvious in a way that affronts intelligence."

"Specifically," the speaker asserted, "the issue in the desegregation of American public schools is not whether time will be required for the transition from segregated to non-segregated schools, but how much time is necessary and will be required to complete this transition in a given school district."

In evaluating the meaning "gradualism," the crucial questions which reasonable men of goodwill must ask and answer, the speaker declared, are:

"1. What specific steps toward desegregation are being and will be taken within a given period of time?

"2. What specific administrative changes and procedures are essential to assure an effective transition from segregated to non-segregated schools?"

r. Clark was introduced by Mrs. Ruby Hurley, executive secretary, Southern Region NAACP.

General Mark Clark Says His Piece On States Rights

Daily World Atlanta Ga. Wed. 5-2-56 P. 6

At a luncheon given on the heels of a recent Memorial Day celebration, General Mark Clark took time out to launch what amounts to an attack on Negro soldiers from the angle of his disbelief in the integration of Negro soldiers. Said the general: "I did not feel that we should integrate then (in 1950) when the order was first placed in effect and I do not think so now."

He based his opinion on his experience while in Italy during World War II, and we quote him, "the worst division I had was a Negro division." He added that the troops (Negro) could not be relied on and that the unit bolted in the face of the enemy. However the general begs the question and loudly so when he says that he did not look at it from a sociological standpoint, when his contention is based on that very theory, human nature being the same among white as well as Negro troops and since fear is fear and bolting is bolting.

General Clark betrays the motive of his position when he would counter along with this serious indictment of the finest courage and the apex of bravery according to records, when he referred to current racial problems with: "I believe in states rights, I believe problems are best settled where they are best understood."

So there we have somewhat of an unheard of before indictment of the standard and stamina of Negro soldiers.

The late Theodore Roosevelt certainly would not agree with him when he left on record such a fine tribute to Negro soldiers during the Spanish-American War; of how their valor and fortitude saved many a day during that conflict. Not even the late President Woodrow Wilson left such an indictment on the courage of those brave veterans to whom he is reported to have referred to as dependable and worthy of guarding his own life.

General John J. Pershing's many references to Negro soldiers should give comfort to those brave boys who remained loyal throughout the trying ordeal of one of the greatest conflicts this country ever witnessed, when they fought like tigers and accepted quarters and services below that of German prisoners of war.

Now for General Clark to come along and make at this or any other time, such a blanket of serious indictments without one attempt at documentary proof is both unfortunate and unfair. It is not only that, but it is a contribution to the quarter and comfort of the enemies of our systems who strove to stir up in the Negro soldier just what General Clark would offer at this crucial time without an attempt to prove by army records and court-martial photostats what he would hurl in the faces of those millions of black boys who stood by the flag and died on the field of battle.

In the face of strict army regulations, with stern and certain penalties for what General Clark alleges, no person of army statue should throw out blanket remarks with no documentary proof to underwrite his contention.

That truly was something poured in the wounds of injury.

Collier's Magazine Editoralizes On Smug Northernism

Glasgow Ky. Independent
Nashville Tenn. 5-4-56

May 11 Issue Points Out What Is Bad About Life In Harlem, Giving Views Of Borough President Hulan Jack; Also Compliments Southern Progress In Handling Desegregation; Suggests Our Area Muzzle Its Hothead Politicians

Segregation is not confined to the South, alone, says COLLIER'S Magazine in its May 11 edition.

The magazine begins its editorial with a question from Bourough President Hulan Jack, a Negro, whose prominence as a Democrat politician has been widely heralded. The quotation is as follows:

"If our new buildings (in Harlem) are not to be the racial ghettos of the future, we must within the next five years make a start in desegregation in Harlem."

Thus decent housing in Harlem and other sections of the North, has become as serious a matter with Northern Negroes as desegregation in public school education is with Negroes Down South.

The Collier's editorial goes on to say:

"The (Borough President Jack's comment) is of course a backhanded concession that not very much of a start has yet been made toward desegregation in Harlem, where a third of a million Negroes live, some in incredible squalor, in an area rigidly and purposefully hemmed in by the white portions of the community.

". . . Negroes can go far in Manhattan: more often they are locked, by social circumstances into the dismal estate to which they were born.

The housing problem to which Mr. Jack refers, of course refers to housing for the homes of the people. But Harlem leaders do not know, probably, that a large number of Negroes from the South who regularly visit Harlem are amazed to find out that "housing" is especially bad as to the public schools. This causes these visitors to express doubt as to the quality of education that colored children can get in these run-down and uninspiring school buildings. And the kind of school integration characteristic of Harlem affords nothing like a fair proportion of the jobs for colored teachers and principals, nor is the fairness rule observed in the appointment of teachers to jobs in other sections of New York City.

Among comments and conclusions reached by COLLIERS in its editorial are the following:

"So there is no clear-cut cleavage, say, along the Mason-Dixon line, between prejudice and tolerance. The differences are of a degree and in some times these differences, as between north and south, are slight. For the South is making progress, in its own way. Integration, at the school level is proceeding in Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennssee Missouri, Oklahoma, Maryland and Delaware; Arkansas has desegredated its State University; more significantly still, Louisiana, North Carolina and Florida are all approaching with earnestness and responsibility the difficult task of compliance with the Supreme Court's decision.

"Those decisions themselves were more temperate themselves than some of the curbstone interpretations rendered by zealous laymen in their wake.

"They enunciated, so far as public schools are concerned, the simple American principles of equal rights.

"At the same time they acknowledged that no law can be written to compel a state of mind or heart. This was the wisdom prompting the doctrine of 'fllexibility' or gradualness, in application of the principle.

"Now if the attitude of the South's is gauged on the basis of the utterances of the more vocal politicians, a rabble-rouser and hotheads, a plausible case can be made for despair in the matter of noncompliance.

"But if the 'attitude of the North' is assumed to be indicated by the sporadic muggings and window smashings and race riots in these areas, one can as readily leap to conclusions there is no hope, anywhere, for integration.

"We do not agree certainly with the often-voiced theory that desegregation inthe South is exclusively the South's own business: injustice anywhere in the United States has inevitable impact upon the whole nation's reputation and welfare.

"Still, we have little patience with some of our smug brethren in the North who point the finger of shame at the South and ignore bigotry in the next block. In fact we sometimes wonder if there's anything wrong with the South that the muzzling of a few score Southern politicians wouldn't cure.

"At any rate the solution of segregation will never be found in indignant carping and angry recriminations.'"

COLLIERS thus quite intelligently deals with what to do about the problem of desegregation in school matters. But the great magazine leaves much to be desired when it infers that desegregation of "trolleys or restaurants" should also be given the gradualism treatment.

That, of course is ridiculous and is far out of line with what the Supreme Court has ruled and recommended.

THIRD PARTY PREDICTED

Advertiser 6-2-56
Montgomery Ala.

Editor Sees Political Revolt As Result Of Racial Turmoil

Times 6-7-56

NEW YORK, June 6 (AP) — A leading Southern editor said today the solution to racial turmoil in the South "lies in the moderates," but that they are fast being silenced by pressure from extremists.

C. A. McKnight, editor of the Charlotte, N.C. Observer, said that without more support, the present "retreat of Southern moderates may become a rout, at incalculable cost to the entire nation."

In an article in the current issue of Collier's magazine on the "Troubled South," he said the Southerner accustomed to standing on middle ground is finding it "fast shrinking from beneath him."

"Strong pressure from the extremes is forcing him to shut up, or join the resistance movement," McKnight said, and he cited examples of publications and individuals he said had ceased advocating constructive steps.

SERIOUS ERROR

McKnight said it would be "a serious error to underestimate the strength and the sincerity of the resistance movement that has swept across the South in the last two years" against racial integration.

Despite the coolness of responsible Southern political leaders to a third-party movement in 1956, he said "the ingredients are now present" for a major political revolt.

It could be of such proportions, he said, that it would deny either major party a constitutional electoral majority, and throw the 1956 presidential election into Congress, "with results beyond calculation."

VOICES FADING

"If there is hope for the South," McKnight said, "it lies in the moderates who know that the elevation of the American Negro to full equality must be an evolutionary and not a revolutionary process."

But besides the fading out of voices of moderation, and the building up of the "resistance camp" to any school desegregation whatever, McKnight noted this tense new factor:

"The disappointment, resentment and bitterness the Negro Southerner feels because of the dashing of his hopes for full legal equality and full human dignity.

"At the moment, no one can say whether this resentment will express itself on a region - wide basis in terms of the solidarity of the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott. But it is a possibility.

McKnight said the situation "can get worse, and that "thoughtless or deliberate acts by all-or-nothing advocates of either viewpoint could provoke grave cicil strife."

'Good' Southerners silent on rights

Afro-American
Balt. 6-16-56

NEW YORK—"It would be a serious error to underestimate the strength and the sincerity of the resistance movement that has swept across the South in the last two years," a leading Southern newspaper editor warns in the current Collier's.

A. C. McKnight, of the Charlotte Observer, reports that one of the tragic developments of the last six months has been the "quiet exodus of Southern moderates from the public debate forum."

"The Southern moderate," he says, "is finding out that the middle ground upon which he has been accustomed to stand is fast shrinking from beneath him.

* * *

"I SEE NO solution in the approach of the militant colored American, however much I may sympathize with his burning desire for equality in fact as well as equality by law," the Southern editor writes.

"In fact, I suggest that the NAACP, having won a significant legal victory, should take off the pressure for a while in sensitive areas and turn its talents to the improving of human relations in areas where desegregation is currently feasible," he writes.

McKnight points out that he sees no solution, either, in the extreme resistance movement exemplified by the White Citizens' Councils.

"The trouble with a resistance movement of this kind is," he says, "that responsible leaders cannot hold in check the thugs and hotheads in the lower echelons who take matters in their own hands."

Newsman Hits Extremism by Whites, Negroes Alike

Moderates Only Hope of South, Says Editor

Herald P.3-A
Wed. 6-6-56
Miami Fla.

By HENDRIK J. BERNS
Herald Staff Writer

"If there is hope for the South, it lies in the moderates who know that the elevation of the American Negro to full equality must be an evolutionary and NOT a revolutionary process."

McKNIGHT

These are the words of a distinguished Southern newspaperman who searched his soul and his mind to do justice to the paramount problem of our time: desegregation.

He did so for Collier's Magazine which will publish his thorough and brilliantly written analysis Thursday.

At present, editor of the Charlotte Observer, a Knight newspaper, C. A. McKnight lived and worked in the South most of his life.

Prior to his association with The Observer, he was executive director of the Southern Education Reporting Service. That agency was set up to report to Southern newspapers on developments following the Supreme Court's segregation rulings in 1954.

McKnight, who delves deeply into the extreme of emotions which have sprung up on both sides of the conflict, says:

"The thoughtful man cannot but be deeply disturbed as he looks across the Southern region today and compares what he sees with what he saw two short years ago."

And he explains why.

"In the spring of 1954," McKnight says, "the South was moving with assurance and excitement into the most promising, most fascinating stage of a regional history that had been long on fascination and short on promise.

"Industry was expanding and spreading from the cities to the countrysides. Agriculture was growing out of the bondage of single cash crops and hand labor. Automobiles and airplanes were breaking down the barriers of transportation. Southerners were leaving the stage of historical backwardness. They were on the move economically, politically and even in race relations.

"Slowly but surely, the Negro was getting a chance at decent employment. He was moving into better housing. He was voting in ever larger numbers."

The region was booming in every respect, McKnight recalls.

"The day was in sight when the South would win its long, uphill struggle to full economic partnership with the rest of the nation," he writes.

Then came the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 and 1955 on the desegregation of schools.

And with them, McKnight points out, came a new "ugly race tension, stirred by hatred, bitterness and fear; individual and mob violence, and political demagoguery of the shabbiest kind."

Consequently, he adds, life in the South today is one of bewilderment and dismay about such a great change in so abrupt a period of time.

While whites and Negroes continue to go about their business as usual, the race issue is again always beneath the surface.

Up to that point, McKnight explains, the pattern of desegregation had been clear. It had been accomplished or was in the process of being accomplished in the border states.

"A 17-state area had thus been fragmentized and there no longer was a Solid South but many Souths," he says.

From the outset, "a hard core of Deep South states—Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana—had made it clear that they would evade" and fight the Supreme Court decision.

But Oklahoma, Kentucky, Arkansas and Texas were well on the road to desegregation. Virginia, North Carolina, Florida and Tennessee were following a wait-and-see policy.

Since then, McKnight writes, Virginia, North Carolina and Florida have moved into the resistance camp. Arkansas and Texas are headed in the same direction. And what will happen in Tennessee, no one knows. And, he adds, it would be a serious error to underestimate the grim determination behind the resistance movement.

He explains that there are four basic reasons for this fact:

Politics; the class, social and cultural cleavages between Southern whites and Negroes; the arithmetic of numbers and finally the sex angle.

But more tragic yet, to McKnight, has been "the quiet exodus from the public debate forum of Southern moderates."

They have found out that "the middle ground" on which they have been standing is shrinking from beneath them. Extremism has become the pass word of the hour.

What is the solution?

McKnight says: "A wise and experienced newspaperman suggested to me that we may be making a mistake assuming that there IS an answer to the race problem. Some problems, he said, have no answer save time."

However, "the American democracy has never relied on time alone to solve its problems," replies McKnight. Somehow, it has always produced also the leadership and the machinery to help time along.

"The leadership is here, though latent," McKnight says. "The machinery is faulty, but it can be improved."

But, he adds, "I can see no solution in the approach of the militant Negro. Nor do I find any solution in the extreme resistance movement."

The only hope for the South, he concludes, lies "in the moderates." Let us give them the support they need, the understanding they deserve and the forbearance which makes for patience.

That and that alone can help the South.

U.S. NEGRO HELD NEGLECTED ASSET

Columbia Study Finds Both Races Could Profit Vastly Through Integration

A study just finished at Columbia University describes the 15,000,000 Negroes of the United States as "the single most underdeveloped human resource in the country."

The study cites enormous benefits that would result from full and equal integration of Negroes into the national life. It estimates that the total number of Negro high school students graduated annually could be more than doubled to reach 158,000 at this time of critical manpower shortages if the education of Negroes was raised to the same level as whites.

On the same basis, the report finds that Negro college graduates could be increased from 9,000 to 23,000 annually. The study notes that only three young Negroes out of a hundred are graduated from college.

The report characterizes the gains in the Negro's economic position in the last fifteen years as "spectacular," but it notes the severe discriminations both in the South and the North that still hamper Negro potentialities.

Progress in recent years is attributed primarily to prosperity rather than to changes in attitudes.

The study foresees further advancement in the status of Negroes as depending to a large extent on continued prosperity and improved utilization by Negroes of the new opportunities now open to them.

Project Started in 1950

The findings of the study are published in a 144-page book entitled "The Negro Potential" by the Columbia University Press. The report was written by Dr. Eli Ginzberg, director of the Conservation of Human Resources Project at the university. He was assisted by James K. Anderson, Dr. Douglas W. Bray and Robert W. Smuts.

The Human Resources project was established by President Eisenhower in 1950, soon after he became President of Columbia, and reflected his concern with manpower wastage in World War II. The project has published the results of several other studies and is continuing its researches in other phases of manpower utilization.

Fifteen of the country's major business and industrial companies supported the project, along with foundations, trade unions and the Federal Government. Dr. Ginzberg is professor of economics in the Graduate School of Business at Columbia.

The assessment of Negro potentialities is predicated on the scientific theory that there are no differences in the basic intelligence or capacities of different racial groups.

The report rebuts the view of General Mark Clark that Negroes are inferior to whites as soldiers. The study affirms that the record of Negroes was "less good" than that of white troops in World War II but says that this is to be explained by the handicaps Negroes brought from civilian life and the segregated pattern of their utilization.

The survey notes the "amazing rapidity" with which desegregation occurred in the armed forces in the Korean war. It cites evidence that this integration made a difference and that Negro combatants did well in Korea.

Armed Forces Aid Integration

Integration in the armed forces is credited with being a major contribution toward general progress in integration.

"The armed forces have not only strengthened the nation by strengthening themselves," the report says, "but have taken leadership in showing the nation what good will and determination can accomplish."

"The Negro Potential" includes findings on studies of Negro soldiers not heretofore published. The Department of the Army made special material available for the report.

Inferior schooling, segregated living and all other forms of discrimination against the Negro are described in the report as having produced lowered capabilities and psychological handicaps for Negroes. The study holds that Negroes will not be able to display capabilities at a level with whites until they are fully integrated into the society of their country.

The report emphasizes that changes must come not only in schools but also within the Negro community itself in terms of family life and child upbringing. This is regarded as necessary if Negroes are to be prepared adequately to take advantage of new opportunities.

If prosperity continues, the authors believe, the developing Southern counter-action to integration will not be successful. They believe pressures from every side "will induce the South to steer away from a self-destructive recalcitrance."

The study maintains that the present wastage of human resources in the United States can result only in a more vulnerable security position. The study says that failure in this country to provide true equality for Negroes will weaken the free world in its struggle with Soviet Russia and the minds and hearts of millions of men not yet committed to either side.

Study Describes Negroes In U. S. As Most Wasted Human Resource

Book Urges Full Integration

New York Times Service

New York, May 14.—A study just finished at Columbia University describes the 15,000,000 Negroes of the United States as "the single most underdeveloped human resource in the country."

The study cites enormous benefits that would result from full and equal integration of Negroes into the national life.

It estimates that the total number of Negro high-school students graduated annually could be more than doubled to reach 158,000 at this time of critical man-power shortages if the education of Negroes was raised to the same level as whites.

On the same basis, the report finds that Negro college graduates could be increased from 9,000 to 23,000 annually. The study notes that only three young Negroes out of a hundred are graduated from college.

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Says Russia Is Helped

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The study says that failure in this country to provide true equality for Negroes will weaken the free world in its struggle with Soviet Russia and the minds and hearts of millions of men not yet committed to either side.

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Only Then Can Negro Reach Full Usefulness to Nation, Report Says

Columbia University Study Calls for Thorough Integration

Herald

NEW YORK — (UP) — The nation's 15 million Negroes are its "single most underdeveloped human resource" and they cannot reach their full potential usefulness until they are thoroughly integrated with the white population, a Columbia University study said Monday. 7-3-54

The study is a part of a project inaugurated by President Eisenhower in 1950, when he was president of the university, to explore manpower wastage, a problem which seriously troubled him as a result of his World War II experience.

Ocala, Fla.

It is published in a 144-page book entitled "The Negro Potential" and written by Dr. Eli Ginzberg, director of the project and professor of economics in Columbia's graduate school of business.

Aug. 3-4-5-54

The project is financed by contributions from 15 industrial firms, foundations, labor unions and the federal government.

The report said that if education for Negroes were raised to the level of that now available for whites, the annual rate of Negro high school and college graduates would be more than doubled.

It said the Negro's economic position improved spectacularly in the last 15 years but attributed this more to general prosperity than to any change in the Negro's position.

The report, written before Gen. Mark Clark's recent attack on integration in the armed forces, contradicts Clark's estimate of its effect.

It said that records of Negro troops in World War II was "less good" than that of white troops, but attributed the difference to the handicaps brought from civilian life by the Negro soldiers and the fact that they were segregated.

It said that records of Korea, where Negroes were integrated, showed a marked improvement.

"The armed forces have not only strengthened the nation by strengthening themselves," the report said, "but have taken leadership in showing the nation what good will and determination can accomplish."

The report said there must also be changes in the Negro's community and family life if the race is to take advantage of new opportunities.

"Only when Negro and white families can live together as neighbors, when Negro children and white children can play together, study together, go to the same church—only then will the Negro grow up properly prepared for his place in the world of work," the report said.

38a 1956 by- BERT COLLIER

Segregationists Hope to Win Politically Without 3rd Party

Herald Tues. 4-10-56 P.4-A

Miami, Fla.

Last of a Series

38

By BERT COLLIER
Herald Staff Writer

ATLANTA, Ga. — Southern leaders who oppose the Supreme Court on school segregation hope to win their fight on the political level.

But they intend to do battle within the established two-party system.

There is little sentiment for a third party in the deep South states.

COLLIER

Governors and other political leaders say they have their best chance go get their points across as Democrats.

Segregationists believe their strength in the Democratic party is decisive. They point out that signers of the South's manifesto in Congress included chairmen of 9 of the 15 Senate standing committees, and 8 of the 19 in the House.

In the four states most likely to breed a third party on the race issue — South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi — the political leaders hope to remain Democrats — if they can.

A Georgia political leader said:

"There is no grass roots movement for a third party here. There is no sentiment for such a step except as a last resort.

"Our aim is to get what we want at the national convention. We believe we are in a strategic bargaining position."

★ ★ ★

GOV. JAMES E. Folsom of Alabama is in the battle of his political career for national Democratic Executive committeemen. The sole issue is segregation.

A close aide said Folsom would welcome a third party as the ideal forum for settling the race issue. But he sees no prospect of such a movement.

South Carolina's Sen. J. Strom Thurmond, presidential nominee of the Dixiecrats in 1948, said he knows of no third party movement at this time.

Mississippi is deeply involved in its local solution of the race issue. Associates of Gov. J. P. Coleman said there is little likelihood third party sentiment will develop unless the South is rebuffed on states rights and civil rights at the convention.

In that case there may be a disastrous walkout.

★ ★ ★

THE THIRD PARTY, problem is only one of the hot political questions facing the segregation states. The upsurge of Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee for the Democratic presidential nomination is a worry.

Kefauver's stand on segregation is not acceptable to the defiant states. He did not sign the manifesto and is on record for compliance with the Supreme Court ruling.

While campaigning in Florida, he was peppered on all sides by questions on segregation. He defended his position as "just, sound and right."

"Since I have taken what some refer to as the national viewpoint, I frequently hear I am not acceptable to the South," he said.

"That is political propaganda."

★ ★ ★

ADLAI STEVENSON, who had the support of most of the state political organizations, has lost ground. With an eye on his Southern supporters, he urged "moderation" on the race issue.

This has not been enough for some of the Southern states. The pressure is on for a stronger position in line with Southern views. This would weaken Stevenson's position with the Northern wing.

THE END

Opposition Unexpected

Herald P. 2-A

Integration War Baffles Both Sides

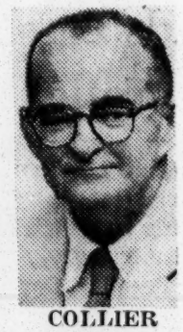
Miami, Fla.

Mon. 4-9-56

By BERT COLLIER
Herald Staff Writer

ATLANTA, Ga.—People are confused in the Southern states which insist on keeping their segregated schools.

White citizens are worried by demands of their Negro neighbors for immediate full equality in the use of all public facilities.



COLLIER

They are confused by politicians who say means can be found to circumvent the Supreme Court decisions.

Negro citizens are also confused since their ancient hope for better education, legal equality and civic responsibility was brought closer to realization by a series of court decrees.

There is great pressure that they insist on immediate action.

Both races are astonished by the heat that has been generated. Neither side realized the issues were so important to the other.

They see the destruction of a working relationship, tolerable if not satisfactory which had grown up through the years, between whites and Negroes in most Southern communities.

Nothing has been found yet to replace it.

Over and over again, hundreds of persons in seven defiant states made the point that relations have worsened.

There is no channel of communication between persons of good will in the two groups.

★ ★ ★

THE VOICES heard are usually those of extremists.

A Negro college professor in Georgia said:

"This is a tremendous ordeal for our people.

"They must forsake an established relationship with the white community. They sense the anger and hurt of their white neighbors, and are inclined not to push too hard, trusting that time will bring social justice.

"But pressures in the Negro community are almost beyond belief. Anyone who does not go along with the demand for quick action is a renegade.

"But make no mistake about it. Negroes have been sold on the idea that the future and well-being of their families lie along the road of swift desegregation of schools, recreation and transportation.

"They are organizing. The law is on their side. They are now discovering for the first time that they have economic power.

"They will get what they are fighting for."

★ ★ ★

WHITE CITIZENS in the defiant states are frightened by that point of view. They fear it may be correct. They are afraid because the white South, they say, actually has much to lose from integration.

This is the way one Atlanta man put it:

"The South is the domain of public education and recreation. Private schools and clubs don't exist outside a few large cities.

"All classes, from governors' sons to workmen's daughters, attend the segregated public schools, parks, swimming

For those who have lived and benefited by this system for years, escape from an unpleasant integrated situation by recourse to private facilities, as so often happens in the North, is impossible.

The South is the historic domain of churches in which religion is an emotional rather than an intellectual experience.

"Though churches generally have accepted integration as a legal and moral principle, the practical application is not easy in small town local churches.

★ ★ ★

"THE NEGRO, too, has much to lose through integration.

"Negro schools have Negro teachers and principals. In most Southern communities, these educators are the foundation of a well-trained, professional group generally aloof from racial tensions. They raise standards throughout the Negro community.

"They have been proud and secure, until now. They see that in schools which have integrated, Negro teachers and principals lose jobs, and they are worried."

Average citizens who are in the middle of this segregation struggle are not allowed to stay there.

"At the outset, a large number of men and women are willing to accept the Supreme Court decisions and try to work them out gradually," said the head of a fact-gathering agency here.

"When the Supreme Court decision was announced, they made up their minds to slow, reluctant compliance.

★ ★ ★

"EXTREMISTS who talk of immediate court suits, with enforcement of decrees by armed federal marshals, are driving them to the die-hard segregationists.

"Activity of White Citizens Councils, who set out to get jobs and hurt businesses of Negroes who sign school petitions, is solidifying the Negroes.

"People of good will of both races are gravely troubled.

"Most Southerners — even some of the extreme racists— want to do the right thing. They want to be good Americans first, and after that to keep segregation if they can.

"But pressures are destroying reason. The people of the middle Southern states are getting angry.

"The situation will get worse before it gets better."

Both Sides Use Boycott in Segregation Dispute

18th of a series

By BERT COLLIER
Herald Staff Writer

ATLANTA, Ga. — The two-edged sword of economic boycott has been discovered by both sides in the dispute over segregation.

COLLIER

Several defiant states are deeply troubled by the attacks and counter-attacks on the pocketbooks of merchants and individual citizens.

Citizens councils in several areas have urged reprisals against national firms reportedly making gifts to the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Negroes boycott firms supporting the Citizens Councils. In at least one place, Orangeburg, S.C., a blacklist of merchants was placed in the mailboxes of Negro homes.

Sometimes this campaign penalizes merchants from both sides or borders on the ridiculous. Herald P.27-A

In Memphis, a segregationist group known as Pro-Southerners threatened to boycott a bakery for sponsorship of a TV program. It was the re-run of an ancient movie series, the "Our Gang" comedies which had a Negro child in a leading role. Sun. 4-8-56

The bakery withdrew sponsorship when sales fell off. The TV station continued the film as a sustaining program. Fla.

Rumor, which psychiatrists recognize as a symptom of tension and unrest, is widespread. Many of the economic boycotts are based on misinformation.

Ford Motor Co. has been hard hit because of reported grants made by the Ford Foundation's, Fund for the Republic, over which it has no control, to pro-integration groups.

A Mississippi dealer said his salesmen were ordered out of some business houses. A dealer in Charleston, S. C., complained to the local newspaper of loss of sales. A Selma, Ala., dealer, said sales were off in February. He blamed criticism of the Ford Foundation.

At least two companies, the makers of Philip Morris cigarettes and Falstaff Beer, have sent executives into the South to deny reports they made donations to the fight on segregation.

Sometimes these reports almost get out of hand.

Howard Hill, American Automobile Assn. representative at Jackson, Miss., said he had received letters from affiliates asking about reported violence to drivers of out-of-state cars. Hill said the reports were absurd.

A report spread in several states that drivers of Fords were denied service in some Mississippi filling stations.

Admitting he had heard the reports "many times," and had taken the trouble to run them down, Bagby Hall, of Jackson, one of the South's largest Mercury dealers, said he found them "vicious lies."

Sen. W. B. Alexander charged on the floor of the Mississippi legislature that the economic boycotts and the rumors on which many were based "are pushed and peddled by an admitted ex-Communist from St. Louis."

"It is unfortunate," said Alexander, "that these economic reprisals have been injected at the very time when we are engaged in a death struggle in maintaining a way and philosophy of life."

Another aspect to the boycotts is fear.

Merchants in a Mississippi town discovered loss of business was due almost entirely to a drop-off in sales of heavy goods to Negro customers.

Alarmed, they asked a Negro leader for the reason.

"They are afraid to buy," said the spokesman.

"Why should they obligate themselves for refrigerators, stoves, automobiles, televisions, if racial tensions might result in forcing them out of the state?"

This trend is increasing, according to George L. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, an interracial fact-gathering agency here.

"More and more business leaders are beginning to say openly that tensions and violence of racial controversy are bad for business in the growing industrial society we are developing," said Mitchell.

His organization sent out a special bulletin on the subject to chambers of commerce in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina.

The spread of boycotts, the agency said, "threaten the moral and economic well-being of the South."

"Reasonable men and women are disturbed by the extremist views which now dominate the public life of our region.

"Not only the gains we have made are imperiled by today's secessionist policies.

"Will the new industries sought by the southern states be eager to build expensive plants in areas where the existence of public schools is in doubt?

"Can we hope to attract and hold the talent we need to develop our resources — the ablest teachers, scientists, professional people, executives in business and industry?"

Mitchell said the use of economic pressure will continue to spread, particularly in the form of the bus boycott still in effect in Montgomery.

"The idea is alive throughout the whole Negro community of the South," he said. "There will be more and more of it."

Committee Rejects Demands For Action

Wash. Post & Times Herald
Washington, D.C.
Tues. 4-17-56

Big Convention Here Is Opened With a Message From Eisenhower

By Marie Smith
Staff Reporter

Daughters of the American Revolution opened their 65th Continental Congress last night at Constitution Hall, planning to observe a hands-off policy on the segregation issue, although several southern delegations have requested adoption of a resolution favoring segregation.

Mrs. T. B. Throckmorton of Des Moines, Iowa, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, said its 53 members voted unanimously to reject the requests from the southern states for resolutions opposing integration in public schools.

May Try on the Floor

"We don't believe we should handle anything on which the Supreme Court has handed down a decision," she explained. No requests for resolutions upholding the decision were received, she added.

It is possible, Mrs. Throckmorton said, for a delegate to bring the subject up on the floor today after the reading of resolutions offered by her Committee. But, she added, such a resolution from the floor could be considered only after a two-thirds vote of permission.

"After our experience with Marian Anderson, we wouldn't think of doing anything along those lines," Mrs. Throcmorton said.

In 1939 the DAR refused to rent Constitution Hall for an Easter Sunday concert by Marian Anderson, and she sang instead on the steps of Lincoln Memorial.

Eisenhower Message

Greetings from President Eisenhower were read to the Congress by President General Gertrude S. Carraway at the opening last night. The President's message said:

"Mrs. Eisenhower and I extend to you warm greetings. All of you, and your fellow members throughout the country, have my best wishes for the successful continuance of your efforts to increase our people's awareness of the events which led to our Nation's independence, to strengthen their devotion to liberty and justice, and to uphold a high ideal of citizenship. I know you will have an inspiring meeting."

D.A.R. Ducks Taking Stand On Integration

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Wed. 4-18-56

Southern Members Had Asked Resolution

Washington, April 17 (U.P.) — The Daughters of the American Revolution today backed away from Southern members' requests for a resolution opposing the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling.

Mrs. T. B. Throckmorton, Des Moines, Iowa, chairman of the resolutions committee, said its members unanimously decided that the explosive issue "is not D.A.R. business."

"After our experience with Marian Anderson, the committee decided to steer clear of the issue," she said.

The D.A.R. became the center of a national furor in 1939 when it refused to rent Constitution Hall for an Easter concert by the Negro singer. She sang from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

Resolution On U.N.

Mrs. Throckmorton said the 4,000 delegates attending the sixty-fifth annual Continental Congress definitely will consider a resolution clarifying their position on the United Nations. They will vote tomorrow on resolutions presented today.

The D.A.R.'s position is "misinterpreted" as opposition to the United Nations and "even our own members are foggy on our stand," Mrs. Throckmorton said.

The organization does not oppose the United Nations as a "parliament of sovereign nations," but it does oppose any loss of United States sovereignty to world government organizations, she explained.

Message From Ike

The congress opened last night at Constitution Hall.

President Eisenhower sent his best wishes and said he hopes for the D.A.R.'s continued success in increasing Americans' "awareness of the events which led to our nation's independence."

President General Gertrude S. Carraway urged delegates to help spread "the fire of freedom through America" to combat "insidious ideologies."

38a 1956 D.C.

Exchange Of Courtesies Causes Women Voters Ouster From Capitol

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

BY GEORGE M. COLEMAN

Segregationists plead for separation of races, but a group of Negro women were left wondering yesterday if the so-called rule really means flee whenever a white persons comes near you.

The question came after the League of Negro Women Voters was asked to move from a segregated spot in the balcony of the state capitol when an usher noticed a group of white women had joined them with coffee and friendly conversation.

"They asked us to leave our seats," Mrs. Ruby Blackburn, president of the voters group said, "We left the building."

HAD BEEN SEATED BY USHERS

Mrs. Blackburn said an usher had first placed them in the segregated balcony. A short time later, she said, members of the League of Women Voters (white) joined them, exchanged literature and chatted during the session. The white women also offered them coffee.

Upon seeing the Negro and white women together, Mrs. Blackburn said, a second usher came up and "informed us that colored people couldn't sit on that side by the white women."

The president, however, asserted that they would continue to attend legislative hearings.

"We're going to observe the sessions as long as they are there," she said.

Exchange Of Courtesies Causes Women Voters Ouster From Capitol

World Birmingham, Ala. Jan 13-56

BY GEORGE M. COLEMAN

ATLANTA, Ga. — (SNS) — Segregationists plead for separation of races, but a group of Negro women were left wondering yesterday if the so-called rule really means flee whenever a white person comes near you.

The question came after the League of Negro Women Voters was asked to move from a segregated spot in the balcony of the state capitol when an usher noticed a group of white women had joined them with coffee and friendly conversation.

"They asked us to leave our seats," Mrs. Ruby Blackburn, president of the voters group said, "We left the building."

HAD BEEN SEATED BY USHERS

Mrs. Blackburn said an usher had first placed them in the segregated balcony. A short time later, she said, members of the League of Women Voters (white) joined them, exchanged literature and chatted during the session. The white women also offered them coffee.

Upon seeing the Negro and white women together, Mrs. Blackburn said, a second usher came up and "informed us that colored people couldn't sit on that side by the white women."

The president, however, asserted that they would continue to attend legislative hearings.

"We're going to observe the sessions as long as they are there," she said.

Bowling alley loses appeal against discrimination count

Afro-American p. 6 Sat. 1-14-56 Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

The Central Amusement Company, convicted of discriminating against the minority race, lost an appeal to the Municipal Court of Appeals, Tuesday, in which they alleged they were themselves the victims of discrimination.

38a

The company was found guilty last December on two counts of violating an 1870 ruling prohibiting any place of public amusement from barring facilities to members of the colored race.

OPERATORS of the Lucky Strike Bowling Alley, 1700 block 14th St., NW, where the refusal allegedly occurred, the Corporation was given a suspended $55 fine on each count.

The corporation charged in their appeal that the 1870 law is discriminatory.

They stated that the Board of Aldermen and Board of Common Council, of he City of Washington, only had legislative authority over the old city boundaries, which now constitute a part of the District. The Lucky Strike Bowling Alley is located within those boundaries.

38 * * *

THE corporation alleged that the law was never extended to include territory formerly composing the County of Washington, in which several competing bowling alleys are located.

The court responded that the company made no claim that the regulation if applied to it, would cause any loss of business or would operate to the advantage of its competitors to whom the regulation is inapplicable.

"Appellant's complaint is not with the regulation itself but with its failure to operate in all parts of the District," the opinion observes.

* * *

THE COURT further notes that the regulation operates uniformly on all those engaged in the same business within a certain portion of the District.

Although the opinion admits that the general laws governing old Washington were never extended by Congress to include the County of Washington, it concludes:

"We are unable to say that the regulation, under consideration because restricted to a part of the District, is so unjustifiable as to be a violation of due process."

The corporation also contended that the ruling applied only to "any person or persons" and not to corporations. It was further alleged by the appellant that the alley was not licensed as a place of amusement, because bowling is a recreation and is not therefore affected by the amusement laws.

The Appeals Court over-ruled both contentions.

'Washington isn't becoming integrated—it's changing'

Afro-American Sat. 11-24-56 P. 18

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

"Washington isn't becoming integrated— its changing."

Sterling Tucker, 32, newly appointed executive secretary of the D. C. Urban League, thus stated one of the major problems facing the social welfare organization in the nation's capitol.

Mr. Tucker did not say directly, but he indicated later that he mean the city's neighborhoods are changing from white to colored families. His scholarly boyish face took on a determined expression as he continued:

"We have to stop this great exodus.

"White property owners must be made to understand that presence of a colored family in their neighborhood does not mean the lost property values. It is the exodus of the surburbs which causes the drop in values."

The Urban League executive said he thinks the civic associations can do a great deal to stop this changing pattern.

* * * *

THE NEW secretary was speaking at a press conference Friday at the League headquarters, 612 K St., NW.

Following the conference Mr. Tucker was introduced to community leaders at a tea at Howard University School of Social Work. He assumed his duties Oct. 15.

In addition to the flight to the suburbs, other problems listed by Mr. Tucker as confronting the local League are pregnant girls in schools, vocational guidance for school pupils, the adoption program in the District, and employment.

Mr. Tucker said the Urban League needs to recognize there is a problem in the unwed mothers reported in the schools.

"We can help with strengthening the family life conditions which would prevent such situations."

In regard to vocational guidance, Mr. Tucker also stated:

"The Davis Hearing pointed up the need for a fresh, hard look at the problems in our schools.

He said:

"The problem in the adoption program is that there are a lot of babies available for whom there are not enough parents.".... ....

The executive secretary said he did not list employment among the priority problems, because the placement of colored persons in pioneer jobs is a basic function with the League. Mr. Tucker said most of his experience has been in industrical areas.

"The reasons for a colored person not being accepted in a government position, are the same as those for private industry.

"I think the problem here is not one of getting colored persons into jobs but of getting them upgraded—."

Mr. Tucker said he became familiar with the problems of Washington through previous trips to the city and through an interchange of ideas with other secretaries during his 12 years of Urban League work.

He began his career in the League in his home town of Akron, Ohio, where he worked in the industrial relations department while getting his B. A and M. A. degrees at the University of Akron.

Mr. Tucker also worked in the national headquarters of the League in New York on a six-month research project and was loaned to the state with the International Educational Organization in India for six months.

* * *

"BEFORE I went abroad I thought race relations was the number one domestic problem. Now I am convinced it is the number one international problem," he stated.

Mr. Tucker came to Washington from his post as executive secretary of the Canton, Ohio Urban League.

"We had a difficult time persuading them to let him go—but he was the man we wanted out of 15 applicants, Dr. R. Frank Jones, president of the League, stated.

"We are very fortunate in having a man like Mr. Tucker to keep the momentum going," stated Dr. Caroline Ware, president of the board.

The new secretarl succeeds Lisle S. Carter, attorney, who resigned in August to return to private law practice in New York.

Dr. Ware, a member of the faculty of the School of Social Work, Dr. Jones and Miss Pearl Watson, secretary to Mr. Tucker, attended the press conference.

One other member of the Washington staff is Mrs. Margery Ware, director of community organizations. Mr. Tucker said there are no immediate plans to add to the administrative staff. His salary is $8,000 per year.

"Our main job now is to convince the community that by supporting the programs of the League, the organization can become self sustaining through savings to the community in reduced crime, health problem solutions and housing improvement," Dr. Jones said.

Bias Banned In Amusement Places Here

Post + Times Herald
Fri. 5-4-56 P. 25
Washington, D.C.

Commissioners Extend 1869 Law Against Segregation To Entire District

By Grace Bassett
Staff Reporter

The Commissioners yesterday banned segregation in places of amusement throughout the District of Columbia.

Their decision extended to the whole city an 1869 law against such segregation in the "old city," bounded roughly by Rock Creek, Florida ave., and the Anacostia River.

The action was a second major step in the desegregation of the city's licensed establishments, comparing in import with the Supreme Court's ruling in the Thompson Restaurant case, against race discrimination in eating places here in June, 1953.

It killed the major question in a court case testing the 1869 Act—whether the ban could be applied to one part of the District and not to another.

Attorneys Charles E. Ford and H. Clifford Allder contended in a United States Court of Appeals brief that a city law must apply equally throughout the city. Otherwise, discrimination would be legal in one theater and not at another, Ford contended.

Alley Barred Negroes

He represented the Central Amusement Co., Inc., owner of a bowling alley at 1729 14th st. nw., in the "old city." Negroes were refused admission there in 1955, following public announcement by the Commissioners that the old law would be enforced.

The District initiated court action to make the alley conform and, so far, Municipal Courts have upheld the old law's validity and forbade discrimination at the alley. Alley managers petitioned the Appeals Court for review.

City briefs due Monday will argue that the Commissioners' action yesterday rendered the major question of the case "moot," Hubert Pair, assistant corporation counsel, said.

Ford, however, said the defense is studying whether city heads legally could extend the old law. If they lack such power, only Congress could properly take the action the Commissioners took yesterday, he explained, and such is the composition of Congress now that passage of race-angled laws appears unlikely. His studies of the question will determine his future course in the case, Ford said.

Called Police Regulation

Pair said defense investigation of the city's regulatory power will determine only that the commissioners are on firm ground. They have explicit power to promulgate police regulations and the regulation in question comes under that heading, Pair said.

Extension of the segregation ban has been urged for two years by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Robert E. McLaughlin, President of the Board of Commissioners, said the city heads' action was unanimous. They passed the regulation within two weeks of a visit from NAACP representatives, who again urged Commissioners to heed President Eisenhower's call for a nend to vestige of segregation in the Nation's capital.

The only other major question in the bowling alley case is whether an alley is, in the meaning of the old Act, a place of amusement. Lectures, concerts, exhibitions, circuses and theatrical entertainments are specifically cited. Although bowling alleys were operating in 1869, the law did not list them, Ford said. He maintained bowling alleys did not hold amusement licenses, paid no amusement taxes and charged no admission.

Today's Chuckle

If all employes who doze at the office were laid end to end, they would be much more comfortable.

Head of NAACP Charges Bias By Pentagon

Star P. 22-A
Fri. 5-4-56
Washington, D.C.

The president of the District branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last night charged the Defense Department with condoning segregation because it will not prevent Police Boys' Club solicitations in its buildings.

The charge, made by Eugene Davidson, was based on a letter from Assistant Secretary of Defense Carter L. Burgess to Mr. Davidson. The letter was a reply to Mr. Davidson's letter pointing to segregation in the Police Boys' Clubs in Washington.

The Defense Department will not prevent Washington police from asking money for the Police Boys' Club in the department's buildings, Mr. Burgess' letter said.

Mr. Davidson described as "doubletalk" a letter on the same subject from Maxwell Rabb, special assistant to President Eisenhower for minority problems.

No Law Violated

The letter from Mr. Burgess, dated April 23 and released by Mr. Davidson, said:

"The Department of Defense has not been apprised of any violation of law on the part of the Metropolitan Police Boys' Club. Accordingly, there is no valid basis for denying the Police Department the privilege they have had for a number of years to solicit funds in a public building such as the Pentagon.

"The issue you raised is between your association and the Metropolitan Police Department."

The letter also said "I do not believe it would be in the best interest of either your group or the department to use the authority of the Secretary of Defense in a manner which may be construed as an unwarranted exercise of the enforcement authority of other agencies of the Government."

New Hope Seen

On the action of the District Commissioners yesterday banning segregation in amusement places throughout the District, Mr. Davidson said:

"This action by the Commissioners gives us new hope that the new Board of Commissioners will do more than the last one to follow President Eisenhower's order to strike down every vestige of discrimination in Washington."

The local NAACP branch also announced yesterday that on May 17, the second anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling on school segregation, a drive will be held to supplement the regular $35,000 NAACP membership campaign.

George Fleming, chairman of the "Dollar - Day - for - Defense" drive, announced that the goal is $25,000—to be reached by individual contributions of $1.

About 100,000 addressed and stamped envelopes will be distributed to homes, churches and businesses.

Segregated Boys

Post + Times Herald
P. 26
Wed. 3-7-56

Big Brothers Club of Washington, which calls itself the alumni of the Boys' Club of Washington, is promoting a basketball game between an all-star team from the public high schools and a similar team from the Catholic League. Because of the ascendancy of the teams in the public high schools with predominantly Negro enrollment, many colored players have been chosen for the public school group.

Many colored children from the Washington area will buy tickets and journey to Ft. Myer to see the game. When the game is over, the colored players will be handed a shiny bauble, patted on the back, and told to return again next year to be exploited. The money raised from the game will be used to improve the services of the Boys' Club of Washington, but whenever a dusky face appears at the Boys' Club, the door will be slammed shut. And thus it is that the colored boy serves the purpose of his manipulators and then is told that he is unfit to join the youth of Washington in its daily life.

Little tragedies are enacted each day because of this policy of exclusion by the Washington Boys' Club. Stories are told of little white boys in the southeast area who have tried to take their colored companions to the Eastern branch of the club with them, only to have the latter halted at the door.

There is no scale to measure the depth of hurt in the heart of a boy who is denied his right to love, security, and the full measure of acceptance pledged in the Constitution of the United States and basic to our intrinsic moral beliefs. Likewise, there is no way to measure the harm that is done to those of the privileged group in warped values and a turning away from brotherhood.

In ancient Rome, Spartan slaves were pitted against each other and against beasts at the pleasure of the noblemen. They gave their lives to please the barbaric fancies of their captors. Poetic literature tells of the incident when Spartacus was denied, with cruel contempt, the privilege of burying his friend whom he had killed in the arena. They told him "there are no noblemen but Romans."

In this supposedly enlightened age, in this supposedly democratic country, we see a parallel to this tragic scene. The Board of Education of the District of Columbia saw fit to give its approval to this contest, placing its blessing upon the participation of the public school players and coaches, as well as posting of placards and the sale of tickets in our high schools. When the question of moral values was raised by one member of the board, another blandly commented that the boys did not have to participate if they did not want to. This kind of easy virtue conveniently shifts the responsibility from the shoulders of those who should be most concerned to the shoulders of the trusting young people whom they are pledged to serve and protect.

It is inconceivable how the Board of Education of the District of Columbia could be so unconcerned over a matter of basic morality, supposedly established in the board's high-sounding statement of principles in reference to integration and democratization. The board, nevertheless, sees fit not only to have traffic with undemocratic agencies in our community, but even to plan with them to restage the ancient tragedy of the Roman arena.

The Boys' Club of Washington apparently feels no obligation for the social growth or the general welfare of the colored children of the community. It is almost as if its program deliberately seeks to widen the gap between children in the community. So far as the Boys' Club is concerned the colored child either does not exist or, if existing, is not worthy of notice. This is ethical nihilism.

Rather than face insult on public vehicles, the people of Montgomery, Ala., trudge daily over miles of city streets to assert their belief in the dignity of man. Will the boys of this community give their hearts in this modern Roman arena to fatten the ancient dragons of intolerance?

MARGARET JUST BUTCHER.
Washington.

Group Backs Integration Of Citizen Associations

Star Tues. 5-22-56 P. 26-A

Washington, D.C.

Members of the Shepherd Park Citizens' Association last night supported in part Comissioner Robert E. McLaughlin's suggestion calling for the integration of Washington's civic and citizens' associations.

The citizens' motion asked that the Federation of Citizens' Association delete the word "white" as a criterion of membership. The group also asked that that the word "white," in reference to membership in local citizens' associations, not be a mandatory requirement for association with Federation.

Permissive Move

The group made it clear it is not calling for mass integration in the various associations but that those who wish to integrate should be allowed to do so.

In other business, the citizens amended their by laws, changing the meetings from monthly to four times a year and giving the executive board power to act for the association in an emergency.

The group also voted to support a neighborhood baseball team for the summer and appointed a committee to study the school situation and boundary change at Paul Junior High School after hearing a talk by the principal, Thomas Ferry. The citizens also heard a talk by Milo F. Christiansen, District superintendent of recreation.

President Re-elected

Mrs. Samuel Bigio was re-elected president of the association. Other officers elected were Stanley Hayman, vice president; Frederick Umhau, secretary; Louis Baskin, treasurer; Walter D. Newrath and Comdr. Morton Neely, members of the executive board, and A. L. Villano and Dr. Joseph Manley, delegates to the Federation of Citizens' Association.

Mrs. Bigio conducted the meeting in Shepherd Park School Fourteenth street and Kalmia road N.W.

Seize Photo At Rights Bill Hearing

Defender P. 1 Sat. 5-26-56

Chicago, Ill.

By ROSE McKEE

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D) S. C., confiscated last week the film of a cameraman who snapped a picture of the Senator with an attorney for the NAACP.

Johnston, who was presiding at a hearing on civil rights, ordered a guard to take away the film of Theodore Gaffney, a photographer for the NAACP magazine, "Crisis," and the Chicago Defender.

Gaffney had taken a picture of Johnston and NAACP Atty. Clarence Mitchell.

The incident occured just after Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, jr., testified in support of President Eisenhower's four-point civil-rights program.

Johnston told newsmen he was acting under authority of judiciary committee chairman James O. Eastland (D) Miss., who announced at the outset that no pictures would be allowed after the hearing got under way.

Eastland left before Brownell completed his testimony and Johnston recessed the hearing so that Senators could go to the floor for votes that were about due.

Mitchell came forward to protest that he had no chance to be heard.

Gaffney said that when he snapped the picture of the Senator and Mitchell, the hearing was already recessed. He charged the incident was an invasion of freedom of the press.

Photographers who regularly cover the senate hearings snapped their pictures of Brownell at the outset and left after Eastland announced no pictures could be taken during the proceedings.

Brownell in his testimony opposed extension of criminal penalties to current "extraordinary sensitive and delicate area of civil rights."

Senator Thomas C. Hennings (D) Mo., referred to the fact that the administration's civil rights program was unveiled only last month.

Brownell reported that the Justice Department in the last three years has had the "most vigorous" civil rights record in its history.

He listed among other things the two-year litigation which led to the Supreme Court's decision against racial segregation in the schools.

But Brownell agreed with Hennings that "these things" were initiated by previous Democratic administrations.

Snapped With Negro, Senator Seizes Film

Herald Tribune P.

Thurs. 5-17-56

At Civil Rights Hearing, Johnston Of S.C. Balks Negro Photographer

New York, N.Y.

By The United Press

WASHINGTON, May 16.—Sen. Olin D. Johnston, D., S. C., presiding at a civil rights hearing, today confiscated the film of a Negro photographer who snapped a picture of him with an attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Sen. Johnston said he acted under the authority of Sen. James O. Eastland, D., Miss., chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. He said Senator Eastland had directed that no pictures be taken after the committee hearing started.

Herald Tribune—United Press

Sen. Olin D. Johnston

The incident came after the committee heard a plea from Attorney General Herbert Brownell jr. for approval of President Eisenhower's civil rights program, including protection of the Negro's right to vote in both primary and general elections involving Federal offices.

Guard Takes Film

A guard took away two film holders from Theodore Gaffney, a photographer for the N. A. A. C. P. magazine, "Crisis," after Mr. Gaffney had photographed Senator Johnson and N. A. A. C. P. attorney Clarence Mitchell.

Mr. Gaffney contended the hearing had recessed when he took the picture.

The guard who seized the film said Senate Sergeant-at-Arms Joseph C. Duke would decide what to do with it. Senator Johnston told reporters it should be destroyed. Mr. Mitchell insisted the incident was an invasion of freedom of the press and occurred only because Mr. Gaffney is a Negro.

Mr. Duke told reporters later that it was up to Senator Johnston, as acting chairman, to decide what to do with the film. He said the chairman had authority to forbid pictures in the committee room.

Hummon's Clague

Say what you will about Georgia's Herman Talmadge, his impending arrival in Washington as the state's junior senator (he is unopposed in the Nov. 6 general election) has already made him the prime villain-to-be.

For instance, reading *The New York Times'* editorial analysis of the 35 Senate races, it seems that *The Times* seeds Hummon the No. 1 nogoodnik ranking over such contenders as McCarthy and Eastland. Discussing the voting theory which argues that you should vote for one candidate or the other merely to insure that the respective party will achieve a majority for organization purposes, *The Times* says:

. . . According to this reasoning the individual voter would have to decide whether it is better to vote for a Democratic senatorial candidate, and thereby help retain Senator Eastland's chairmanship of the judiciary committee, or to vote for a Republican candidate, and thereby help restore the government operations committee to Senator McCarthy. It seems to us that the sensible thing for the independent voter to do is to weigh each of the candidates on his merits, and not worry about whether the selection would help put Democrats or Republicans in a position to organize Congress.

This is sound advice, but you get the idea that *The Times*, which has been outspoken in its criticism of both senators, is not as concerned about their future roles in the Senate as, reading on you find, it is distressed over the arrival of Talmadge. Hummon's prospective membership in the Senate *The Times* dismisses as just plain "horrifying," too terrible to discuss.

Thus Talmadge will go to Washington with a ready-made following, the likes of which few new senators have been able to claim. His every word will be reported and scrutinized for a hint of plans to bomb the U.S. Supreme Court, make off with the hermetically sealed Bill of Rights, or organize a special committee for the rejuvenation of the Confederacy.

Cook Assails 'Do-Nothings' on Segregation

ROME, Ga., Oct. 25 (AP)—The South needs to "evaluate the sincerity of public officials and the press with circumspection" if it wishes to maintain segregation of the races, Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook declared Thursday.

In an address prepared for a luncheon meeting of the Rome Exchange Club, Cook said "moderates" on the segregation issue too often adopt a "do-nothing approach." Such inaction, he added, can "lead to guns, bayonets, tanks and violence" as it did in Tennessee and Kentucky.

He said that the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision "may and can be circumvented honorably and within the law."

"Each new revelation of the serious social problems that are always provoked when the two races are mixed in the school rooms shows conclusively," Cook said, "that we simply cannot afford to comply with the court's decision."

'Do nothing' policy on segregation is called mistake

ROME, Ga., Oct. 25—(AP)—The South needs to "evaluate the sincerity of public officials and the press with circumspection" if it wishes to maintain segregation of the races, Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook declared today.

In an address prepared for a luncheon meeting of the Rome Exchange Club, Cook said "moderates" on the segregation issue too often adopt a "do-nothing approach." Such action, he added, can "lead to guns, bayonets, tanks and violence" as it did in Tennessee and Kentucky.

Cook, an outspoken foe of integration and a leader in the fight to keep the South's traditional segregated schools, charged that Govs. Frank Clement of Tennessee and A. B. Chandler of Kentucky followed an "ostrich doctrine" in dealing with school segregation.

"THE GOOD PEOPLE of those states were lulled to sleep until they felt the sharp and cold points of bayonets in their backs, because they, in their constitutional right, publicly assembled and protested the admission of Negroes to their public white schools," Cook said.

"Those bayonets," he added, "were not thrust . . . on orders from the President of the United States, but rather by the two governors who said, 'We believe in the practice segregation, but there is no concern—let nature take its course—do nothing and say nothing and all will be well.'"

"HOW LONG," Cook asked, "will we tolerate such irresponsible leadership in the South?"

He said that the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision "may and can be circumvented honorably and within the law."

"Each new revelation of the serious social problems that are always provoked when the two races are mixed in the school rooms shows conclusively," Cook said, "that we simply cannot afford to comply with the court's decision."

Segregation Test Hearing Delayed

An Arlington white woman arrested for sitting in the Negro section at a segregated political meeting was granted a continuance yesterday to Nov. 15 by Arlington County Court Judge Paul D. Brown, so she can seek counsel.

Faith Bissell, 43, of 3007 N. 3d st., a librarian, is charged with failing to heed a police order to move from the Negro to the white section at a political meeting at Thomas Jefferson Junior High School.

Her case will test a recent ruling by Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond Jr., on segregated public meetings.

38a 1956

Homes Needed Near Duty

Post Times Herald P. 1

Negro Nike Crew Housing Hard to Find in D. C. Area

Sat 3-24-56

Washington, D. C.

The Army is running into difficulty in securing housing for Negro members of its Nike guided missile bases in nearby Maryland and Virginia.

An Army source said yesterday that owners of homes near the sites have refused to lease housing to the Army without a provision barring Negroes. The Army cannot legally sign such agreements.

The Army said it was conforming to local feeling and was solving the problem by turning over the search for Negro housing to company and battery commanders. These officers seek out housing for the Negroes in their particular unit, taking the customs and feeling of the community into consideration.

Many Negro technicians have been assigned to the Nike defenses ringing Washington. The Army wants housing for their men near the Nike sites so that off duty men can respond in a hurry.

The Army is authorized to lease 125 housing units near the sites in this area for up to $150 a month each. So far, it has only been able to get about 40 per cent of the authorization.

This causes a problem because many of the Negro skilled technicians are reluctant to re-enlist if housing is not available.

An Army spokesman said yesterday that the service does not "recognize this housing difficulty as a problem."

"We aren't going into a neighborhood and force any of our men where they aren't wanted.

"So we are conforming to the neighborhood wishes. We have given the job of getting housing for the Negroes to the company commanders, who live in the community and know the feeling. He can find suitable quarters usually and no one is upset.

"In time, the problem will resolve itself."

In the Philadelphia area, the Nike housing was leased quickly. But in Norfolk, the Army did not try to lease quarters under the same authorization. Instead, it is proceeding under another law under which private builders sell housing to the Government.

'The Master' Directs Nike's Operation

'Missile Master,' electronic control system, to direct Nike defense in area. Page 22.

'No riot park' in D. C.

P. 6

Afro-American

Sat 4-14-56

Baltimore, Md.

By LARRY STILL

WASHINGTON

Despite distorted published reports, no knives were found at the scene of the disorder in Fort DuPont Park, Monday, according to Chief Harold F. Stewart of the U.S. Park Police.

Chief Stewart said none of the reports from his men mentioned finding any knife, although one youth had been charged after police grabbed him for allegedly throwing a sharp instrument.

The chief park officer said none of the sticks and stones allegedly used as weapons in the battle with park officers were gathered as evidence either, because they are "all part of the natural terrain."

* * *

"IT WAS NOTHING unusual. Our men had been expecting trouble for sometime. We have been luckier than most cities which have much more teen-gang trouble. I think Washington is far better off than other cities its size."

The officer made the statement, Wednesday, correcting sensational and erroneous published accounts of the disturbances by egg-rolling youths who became involved in the altercation with a mounted park policeman.

Approximately 300-500 youths were directly involved in the melee instead of 2,000 originally reported. A total of 17 youths were picked up by park police and turned over to District officers. Only one 17-year-old boy was charged with disorderly conduct.

* * *

"OUR MEN WENT into the park looking for trouble," Chief Stewart admitted in explaining circumstances that led up to wild melee about 1 p.m.

"We had expected it every since we had a similar situation out there last year. That's why we doubled the guard and told our men to be on the lookout for the first sign of any trouble.

"Officer J. J. Conlin was the first man to notice these gangs over in the shrubbery throwing stones at a car. He rushed up to them on his horse. But, they didn't break and run as they have in the past. They turned on him," Chief Stewart stated.

"Pvt. James O. Nelson had to drive up to the crowd with his patrol car or he might have been killed—our men exercised great restraint in not using their clubs or guns," the chief added.

The park police chieftain said he did not think his men used the wrong tactics in rushing upon the teen-age crowd. "That is the usual procedure in handling public disturbances," he stated.

* * *

OFFICER CONLIN, a rangy mounted policeman with the park service, was involved last summer in an altercation with the Rev. James H. Mayo of Ward Memorial AME Church at the time the minister accused the officer of assaulting him.

The park policeman arrested the minister on Minnesota Ave. near Benning Rd., NE, after the Rev. Mayo passed Private Conlin and his horse in a trailer. Private Conlin had the clergyman booked at Precinct 14 for disorderly conduct.

* * *

PRIVATE CONLIN was treated Monday at Casualty hospital for abrasions of the shoulder but was not admitted. "He hasn't made out a complete report of what happened yet. He has been off on sick leave," Chief Stewart stated.

D.C.

Park policeman Pvt. Cornelius Vermillion was also reported injured but refused treatment at Casualty Hospital. Private Conlin's horse which was also reported cut by one of the missing knives did not require treatment, either. No District police were reported injured.

Chief Stewart issued a statement earlier in the week stating that the underlying cause of the current teen-gang trouble is the lack of adequate treatment of juvenile cases in the District. "I did not criticise Judge Edith Cockrill," (Juvenile Court), the office emphasized.

The chief said he thinks the real problem is the lack of adequate facilities in the District for the "Rehabilitation or punishment" of known juvenile problems who have not realized the consequence of their actions.

'Get that film', senator orders

Afro-American P. 2
38a D.C.
Sat. 5-26-56

WASHINGTON

"Get that film!"

This is what Theodore Gaffney, local photographer, said he heard Senator Olin D. Johnston (Dem., S. C.) tell a Capitol guard Wednesday, seconds after he had shot a picture of the southern senator with Clarence Mitchell, director, Washington NAACP Bureau.

"I have been taking pictures at Senate hearings before and no one ever stopped me. I had already taken several shots before Johnston said anything. Other photographers had been taking pictures all morning.

* * *

"JUST BEFORE I snapped the picture of Johnston and Mitchell, a white photographer took a picture of Attorney-General Herbert Brownell less than six feet away.

"No one said anything. But, when I took my picture, I saw Senator Johnston turn to the guard. The only reason he did it was because I was colored and got a picture of him with an NAACP representative."

This is the way Mr. Gaffney explained the incident Thursday. The photographer said the Capitol guard seized two film holders from him from among several shots he had taken.

"I don't know what pictures I got, because they haven't been developed yet. I am still trying to get my other film back."

Sat. 5-26-56

The guard who seized the holders said Senate Sgt. at Arms Joseph C. Duke would decide what to do with the confiscated film.

P. 2

Mr. Mitchell, said the incident was an invasion of freedom of the press and an official protest has been filed. Mr. Gaffney had not gotten his film back at press time Thursday.

photographer. P. 2

Mr. Gaffney snapped a picture of the Senator talking with Clarence Mitchell, executive director, Washington Bureau, NAACP.

The Senator said he acted under authority of Senator James O. Eastland, Judiciary Committee chairman, who directed that no pictures be taken during committee hearing.

Senator Johnston did not tell the whole truth.

A few seconds before Mr. Gaffney snapped the picture of the Senator and Mr. Mitchell, a white photographer also shot a picture. He was within six feet of Attorney General Herbert Brownell. No confiscation was ordered.

Sat. 5-26-56

Senator Johnston ordered the confiscation of Mr. Gaffney's films because he is afraid of political repercussions back home. He obviously believes he can get away with it, since Mr. Gaffney is colored.

In doing this, the Senator resorted to police state tactics. Apparently such is the practice in South Carolina, particularly where colored people are concerned.

But of all the places in the world, this type of dictatorial discrimination should not be permitted in the nation's capital.

Police state tactics

(An Editorial)

Afro-American

Senator John D. Johnston (Dem., S. C.) on Wednesday ordered the confiscation of films belonging to Theodore Gaffney, Washington, D. C.,

RIGHTS' HEARING ENDS IN FLARE-UP

Times P. 24-C

Senator Johnston and Negro Photographer in Clash—Brownell Pushes Plan

Thurs. 5-17-56

By ANTHONY LEWIS

Special to The New York Times.

New York N.Y.

WASHINGTON, May 16—A calm Senate hearing on civil rights proposals ended today in a flare-up between Senator Olin D. Johnston, Democrat of South Carolina, and Theodore Gaffney, a Negro photographer.

Senator Johnston ordered a guard to seize Mr. Gaffney's film after he had taken a picture of the Senator in conversation with Clarence Mitchell, Washington representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mr. Mitchell is a Negro.

Mr. Mitchell called the incident a violation of freedom of the press and said it happened because Mr. Gaffney was a Negro. Senator Johnston denied any intention to be discriminatory. He said Mr. Gaffney had violated rules against picture-taking, and he said he would order the confiscated film destroyed.

Tonight, however, it was learned that the guard had seized the wrong film. Mr. Gaffney kept the plate showing the Senator and Mr. Mitchell talking. This fact seemed to put the issues of discrimination and press freedom into some confusion.

Foe of Rights Plan

Senator Johnston, like most other members of Congress from the South, is a vigorous opponent of civil rights legislation. He is up for re-election this year, has no opponent in the Democratic primary and is therefore virtually assured of winning.

The hearing today, before the Senate Judiciary Committee, was devoted otherwise to testimony by Herbert Brownell Jr., the Attorney General, in behalf of the Administration's civil rights proposals. They were submitted by Mr. Brownell on April 9 and call on Congress to:

¶Set up a bipartisan commission to investigate civil rights violations.

¶Establish a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department.

¶Give the Justice Department new power to bring civil actions against attempts to deprive citizens of the right to vote or otherwise interfere with their civil rights.

The Adminstraton plan has been approved intact by the House Judiciary Committee. Its chances do not look bright in the Senate committee. If the bills should reach the Senate floor, a southern filibuster is regarded as almost certain to bury them.

Hennings in Protest

Most of the hearing was spent in a protest by Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr., Democrat of Missouri, against what he called Mr. Brownell's delay on the civil rights issue. He said he had asked the Attorney General's views on the question for more than a year, but had never got an answer until today.

"I came up here today in a frame of mind to be all the help I could," Mr. Brownell said finally, "and if I've made errors in the past I'm sorry." He added that, whatever the delay on legislative proposals, the Justice Department had been more active than ever in recent years on civil rights matters in the courts and in administrative actions.

Senators Everett M. Dirksen, Illinois Republican, and Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Wyoming Democrat, got into a brief discussion of political credit for civil rights action. Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas, observed in a low voice: "I'm sure no one ever suspicioned that this issue was tainted in the least degree with politics."

Senator Johnston presided through most of the hearing in place of the chairman, Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, who was absent. At the start, Senator Johnston made an announcement that is routine in Congressional hearings—that photographers should get their pictures before testimony began, because no pictures would be allowed afterward.

Most of the cameramen took their shots immediately and left. One did snap some pictures during the hearing, but Senator Johnston said afterward he had not noticed the man.

Mr. Gaffney, a free lance photographer, was taking pictures for Jet magazine. He said he went ahead and shot one of Senator Johnston and Mr. Mitchell because he thought the hearing was over.

Whether Jet magazine would print the picture Mr. Gaffney saved was not yet decided tonight by the editors of Jet.

PHOTOS OF JOHNSTON TALKING TO NEGRO SEIZED AT HEARING

Evening Star P. 2-A
Washington, D. C.

By the Associated Press

Senator Olin Johnston, Democrat of South Carolina, yesterday had a Capitol policeman seize the plates of a Negro photographer who snapped pictures of Senator Johnston talking to Clarence Mitchell, Washington representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Thurs. 5-17-56

Mr. Mitchell had gone forward to protest to Senator Johnston against adjourning a Senate judiciary committee hearing on civil rights legislation before Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, testified.

Senator Johnston, presiding in place of Chairman Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, had banged his gavel and announced he was going to have to recess the hearing because committee members had to go to the Senate floor to vote.

Theodore Gaffney, a photographer for Crisis, publication of the NAACP, snapped pictures of the two men talking.

Senator Johnston, who had told photographers that they were to take no pictures after the hearing started, directed a Capitol policeman to seize Mr. Gaffney's plates. Mr. Gaffney, protesting that the hearing had ended, handed over two plates.

The policeman told Mr. Gaffney that he would preserve the plates and let him know, after checking with the Senate sergeant-at-arms, Joseph Duke, whether he could have them back.

Senator Johnson said the hearing was not closed at the time. "I could have gone on with it," he said.

District Heads Assailed on Integration

Post P. 25
Fri. 4-20-56

Fire Department, Police Boy's Club Cited by NAACP

Wash., D. C.

A delegation from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People charged the District Commissioners yesterday with "staging a sit-down strike" on President Eisenhower's integration program.

Eugene Davidson, local NAACP president, called for realistic integration on three fronts: Fire Department, Police Boys' club, and amusement places.

Only token integration exists in the fire department, the NAACP leader argued, with only eight Negro firemen on duty around the clock in otherwise white companies and no white officiers serving on Negro crews.

Under the "silent treatment" of their white coworkers, Davidson charges, the eight integrated Negro firemen have become virtual "martyrs."

He recommended at least 50-50 integration in each of the five fire companies.

Fire Chief Millard Sutton, responding to Davidson's comments, said 117 of the 1056 men in the department are Negro. Four companies have white officers, he said, and one (Engine 4) has Negro officers.

"If the department were left alone," he added, "the problem could be worked out without friction."

Davidson also scored the Commissioners for failing to lead an integration move in the Police Boys' Club. He suggested Commissioners set up a two-week plan to integrate the 14,000 Negro and 8000 white boys in the clubs.

City fathers were also urged to issue a District-wide regulation forbidding discrimination

Davidson praised progress toward integration made during the first two years of the Eisenhower Administration. But, he added, city fathers have buckled under criticism that the city is moving too fast.

Speaking for the board, Commissioner Robert E. McLaughlin promised "close attention" to all three of these items.

He said he already had been assured by Thomas G. Carney, president of the boys' clubs, that club officers plan to discuss eventual integration with Negro leaders within a few weeks.

TREND REPORTED TO RESEGREGATE

Times Picayune
New Orleans, La.

White Residents Leaving Negro Neighborhoods

Mon. 9-24-56

By EDMOND LE BRETON

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23 (AP)—Rep. James C. Davis (D-Ga) said that the trend in Washington is toward a school system in effect resegregated, as white residents leave neighborhoods with large Negro school enrollments.

Meanwhile a group of capital residents, organized as the Washington Committee for the Public Schools, declared that members of the school investigating subcommittee Davis heads "have little or no interest in determining the full facts respecting the District of Columbia schools."

A spokesman for the Washington committee said it will begin early this week issuing "factual information" about Washington's integrated educational system "to bring some balance" to the picture of integration and its effects being built up in testimony before the House investigators.

Mostly Southerners

The House District of Columbia subcommittee investigating public schools here, with special attention to integration, is made up predominantly of Southerners, and only Southern members so far have attended its hearings, which began last Wednesday.

Preliminary investigations were conducted by a largely Southern staff headed by William Gerber of Memphis, Tenn., subcommittee counsel, who does most of the questioning of witnesses.

Davis referred, in an interview, to testimony by several principals and teachers of formerly all-white schools that Negro enrollment has increased from year to year under integration, now beginning its third year.

Davis said the testimony convinced him that integration has hastened the change of some Washington neighborhoods from white to Negro and has stepped up the movement of white families to the suburbs. He noted, however, that not all Washington neighborhoods are so affected.

Members Listed

"What it seems to show," he said, "is segregation coming again in effect as people keep moving out."

Formation of the Washington Committee for the Public Schools was announced by its chairman, Gerhard Van Arkel, Washington attorney.

Listed as members were a number of business, professional, labor, religious and political figures of various faiths and parties. Among them were former District Commissioner F. Joseph Donohue, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, Mrs. Eugene Meyer, wife of the chairman of the board of the Washington Post and Times-Herald and an active participant in a number of educational undertakings; Joseph L. Rauh, national director of Americans for Democratic Action, and Victor G. Reuther, Washington representative of the United Auto Workers.

Body Back In Session On Monday

380-DC

School, Seashore Park, Bus Boycott Case To Be Aired

By FRANK B. ALLEN

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The Supreme Court reconvened Monday after a four-month vacation and faced a docket heavy with subversion cases and appeals from school integration decisions.

For Justice Sherman Minton, there will be just three sessions before his retirement Oct. 15 for health reasons. He will join in two conferences in which the justices decide whether to hear arguments on cases but will not sit in on the arguments themselves.

The court's work will really begin on Oct. 8, when it rules on whether to review a long list of pending appeals and then proceed to hear arguments the rest of the week.

Norfolk, Va.

THE WORKLOAD is heavy, indicating that the previous records in the number of cases filed will be broken. The number this year is nearly 470, as compared to 437 on Sept. 30, 1955.

Pilot 10-6-56

Arguments on three subversion cases are scheduled for the week of Oct. 8. The first is on 14 West Coast communists sentenced to five years each for conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence.

* * *

THE NET involves Pittsburgh Communist Steve Nelson and four others similar sentenced in Federal court. Last year, Nelson won a Supreme Court decision that the federal government has exclusive jurisdiction in such cases.

Also pending for argument during the week of Oct. 8 is the question of whether communists can be convicted solely on the basis of membership in the party. The test is in the case of Irving Junius Scales, a North Carolina red leader, and Claude Lightfoot of Chicago.

* * *

THE FIRST appeal in an expected new crop resulting from efforts to integrate southern schools is already on file from Mansfield, Tex., and a ruling on whether to review it is expected within a few weeks.

There is another from Sumter county, South Carolina, brought by several residents of Turkish descent. Although they are regarded as white people, they have separate schools and are seeking integration.

Other pending racial cases, not yet accepted for review, involve whether Virginia may lease a Seashore Park to a private operator who might impose segregation, and the Montgomery, Ala., bus case.

Theaters' Boycott Is Urged

Herald P.6-C
Thu. 5-4-56
Miami, Fla.

NAACP Calls For Action in Delaware

DOVER, Del. —(AP)— The Dover chapter of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People has called for a Negro boycott of five Delaware movie theaters.

The boycott against segregated theaters in three towns was announced Wednesday night by Bernard Frisby, a member of the chapter's committee on integration.

"The NAACP feels its members, as well as all Negroes, are degraded, humiliated and unjustly treated by this existing situation," Frisby said.

The boycott is against two theaters at Dover, the state capital, one at Smyrna and one at Middletown. It also was called against a drive-in theater south of Dover. Frisby said Negroes are required to park on one side at the drive-in.

Segregation at the drive-in was denied by Miss Muriel Schwartz, who said her family owns all five theaters. Negroes are not sold tickets for downstairs at the four regular theaters but are allowed to use wash rooms and make purchases at the candy counters.

Delaware Political Parties Eye Segregation Issue

Daily World Lux. 7-24-56
Atlanta, Ga.

DOVER, Del. — (ANP) — To mention or not to mention the segregation issue in their respective platforms is easily the most perplexing problem confronting the two major parties as they begin preparing for their state conventions here next month.

Both the Republican and Democratic parties will select candidates for the statewide tickets in the November election and adopt the platforms for their campaigns. Up for bids are the offices of governor, lieutenant-governor, U. S. representative at large, auditor and treasurer.

Opposing GOP incumbent Gov. J. Caleb Boggs for the gubernatorial post are two Democratic candidates, J. Tylor McConnell, Wilmington industrialist, who has the backing of the Democrats; and State Sen. Walter J. Hoey of Milford, who is being strongly supported by the anti-segregation forces in the state.

It is this latter bloc which is causing all the worry among the political parties. Neither party has said whether it will mention the segregation issue at all in its platform.

The way the Democrats look at it, if the issue is not mention, it will cause trouble within the ranks; and if it is, and not handled properly, there will still be trouble.

Back of all this anxiety lies the record of the present legislative session on matters of segregation. The legislature has, for instance, refused to take any action toward integrating public schools. Instead, it appropriated about $10,000,000 to improve Negro schools.

Failure of a federal court to take political leaders off the hook several months ago by issuing orders compelling some school districts to integrate classes has both parties jittery. The court, in all but one case, told the districts that their areas were not ready for integration. In the one district excepted, a program leading to integration brought a citizens mass meeting to protest the plan.

Integration successful at Wilmington's 3 pools

Afro-American P. 3
Sat. 9-22-56

WILMINGTON, Dela. — Wilmington's city swimming pools operated on an integrated basis this past summer for the first time in the city's history.

"Not a single objectionable incident" was reported, Maurice duPont Lee, president of the Board of Park Commissioners, said.

Baltimore

He noted, however, that attendance was down somewhat but pointed out that the slight decrease in attendance at the three pools probably was caused by the weather.

Md.

* * *

THE "SATISFACTORY results," Mr. Lee said, "can be attributed, at least in part, to not publicizing the integration of the pools in advance of the opening date."

The integration policy went into effect on June 16 at Kruse, Price Runn, and Canby Park pools. The pools closed on Labor Day. Kruse pool formerly was all colored.

He did say, however, that several telephone calls were received from whites objecting to the new policy.

Mr. Lee said the board decided against announcing the new policy so there would be no time for argument before the desegregation was in effect.

* * *

ON ONE OCCASION, a white man came to purchase a ticket to swim at one of the pools and became disgusted after the attendant told him the pools were integrated following his inquiry.

Mr. Lee said the attendant asked whether the man had ever been in the Army. The man said yes. The attendant asked why he objected to swimming with colored persons since he had participated in the Army integration program.

The man then purchased his ticket and went to the pool without further conversation.

38a 1956

DR. W.E.B. DuBOIS

DuBois Urges Negroes To Study Achievements

Daily Worker N.Y.

Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 12-12-56

NEW YORK — (ANP) — W.E.B. DuBois, noted Negro author and lecturer, has urged Negro ~~organizations~~ such as newspapers, colleges and organizations to take cognizance that the year 1957 will usher in a series of centenaries important to the history of the Negro.

38a

DuBois pointed out that 1957 marks the 100th anniversary of the Dred Scott decision; 1959 brings the 100th anniversary of the death of John Brown; 1963, the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation; 1961-65, the 100th anniversary of the participation of American Negroes in the Civil War, 1968, the 100th anniversary of the death of Thaddeus Stevens, of the enfranchisement of the Freedmen and the Freedmen's Bureau; 1972, the 100th anniversary of the birth of Paul Laurence Dunbar; and 1976, the 100th anniversary of the Bargan of 1876.

The noted Negro leader suggested that these dates should be marked and celebrated in history by Negroes, "but not as occasions for controversies or exacerbation of race hate."

Said DuBois: "There are many other significant anniversaries which recall Negro history and the cultural tie of the black man with American history. If we neglect to mark this history, it may be distorted or forgotten. Already repeated efforts are being made to prove that slavery was not the cause of the Civil War; to minimize the part of Negroes in the slavery controversy and the war; to slander friends of the Negro, and to represent his enfranchisement as a serious mistake."

He said these occasions should be celebrater and dedicated to calm and scientific inquiry into the past, participated in by persons of authority, white and black, northern and southern.

"I suggest that these celebrations be varied in character, place and sponsorship; we have only to be sure that no important event or person is forgotten in these centenaries of the first participation in the civilization of the U. S., of the Negro masses as free citizens," DuBois said.

38a 1956

By- TILL DURDIN

Integration In The North

Negro's Lot In New York Is Better—By Comparison

This is the first of a series of articles dealing with racial integration in thickly populated areas in the North.

Courier-Journal

By TILLMAN DURDIN
New York Times Service

New York, April 23.—A Negro migrant to New York from the Deep South recently observed: "I'd rather be a lamppost in New York than the mayor of a city in Alabama."

His remark summed up the state of Negro-white relations in New York City.

The consensus of experts is that conditions for the Negro here are the best among the major cities of the country. Certainly they are better than in Alabama.

Louisville, Ky.

Only Comparatively

Yet New York is only comparatively better. There is gross discrimination against Negroes here, and in many respects they are the oppressed class of the city.

Negroes are barred from most private housing. As a consequence, the low-income majority must live in the racial ghettos of Harlem, the East Bronx, Brooklyn, Jamaica, Queens, and Morrisania in the Bronx.

Many fields of employment are closed to Negroes. In many enterprises Negroes get the lower-pay, lower-grade jobs. Elementary- and junior-high-school education for Negroes is inferior.

In some instances, the zoning of school districts prevents Negroes from attending higher-standard integrated schools or all-white schools. The result is de facto school segregation.

Legally Equal

The Negro in New York lives in a community that, in principle at least, has set its face against racial discrimination. There are no White Citizens' Councils here.

Indeed, no public figure or organization and no newspaper openly advocates legalized segregation or similar measures of unequal treatment for the Negro. On the contrary, public pronouncements regularly condemn discrimination.

The City Administration from Mayor Robert Wagner on down is commited to a policy of non-discrimination and racial equality.

In theory, then, the Negro in New York lives in a climate of freedom. State laws and City ordinances forbidding discrimination because of race, color, or creed support his right to equal status and treatment.

Here the Negro can ride without restriction on any public conveyance. He has the legal right to go on an equal basis to any hotel, restaurant, park, beach, swimming pool, or theater.

By subterfuge, attempts are sometimes made to exclude Negroes from hotels, restaurants, and other places of public accommodation or amusement. But if the Negro chooses to take up the issue, the law is on his side.

In a number of cases in recent years Negroes have won damages for instances of exclusion, and attempts at discrimination are now infrequent. On the other hand, Negroes tend to shun places where they know they would not be welcome.

Many Live Side by Side

Many whites, on their own and in association with Negroes, work constantly for a fair deal for the Negro. Despite the virtually all-colored ghettos, in many parts of the city Negroes and whites live harmoniously together, go to school together, play together, work together, and visit together.

Wide World Photo

HULEN E. JACK
Borough president

Negroes vote and thus wield increasing political power as their number grows. Education and job opportunities expand yearly, enhancing the economic status of Negroes.

Negro income has more than trebled in the last two decades, and the number of well-to-do and even wealthy Negroes increases steadily.

Many Are Successful

New York City has a high proportion of the nation's outstandingly successful Negroes.

Manhattan's Borough president, Hulen E. Jack, is a Negro.

Among other Negroes in important posts in the City Government are Arthur C. Ford, commissioner of water, gas, and electricity supply; Robert J. Mangum, deputy commissioner of police; Ann Hedgeman, special assistant to the Mayor, and Robert C. Weaver, State rent-control commissioner.

Dr. Thomas Matthews, a Negro, recently was made chief neurosurgeon at the Coney Island Hospital. Dr. John Hope Franklin was appointed a short time ago to head of the history department of Brooklyn College.

Many Have Good Jobs

Thousands of other Negroes in the city hold important positions in the professions, in entertainment, and in industry. The nine-member Board of Education includes a Negro, the Rev. John M. Coleman.

An era of marked improvement in the city's treatment of Negroes began with the 1945 enactment of the State law against discrimination in employment. The State Commission Against Discrimination was set up.

It was empowered to hear complaints, hold hearings, and issue orders to obtain enforcement of the law.

New York's pioneer law inspired similar legislation in many other states. In this state, it has been broadened from time to time.

Authority Enlarged

The discrimination commission's authority has been enlarged during the Harriman Administration to include public and public-assisted housing.

Separate legislation has come into being during the last decade to deal with discrimination in education and insurance. The Supreme Court's decision in 1954 forbidding segregation in public schools added the weight of federal judicial opinion to State policies in education.

In New York City the decision was greeted with the official promises of an intensified effort to achieve integration in the City schools.

New Unit Being Formed

A new 15-member commission on intergroup relations for the city is now being formed to reinforce and supplement work being done by other agencies in the race-relations field. A new commission on integration is formulating recommendations for further integration of the City's public schools.

Thus the enabling agencies and a framework of laws and policies exist for the promotion of racial equality and harmony here.

Experts agree that progress is being made. No serious violence between racial elements in the city has occurred for more than a decade.

Prejudices Still Evident

However, the Negroes are far from satisfied with things as they are. Racial prejudices are still evident. In some cases legal provisions are evaded.

Negroes believe that improvement is not nearly as fast as it could be if all official and unofficial agencies pushed with full energy and determination.

The root of most evils, it is generally agreed, lies in the housing problems.

Negroes are refused tenancy in most of the private housing in the city outside the predominantly Negro areas. Even Negroes with good incomes often cannot get accomodations they can afford.

The majority of Negroes have low incomes and can afford only cheap housing. New York has a serious shortage of low-income housing.

Housing Responsible

To a great extent the housing situation is responsible for the educational inequalities in the city. Because Negro and white citizens live apart, school zoning results in separate schools.

Children in elementary and junior-high schools are required to attend the school in their zone. Thus about 70 per cent of the city's schools are segregated, and only in 30 per cent of the schools do appreciable numbers of Negro and Puerto Rican children have contact in classrooms with white children.

In the high schools the situation is better because students often attend high schools at a considerable distance from their homes.

Employment A Paradox

In the city's colleges and universities there is, by and large, no discrimination against Negroes.

Employment is one of the paradoxes in race relations in New York. Thousands of new jobs in department stores, banks, insurance companies, communications, industry, and transportation have been opened to Negroes with the decline of prejudices and enforcement of fair-employment laws.

At the same time Negroes still meet formidable obstacles against getting skilled and managerial positions. The resultant frustrations frequently cause resentment.

The city's Negro population of 855,000 (1,200,000 for the metropolitan area) is now 100,000 higher than in 1950. This indicates an influx of thousands of new migrants a year. Negroes now make up 11 per cent of the population. They are expected to comprise 15 per cent by 1960.

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Ministers Answer 'Manifesto'

Weekly P.1 Sat. 4-14-56

Draft 'Negro Declaration Of Intentions'

New Orleans, La.

Chicago (ANP). — Declaring that Negroes support the U. S. Constitution fully and intend to "obey the laws of the land," a group of Negro church leaders from 11 states went on record here last week as opposed to "gradualism" in the application of the nation's anti-segregation laws.

"The Negro's Declaration of Intention" was issued Tuesday as a reply to the southern "manifesto" signed March 12 by 18 southern senators and 81 representatives denouncing the U. S. Supreme Court's decision outlawing school segregation.

The reply state the Negroes' intention to obey laws but at the same time "to fight against the false doctrine which claims that some men are by origin, birth and nature, superior to others."

It rejected "gradualism" and stated that Negroes would "take every legal step . . . to overcome every economic, political and cultural stumbling block that hinders the further progress of this great republic."

The declaration of intention was written by the Rev. Dr. Joseph H. Jackson of Chicago, president of the 5,000,000—member National Baptist Convention of the U. S. A., Inc. His words were endorsed by a special committee of 16 Negro religious leaders from both the north and south.

Copies of the document were sent to President Eisenhower, Atty. Gen. Brownell and all members of Congress.

The 700—word statement is generally moderate in tone, but it recognizes that opposition may be severe.

"And if we are slain," the declaration concludes, "by the forces of oppression before our high—purpose is achieved; we pray that we shall sleep under the shadows of the flag that we love; and that our flowing blood shall help to wash from the nation's life every blot of shame . . . and our sacred dust shall be a silent testimony and a lasting memorial to our eternal quest for justice, peace and good will."

Commenting on what they termed "the doctrine of the segregationists," the clergymen declared.

Stiff reply given Dixie 'manifesto'

Afro-American P.13 Sat. 4-14-56

Baltimore, Md.

CHICAGO—(NNPA) — Sixteen colored religious leaders from the South and North, Tuesday, endorsed a "Declaration of Intention," which was issued here as a reply to the manifesto of 101 members of Congress from the South against the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in the public schools.

The "Declaration of Intention" was written by Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A., Inc., representing more than 4,500,000 communicants, or nearly one-third of the colored people in the United States.

It stated the intention of colored people to "obey the laws of the land" and at the same time "to fight against the false doctrine which claims that some men are by origin, birth and nature superio rto others."

* * *

IT REJECTED gradualism and stated that colored leaders would "take every legal step. . . to overcome every economic, political and cultural stumbling block that hinders the further progress of this great republic."

The 700-word statement was sent to President Eisenhower, members of his Cabinet, members of Congress and governors of all the states.

In rejecting gradualism, the declaration stated:

"While we shall recognize a need for the patience that accompanies growth, we intend at all times to reject that doctrine of gradualism which implies that the established laws of the land should be gradually applied and gradually obeyed in order to respect the unust traditions of men and to give free reign and honor to destructive prejudices."

* * *

THE STATEMENT is generally moderate in tone, but it recognizes that opposition may be severe.

"And if we are slain," the declaration concludes, "by the forces of oppression before our high purpose is achieved, we pray that we shall sleep under the shadows of the flag that we love, and that our flowing blood shall help to wash from the nation's life every blot of shame . . . and our sacred dust shall be a silent testimony and a lasting memorial to our eternal quest for justice, peace and good will."

Commenting on what they termed "the doctrine of the segregationists," the clergymen declared:

"We shall always believe that the basic quality of real distinction is character, not color, and the stature of a person is determined by the power of his mind, the purity of his heart and the highest possible dedication of his life."

* * *

THE REV. MR. Jackson was one of four Baptist ministers who visited the Soviet Union in August at the invitation of Baptist leaders there.

He said he composed the Declaration of Intention, after conferring with colored people in all walks of life and in all parts of the country, as an attempt to get across the basic attitude of colored citizens.

The special committee which endorsed the declaration is also planning to budget a sizeable part of the National Baptist Convention's missionary fund for use in helping pay legal expenses for civil rights defense.

The committee also announced that May 17 — the date the Supreme Court handed down the historic school desegregation ruling two years ago — will be observed as a national "day of mourning, fasting and prayer, for the unity, preservation and security of this republic under God and for peace of the world."

* * *

AMONG THE signers of the decaration are:

The Revs. S. T. Alexander, Dallas, Texas; R. T. Andrews, Indianapolis; W. H. Ballew, Louisville, Ky.; J. P. Barbour, Chester, Pa.; Louis Beauchamp, Milwaukee; L. G. Carr, Philadelphia; C. C. Coleman, Tupelo, Miss.; A. L. Davis, New Orleans.

E. B. Hicks, Topeka, Kans.; D. Humes, Greenville, Miss.; M. L. W. Hoggard, Philadelphia; H. H. King, Atlanta; Floyd Massey, St. Paul, Minn.; W. H. Robinson, East Chicago, Ind.; C. E. Talley, Pittsburgh; and D. C. Washington. Anniston, Ala.

Our Opinions

Defender P.9 Chicago, Ill.

Declaration Of Intention

Sat. 4-14-56

In Chicago last week, Negro Baptist leaders met to issue an historic document. Called a "Declaration of Negro Intentions," it is a forthright, sound, and timely answer to the notorious and treasonous Southern Manifesto released last March 12.

Dr. J. H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention, USA, wrote the 10-point statement in language so eloquent and moving, it may well be worth printing and handed down to posterity along with the Gettysburg address.

The most impressive thing about the document is that it is properly a review and summing up of the Negro's position in America today — where he stands and what he proposes to do to meet the crisis imposed upon this nation by willful bigots who would destroy the very foundations of democracy in their selfish desire to perpetuate outmoded notions which deny the basic rights of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It's a long road from the slave compounds to Independence Street. And it's a still longer way from expediency and submission to militant aggressiveness. What we are seeing today is the new Negro, proud of his role in making this country safe for democracy. Now he wants a full share of his earnings and what is more, he is entitled to it.

These are trying times, but they are also glorious times in which we should count our blessings that at long last the day has come when we can lift our heads and our voices to make earth and heaven ring with our resounding intentions that we will never falter in the fight for full citizenship, even at the price of death, itself.

Here we stand. We can do no other. God help us!

Leaders Hail Manifesto On Negro Intentions

Defender Sat. 5-26-56
P. 1
Chicago, Ill.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the second in a series of articles on the "Declaration of Negro Intentions." The report comes out of an interview with Dr. J. H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention U. S. A., who drew up the historic document. This one deals with the reactions to the publication of the manifesto.

In the Congressional Record of April 18, Sen. Frank Carlson of Kansas had inserted the full text of the Declaration and in a letter to Rev. E. B. Hicks of Topeka, Kans., the senator said he was using excerpts of the statement for his weekly radio transcriptions carried to his constituents over 20 radio stations throughout the state.

In Chicago, Lawrence Wagner, an associate of the Francis I. DuPont and Co. wrote Dr. Jackson a letter in which he said. . ."It strikes me that paragraph eight is the best statement I have yet read on how to conciliate those apparently diametrically opposite forces so much now in the news. Here is a recognition of growth, that is inherently gradual, but a rejection of stalling and time consuming procrastination, that is frequently a gossamer web designed to obstruct and prevent."

Among the college presidents who hailed the Declaration were Dr. Samuel Proctor, Virginia Union university, and Dr. Benjamin Mays, Morehouse college. In Washington on April 24 at the State of the Race Conference called by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the delegates from all over the country unanimously endorsed the document as the official statement of their expressions and gave Dr. Jackson a standing ovation.

Randolph, himself, personally said, "I believe this states in forthright terms the hopes and aspirations of millions of your countrymen who seek urgently full citizenship status in our time.

"I want to commend you for your work."

The labor union chief long experienced in leading the battle for full equality and often referred to as the "Father of FEPC," joined in with the religious leader in the Day of Prayer and Fasting climaxing in a mass rally at Chicago's Orchestra Hall on May 17.

MASONIC HEAD

Commendations were also received from John R. Lawrence, Grand Master of the Masons of the Minnesota Jurisdiction; Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines, president of the National Association of Colored Womens' clubs; Dr. Andrew Hargett, minister of Savannah State college, Ga. and from scores of ministers of all denominations as well as people in all walks of life.

Many organizations have asked for reprints of the Declaration as it appeared in full page form in the newspapers in the Defender Publications.

men and to give free reign and honor to destructive prejudices. . . .

"In spite of the doctrine of the segregationists, we shall always believe that the basic quality of real distinction is character, not color, and the stature of a person is determined by the power of his mind, the purity of his heart, and the highest possible dedication of his life. . . .

Mr. Jackson, pastor of Chicago's Olivet Baptist Church, said the declaration was approved by 17 Negro Baptist ministers from Kentucky, Indiana, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, Texas, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois.

Gradualism Rejected By Negro Clergymen

Courier-Journal P. 3
Wed. 4-4-56

Chicago, April 3 (AP)—A group of Negro clergymen from 11 states today adopted "The Negroes Declaration of Intention," rejecting the "doctrine of gradualism" in applying the nation's antisegregation laws.

Louisville, Ky.

The declaration also pledged obedience to the "laws of the land" and asserted that anyone who disobeys these laws and teaches others to do so "is a declared enemy of this nation and is working for its overthrow."

The Rev. Joseph H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist convention, said the declaration is an answer to the "manifesto" issued recently by some Southern congressmen. The manifesto denounced the Supreme Court's decision outlawing school segregation.

'We Reject That Doctrine'

The declaration said:

"While we recognize a need for the patience that accompanies growth, we intend at all times to reject that doctrine of gradualism which implies that the established laws of the land should be gradually applied and gradually obeyed, in order to respect the injust traditions of

'Gradualism' Hit in Negro Reply to Manifesto

Inquirer

Special to The Inquirer and N. Y. Herald Tribune

CHICAGO, April 3.—"The Negro's declaration of intention" was issued here today as a reply to the Southern "manifesto," which had spelled out three weeks ago the pledge of most of the South's representatives in Congress to "use all lawful means" to reverse the Supreme Court ban on segregation in public schools.

The reply stated the Negroes' intention to "obey the laws of the land" but at the same time "to fight against the false doctrine which claims that some men are by origin, birth and nature, superior to others."

REJECT "GRADUALISM"

It rejected "gradualism" and stated that Negro leaders would "take every legal step . . . to overcome every economic, political and cultural stumbling block that hinders the further progress of this great Republic."

The declaration of intention was written by the Rev. Joseph H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention of the U.S.A., Inc., a denomination representing more than 4,500,000 Negroes, nearly one-third of all in the United States. His words were indorsed by a special committee of 16 religious leaders from both the South and the North.

The 700-word statement is being sent to President Eisenhower, his Cabinet, all members of Congress and Governors of all the States.

It is generally moderate in tone, but it recognizes that opposition may be severe.

"And if we are slain," the declaration concludes, "by the forces of oppression before our high purpose is achieved; we pray that . . . our flowing blood shall help to wash from the Nation's life every blot of shame . . . and our sacred dust shall be a silent testimony and a lasting memorial to our eternal quest for peace, peace and good-will."

The Southern manifesto, signed March 12 by 19 Senators and 81 Representatives, denounced the Supreme Court segregation decision as "a clear abuse of judicial power." It concluded, "We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision," but the Southern Congressmen did not propose "interposition" or nullification.

HIT AT COMPROMISE

In rejecting "gradualism," the approach to integration proposed by many moderates in both South and North, the Negro declaration stated:

"While we shall recognize a need for the patience that accompanies growth, we intend at all times to reject that doctrine of gradualism which implies that the established laws of the land should be gradually applied and gradually obeyed in order to respect the injust traditions of men and to give free reign and honor to destructive prejudices."

SCHOOL BARS 16 NEGROES

HILLSBORO, O., April 3 (UP).—A predominantly white school today refused to enroll 16 Negro children despite a U. S. Supreme Court ruling yesterday that there should be no delay in integration.

The children, accompanied by four mothers, arrived at the school when it opened. They hoped to be admitted under terms of the Supreme Court decision calling for an immediate end to segregation here.

The principal, Harold Henry, told the group that they could not enroll today. He said the school board had not changed a policy it adopted two years ago when it rearranged the community's school attendance zones. Officials said any further change would overcrowd the school.

The four women and 16 children remained in the school principal's office for about three hours. There was no disturbance.

NEGRO PASTORS HIT 'GRADUAL' DESEGREGATION

Daily Tribune Chicago Ill. Wed. 4-4-56

20 Meet Here to Form Intention Declaration

"Gradualism" in the application of the nation's anti-segregation laws was rejected yesterday by 20 Negro clergymen from 11 states who met in Olivet Baptist church to draw up a "Negroes Declaration of Intention."

The Rev. Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, minister of the host church and president of the National Baptist convention, said the declaration was designed to show that Negroes will support the Constitution fully and uphold obedience to the "laws of the land."

Answer to "Manifesto"

The statement the clergymen adopted is an answer to the "manifesto" issued recently by some southern congressmen, Dr. Jackson said. The manifesto denounced the Supreme court's decision outlawing school segregation.

"While we recognize a need for the patience that accompanies growth," the declaration states, "we intend at all times to reject that doctrine of gradualism which implies that the established laws of the land should be gradually applied and gradually obeyed in order to respect the unjust traditions of men and give free reign and honor to destructive prejudices."

Commenting on what they termed "the doctrine of the segregationists," the clergymen declared, "we shall always believe that the basic quality of real distinction is character ,not color, and the stature of a person is determined by the power of his mind, the purity of his heart, and the highest possible dedication of his life."

Against "False Doctrine"

They added a pledge to crusade against "the false doctrine which claims some men are by origin, birth, and nature superior to others."

Copies of the document were sent to President Eisenhower, Atty. General Brownell, and all members of Congress. Other Chicago ministers beside Dr. Jackson who took part in the meeting were the Rev. W. A. Johnson of Greater St. John Baptist church, the Rev. J. L. Horace of Gethsemane temple, and the Rev. T. L. White of Mount Moriah Baptist church.

Ministers from Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, Texas, Mississippi, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Indiana, and other cities in Illinois attended the meeting.

NEGRO CLERGY'S VIEWS DECLARED

Times-Picayune

Doctrine of Gradualism Is Rejected by Group

Thurs. 4-5-56

CHICAGO, April 4 (AP)—A group of Negro clergymen from 11 states adopted "the Negroes declaration of intention" rejecting the 'doctrine of gradualism" in applying the nation's antisegregation laws.

New Orleans

The declaration also pledged obedience to the "laws of the land" and asserted that anyone who disobeys these laws and teaches others to do so "is a declared enemy of this nation and is working for its overthrow."

Rev. Joseph H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist convention, said the declaration is an answer to the "manifesto" issued recently by some Southern congressmen.

P. 38

The manifesto denounced the supreme court's decision outlawing school segregation.

The declaration said:

"While we recognize a need for the patience that accompanies growth, we intend at all times to reject that doctrine of gradualism which implies that the established laws of the land should be gradually applied and gradually obeyed, in order to respect the injust traditions of men and to give free reign and honor to destructive prejudices." It added:

"We intend to participate in the total cultural life of the nation, both for personal growth and development and for the further progress of the country itself . . .

"In spite of the doctrine of the segregationists we shall always believe that the basic quality of real distinction is character, no color, and the stature of a person is determined by the power of his mind, the purity of his heart and the highest possible dedication of his life.

"We intend to crusade against all the evils in our society that are designed to poison creative human relationships and to crush the constructive growth of human personality and to fight against the false doctrine which claims that some men are by origin, birth and nature superior to others."

Jackson, pastor of Chicago's [illegible] Baptist church, said the decl[illegible]on was approved by 17 Negro Baptist ministers from Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, Texas, Mississippi, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois and Indiana.

He said copies of the document will be sent to President Eisenhower, Attorney General Brownell and all members of both houses of Congress.

Reply Churchmen Say Negroes Obey Laws

Call P. 1 Dri. 4-13-56 Kansas City, Mo.

Leaders of 11 States Answer 'Gradualists'

CHICAGO. — (ANP) — Declaring that Negroes support the U. S. constitution fully and intend to "obey the laws of the land," a group of Negro church leaders from 11 states went on record here last week as opposed to "gradualism" in the application of the nation's anti-segregation laws.

"The Negro's Declaration Of Intention" was issued Tuesday as a reply to the southern "manifesto" signed March 12 by 18 southern senators and 81 representative denouncing the U. S. Supreme courts decision outlawing school segregation.

The reply states the Negroes' intention to obey laws but at the same time "to fight against the false doctrine which claims that some men are by origin birth and nature, superior to others."

Gradualism Rejected

It rejected "gradualism" and stated that Negroes would "take every legal step...to overcome every economic, political and cultural stumbling block that hinders the further progress of this great republic."

Tu. 4-13-56

The declaration of intention was written by the Rev. Joseph H. Jackson of Chicago, president of the 5,000,000-member National Baptist Convention of the U. S. A., Inc. His words were endorsed by a special committee of 16 Negro religious leaders from both the North and South.

Kansas City, Mo.

Copies of the document were sent to President Eisenhower, Attorney General Brownell and all members of Congress.

The 700-word statement is generally moderate in tone, but it recognizes that opposition may be severe.

Would Sleep Under Flag

"And if we are slain," the declaration concludes, "by the forces of oppression before our high purpose is achieved; we pray that we shall sleep under the shadows of the flag that we love, and that our flowing blood shall help to wash from the nation's life every blot of shame and our sacred dust shall be a silent testimony and a lasting memorial to our eternal quest for justice, peace and good will."

Commenting on what they termed "the doctrine of the segregationists," the clergymen declared:

"We shall always believe that the basic quality of real distinction is character, not color, and the stature of a person is determined by the power of his mind, the purity of his heart, and the highest possible dedication of his life."

In rejecting "gradualism," the approach to integration proposed by many moderates in the North and South, the Negro declaration said:

"While we shall recognize a need for the patience that accompanies growth, we intend at all times to reject that doctrine of gradualism which implies that the established laws of the land should be gradually applied and gradually obeyed to respect the unjust traditions of men and to give free reign and honor to destructive prejudices."

The special committee which endorsed the declaration is also planning to budget a sizeable part of the National Baptist Convention's missionary fund for use in helping pay legal expenses for civil rights defense.

The committee also announced that May 17—the date the Supreme

court handed down the historic school desegregation ruling two years ago—will be observed as a national "day of mourning, fasting, and prayer, for the unity, preservation and security of this republic under God and for peace of the world."

Among the signers of the declaration are:

Rev. S. T. Alexander, Dallas Texas; R. T. Andrews, Indianapolis; W. H. Ballew, Louisville, Ky.; J. P. Barbour, Chester, Pa.; Louis Beauchamp, Milwaukee; L. G. Carr, Philadelphia; C. C. Coleman, Tupelo, Miss.; A. L. Davis, New Orleans; E. B. Hicks, Topeka Kas.; D. W. Hoggard, Philadelphia; H. H. Humes, Greenville, Miss.; M. L. King, Atlanta; Floyd Massey, St Paul, Minn.; W. H. Robinson, East Chicago, Ind.; C. E. Talley, Pittsburgh, and D. C. Washington, Anniston, Ala.

Declarati Is Issue By Negroes Bars Gradualism In Integration

Herald Tribune Wed. 4-4-56 P.P. New York

By a Staff Correspondent

CHICAGO, April 3.—The Negro's Declaration of Intention was issued here today as a reply to the Southern Manifesto which spelled out three weeks ago the pledge of most of the South's representatives in Congress to "use all lawful means" to reverse the Supreme Court ban on segregation in public schools.

The reply stated the Negroes' intention to "obey the laws of the land" and at the same time "to fight against the false doctrine which claims that some men are by origin, birth and nature superior to others." It rejected gradualism and stated that Negro leaders would "take every legal step . . . to overcome every economic, political and cultural stumbling block that hinders the further progress of this great republic."

Written by Clergyman

The Declaration of Intention was written by the Rev. Joseph H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention of the U. S. A. Inc., a denomination representing more than 4,500,000 Negroes, or nearly one-third of the Negroes in the United States. His words were indorsed today by a committee of sixteen Negro religious leaders from the South and North.

The 700-word statement is being sent to President Eisenhower, his Cabinet, all members of Congress and governors of all the states.

It is generally moderate in tone, but it recognizes that opposition may be severe.

The Southern Manifesto, signed March 12 by nineteen Senators and eighty-one Representatives, denounced the Supreme Court segregation decision as "a clear abuse of judicial power." It concluded, "We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision," but the Southern Congressmen did not propose "interposition" or nullification.

On Gradualism

In rejecting gradualism, the approach to integration proposed by many moderates in both South and North, the Negro declaration stated:

"While we shall recognize a need for the patience that accompanies growth, we intend at all times to reject that doctrine of gradualism which implies that the established laws of the land should be gradually applied and gradually obeyed in order to respect the unjust traditions of men and to give free reign and honor to destructive prejudices."

Mr. Jackson was one of four Baptist ministers who visited Russia in August at the invitation of Baptist leaders there. He said he composed the declaration after conferring with Negroes in all walks of life and in all parts of the country, as an attempt to express the basic attitude of the Negro people.

The special committee which indorsed the declaration is also planning to budget a sizeable portion of the National Baptist Convention's missionary fund—more than $200,000 was spent last year, mostly in Africa—for use in helping to pay legal fees for civil-rights defense in this country.

Push integration, Ike urges South

Afro-American p.20 Sat. 3-31-56

Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D.C. (NNPA) — Discussion of racial segregation played a big part in President Eisenhower's press conference, Wednesday.

The questions ranged from United States policy on African movements for national independence to whether Mr. Eisenhower intends to mobilize religious and other leaders for a program of moderation and progress in the fight over desegregation.

* * *

BASICALLY, the President's positions in a nutshell were:

1. Wherever there are local antagonisms and troubles, the United States seeks mediation rather than conflict.

2. With regard to the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott trials, he believes it is incumbent on all people in the South to show some progress.

3. If colored voters are switching from the Democratic to the Republican party, he welcomes them with open arms.

4. The pulpits have a very great responsibility in a program of moderation and progress in school desegregation.

5. The Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, is the basic law.

* * *

ON THE ISSUE of colonialism, Mr. Eisenhower referred to a speech made in Paris Tuesday by C. Douglas Dillon, United States Ambassador to France, whom the President said spoke with his approval.

Mr. Dillon announced in his speech "whole - hearted support" by the United States, of France in her search for "liberal solutions" of her North African problems.

As Mr. Dillon was speaking, France and Tunisia signed a diplomatic document ending the 75-year protectorate over the North African territory and recognizing the independence of Tunisia.

The ambassador's speech brought bitter reaction from an Algerian nationalist leader, Messali Hadj, who is now under forced residence in Angouleme, France. He charged that Mr. Dillon's speech constituted support of 'colonialist policy in Algeria" and is "contrary to the principles of American democracy."

* * *

LINCOLN WHITE, State Department spokesman, said Mr. Dillon stressed "our traditional anti - colonial policy."

The question concerning a return of colored voters to the Republican party was based on information from the Republican National Committee.

Letters to the Republican National Committee show that:

1. L. E. Austin, editor of The Carolina Times, Durham, N.C., who has supported the Democratic party since the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, wrote:

* * *

"THE TRUTH is I have never wholeheartedly been connected with the Democratic party because I could not swallow a man like Sen. (James O.) Eastland, Miss. in the Democratic party."

Austin is said to have changed his registration and is now "a full - fledged Republican, lock, stock and barrel."

2. George Vaughns of Oakland, Calif., a registered Democrat for the past 25 years, publicly switched to Republican last month and was put on the county planning board by the Republicans.

3. Grant Reynolds, a New York lawyer, has informed the National Committee that he plans a "very active" campaign for President Eisenhower. He toured the West for Adlai Stevenson in 1952 in company with Joe Louis.

* * *

MR. REYNOLDS was a Republican until the late 1940s. He broke with former Governor Thomas E. Dewey.

The texts of reporters' questions and the President's answers concerning colonialism and segregation follow:

Q. In the light of renewed Arab accusation that the U.S. is reverting to a support of colonialism in the Middle East, would you clarify United States policy on the African movements for national independence?

A. Well, first of all, with my approval Ambassador Dillon made a speech yesterday (Tuesday) in France that expresses our hope that there can be equitable and fair, just settlements of these great problems that effect these countries.

* * *

NOW, THESE two areas have a very definite measure of independence between them. We know that talking now about France and Algeria, and therefore it seems to us in the best interest of both sides that we arrive at one side but, at the same time does not completely disrupt a relationship that probably should exist.

This is our idea in all of these areas that have their local antagonisms and troubles, whether it is Mid - East, whether it is Africa or whatever the area, to try to help these countries see on either side of the quarrel that their best interests lie in some composition, in mediation rather than in conflict, because today the world, as never before, needs the help, the several nations need the help of each other in advancing their own economies and in increasing trade, so that there can be advancing standards of living, and that the proper aspirations of the people can be gradually achieved.

* * *

NOW, THIS IS, I recognize this is an easy approach to make. It is a hard thing to bring about because you have got age - old antagonisms; you have all sorts of fanatical thoughts brought to these problems that has no place rightfully in it, except as it is always there, and you have, of course, the Communists interfering when they can.

Nevertheless, it remains our sincere effort in all of these areas to try to retain friendships with both sides and, therefore, use our good offices to bring about a decent solution.

* * *

AFTER SEVERAL questions intervened:

Q. Mr. President, with regard to the situation in Alabama, Mr. President, how do you feel about colored persons being brought to trial for refusing to ride the Montgomery buses?

(Laughter)

A. Well, you are asking me, I think, to be more of a lawyer than I certainly am.

But, as I understand it, there is a state law about boycotts, and it is under that kind of thing that these people are being brought to trial.

I think that the statement I made last week on this whole subject represents the views that I now — all the views that I now have to make; and I do believe, that it is incumbent on all in the South to show some progress.

* * *

THAT IS what the Supreme Court asked for. And they turned it over to local district courts.

I believe that we should not stagnate, but again I plead for understanding, for real sympathetic consideration of a problem that is far larger, both in its emotion and even in its physical aspects, than most of us realize.

Q. Mr. President, your school construction bill is on dead center, as you have said, mainly because of the controversy over whether it should be used as an instrument of desegregation.

I wonder if you have any ideas of positive approach that could be taken to get it off dead center and get some legislation this year?

A. I HAVE expressed myself on that subject several times. I don't have anything further to add to that.

Segregation session 'not needed' in Fla.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — "I am convinced that our position on segregation cannot be improved by a (legislative) session now," stated Gov. Leroy Collins.

He made the statement in announcing recently that the legislature would not be called into special session to deal with segregation.

Race Policy By Ike Stirs Senate Fire

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sat 3-17-56

WASHINGTON, March 16 (AP) — Sen. Lehman (D-NY) suggested today that President Eisenhower is a "neutralist" standing above the segregation battle. This brought retort of "unwarranted and unfounded" from Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-NJ).

In a brief Senate flurry, Case contended Lehman was injecting politics into the segregation question. This was countered by a claim from Sen. Neuberger (D-Ore) that it was Vice President Nixon "who put politics into this vital issue."

The exchange began when Lehman called upon Eisenhower to "assume the responsibility" for enforcing the Supreme Court order outlawing racial segregation in the public schools.

SHOW RESTRAINT

"I cannot stand above the battle, like President Eisenhower, and say with fine impartiality that both sides must show restraint," Lehman declared. He quoted Eisenhower as having warned against "the extremists" on both sides, and asked if the President pictured himself as a "mediator" or a "neutralist."

Case replied:

"Any suggestion that the President is a neutralist or is standing above this quarrel is unwarranted and unfounded.

"And I hope that there will be, from no side, even an implied injection of this question into politics, because such a tone, I regret to say, did arise in the remarks of my colleague from New York."

Case said the President agrees the Supreme Court decision "is based upon right and conscience." He added that the only question is as to the speed with which it can be put into effect.

Neuberger then arose to say that it was Nixon who brought the issue into politics. Neuberger quoted Nixon as having said, in a New York speech, that "a Republican chief justice," Earl Warren, delivered the Supreme Court's unanimous verdict against school segregation.

Case said he regarded that remark by Nixon as "unfortunate" and said he believes Nixon "feels the same way."

Other senators, including Southern Democrats who have joined in a "manifesto" calling for a reversal of the Supreme Court ruling, remained silent when Lehman said the manifesto "would be absurd, if it were not so deadly serious and highly dangerous."

CITES MANIFESTS

While he said "the statement of principles" in which 101 Southern senators and representatives advocated "lawful" resistance to the decree was not inflammatory in tone, "its effect was to support the doctrine of nullification." This doctrine, he said, has been "enunciated in one form or another" by the legislatures of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia.

"I only ask that the law be enforced in a lawful manner, and in such a graduated fashion as the courts themselves shall find feasible and practical," Lehman added.

Neuberger renewed his suggestion that Eisenhower call a White House conference on racial problems. He said the President should set up his own commission, which could move "promptly," rather than continue to urge a congressional commission.

Ike segregation attitude is both criticized, defended

News Fri. 3-16-56

WASHINGTON, March 16—(AP) —President Eisenhower's attitude toward segregation was both criticized and defended as debate over the controversial issue flared again today in the Senate.

Sen. Lehman (D., N. Y.) quoted the president as having advocated moderation and as having warned against "the extremists" in the segregation dispute. He asked whether Eisenhower is "a neutralist."

B'ham, Ala.

SEN CASE (R., N. J.) described this an an "unwarranted

and unfair" suggestion and pleaded that there be no more "suggestion of politics" in debate over the school integration issue.

Sen. Neuberger (D., Ore.) told the Senate that it was Vice President Nixon who first injected politics into the issue. He said this was in a New York speech asserting that a "Republican chief justice," Earl Warren, delivered the Supreme Court's unanimous ruling against school segregation.

Case said he regards that reference by Nixon as "unfortunate" and believes the vice president feels the same way.

THE FLURRY of debate was touched off by a speech in which Lehman called upon the president to "assume the responsibility" for enforcement of the Supreme Court school integration decree. He said he could not "stand above the battle, like President Eisenhower, and say with fine impartiality that both sides must show restraint."

Case said in reply that "any suggestion that the President of the United States is a neutralist or stands above this quarrel (segregation) is unwarranted and unfair."

WHITE HOUSE BARS INTEGRATION ROLE

Times P. 13-C

WASHINGTON, March 19 — School desegregation is still a matter for the judicial branch to put into effect, the White House said today.

Reply. 3-20-56

Replying to eight Democratic Representatives who had urged delay in granting school funds to defiant states, a Presidential aide wrote:

New York

"Your question seems to involve an assumption that the judicial branch of the Government is incapable of implementing the Supreme Court's decision. The President will not make such an assumption and * * * views the use of extra-judicial remedies, such as suggested by you, as inconsistent with the philosophy of the Supreme Court decree which set forth the manner in which the court's decision was to be implemented."

The President "will not assume," the letter further stated, that "it is essential" to withhold school funds from states to insure compliance with the integration directives.

Gerald D. Morgan, special counsel to the President, signed the letter. It was a reply to the second inquiry by the group of eight Democrats.

Conditionally, the group favors not tying an anti-segregation amendment to legislation for school construction. They would stipuate, however, that the Executive Branch put funds for defiant states into a reserve and invite, or initiate, court tests to determine whether these states were complying with the Supreme Court decision.

DAVID LAWRENCE

Eisenhower and Integration

Star Fri. 3-30-56

Orderly Way to Lessen Tension Sought; Many Legal Questions Yet to Be Solved

Washington

President Eisenhower is deeply concerned — in fact, very much worried—about the emotional disturbance in America today over the problem of racial segregation in the public schools.

He talks a good deal about it to some of his visitors. He tries in an unspectacular and earnest way to encourage a public understanding of the issues involved, in the hope that there will be no outbursts of passion or violence.

He believes the churches can do a great deal toward this end. He is well aware of the complexities of the issue and doesn't believe the solution is simple or easy to achieve.

There's something innately conciliatory about Mr. Eisenhower's whole personality. It is his nature to search for ways to unite human beings who hold conflicting views or who nurture deep-seated prejudices against one another. P. 11-A

All his life that's been dominant in his makeup because he maintains an abiding faith in the power of human love in the world to reconcile differences between groups within a single nation as well as between nations.

Mr. Eisenhower has always been convinced that, where there are extremes in a controversy, there is a middle way. Sometimes this is called "moderation," but even that word sounds like "compromise" to those who are sincerely convinced of the absolute correctness of their own legal or moral position.

The President, however, is more inclined to approach questions of a highly controversial nature with the thought that it is a condition and not a theory which often confronts the Government. Thus, he realizes that as President he is charged with upholding the Constitution, but this does not necessarily mean that the only way available to him to uphold it is to use force.

The mere mention of coercion only serves to inflame many citizens who believe that a law which rests on force alone can never be accepted as morally right. There must be acceptance by the majority of the principle involved and, if it takes time to secure that acceptance, then the necessary time must be taken to accomplish that purpose.

What can the President do? He has conferred with Chief Justice Warren about the question of gradual application of the court decree on desegregation in order to explore what is the best way for the executive branch of the Government, which must present the matter constantly to the courts, to find a way to chart its course of action.

Thus, it may be that the South, by majority vote of the people of each State, will choose to separate the sexes in the schools so as to meet to some extent the fears about social mixing and intermarriage.

It may be that the Southern States will consider leasing some of their public-school buildings to private organizations and let the people decide whether to send their children to mixed public schools or to segregated private schools.

There are lots and lots of legal questions which have yet to be settled, and the important factor is time—to avoid precipitating emotional clashes while the American method of rational and nonviolent solution of difficult questions is in process.

Many Americans in the North have forgotten what "force" meant before. Mention of the possible use of "force" brings up bitter memories to the South. Arthur Krock, writing in the New York Times the other day, said:

"A common impression is that slavery was abolished after Appomattox without difficulty. Actually, slavery was made unconstitutional, not by a Supreme Court decision with this effect, but by a constitutional amendment submitted, after the House once declined to approve it, in January, 1865.

"Even then only 23 States of the required 25 ratified, Kentucky and Delaware rejecting, and the amendment became effective only through the action of provisional governments, put and held in office by the Union Army, in disenfranchised States of the beaten Confederacy."

For many decades the Supreme Court of the United States had held that, as long as equal facilities for education were provided by the States, they could be separate. But now nine men in the Supreme Court say the other judges in the past were wrong, and that segregation by race in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment which guarantees "equal protection of the laws" to everybody.

Has "equal protection" been achieved by separate but equal educational facilities or does it mean only compulsory integration? Merely to state the problem is to show how far from simple it is.

It is easy enough to say that the Supreme Court now has decided it and that all must obey. But obey what? How shall "integration" be carried out? What are its limitations? That's why the Supreme Court left all questions to be worked out in individual cases in the lower courts. This will take time.

Meanwhile, Mr. Eisenhower's role will not be to use or to threaten force but to try to bring about in an orderly way an adaptation of the school question to the circumstances which are faced in the South.

His whole concern now is how to lessen the tension between the races that has risen as never before to plague the people who for generations have lived amicably together.

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Firm desegregation steps demanded

Afro-American 3-31-56

NEW YORK — "Firm and forceful steps to avert hostility and extremism" in school and transit segregation disputes were asked of President Eisenhower this week. P. 6

The plea was made by Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

He asked the President to issue a "call to conscience" to "All Americans to repair to the moral standards of the Republic in the resolution of these vexing problems."

Baltimore, Md.

HE ALSO recommended: The mobilization of a White House conference on civil rights "with participation by leaders of all religious and racial groups and every section of America";

"Specific legislative recommendations" on civil rights to spell out the President's references to this area in the State of the Union message; and,

The endorsement of special prayers "for calmness and truth" during the holy season of Passover and Easter.

Declares South Will Need Time

Post-Herald P. 1
Thurs. 3-15-56

Will Defend Constitution If Direct Challenge Comes

B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON, March 14 (UP)—President Eisenhower appealed today for "patience and understanding" in the bitter school segregation dispute to avoid a further increase in racial tensions.

He urged forces demanding immediate compliance with the Supreme Court's integration order to be "patient without being complacent." It will "take time," he said, for Southerners to "adjust their thinking" to this doctrine.

But he also made clear he will not shirk his duty "to defend and uphold the Constitution" if a direct challenge to that authority ever arises from persons seeking to defy the anti-segregation edict.

The President delivered a long and earnest discourse on the need for moderation when asked at his news conference about the "manifesto" signed this week by 101 Southern senators and congressmen.

This document, in which the signers pledged themselves to use "every legal means" to overturn the Supreme Court decision, has been attacked by civil rights advocates in Congress.

Sen. Pat McNamara (D., Mich.) told the Senate today the declaration "will forever be a dark page in American history." He said it "may not be outright sedition, but it certainly is subversive in its intent to undermine the integrity of this nation."

There was some talk among Northern senators of issuing their own manifesto expressing their approval of the court's ruling that assigning Negroes and whites to separate schools because of race is unconstitutional.

Mr. Eisenhower said that "extremists on either side are not going to help the situation." He said he is confident "the American people will approach the problem with intelligence, patience and understanding."

Noting that the Southern lawmakers specifically spoke of using legal means, he said that "no one in any responsible position has talked of nullification"—a direct effort by a state to challenge federal authority.

Any such move, he added, would create a "very bad" situation. But the President said he is not thinking in terms of "coercion . . . using force" in dealing with the problem. He said he is relying on the "good common sense" of the people to bring about the gradual integration envisioned by the Supreme Court.

The President also was asked about the possibility that Southern senators might block Senate confirmation of his appointees to the federal courts if they regarded them as anti-segregation advocates.

He replied that he probably would make a public issue of such a situation "if I thought there were unnecessary blocks." But he said he didn't want to get into a discussion of the Senate's "right to confirm or not confirm."

The President was asked if he thought it would be "useful" for him to call a bi-racial White House conference as proposed by Adlai E. Stevenson, his 1952 opponent and a contender for the 1956 Democratic presidential nomination.

Such a step was endorsed today by Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D., Ore.) as a means of dealing with "this growing crisis before incalculable damage has been done."

Mr. Eisenhower agreed the proposal might be of some value. But he said he would prefer that Congress comply with his request to create a special bi-partisan commission to look into the whole field of racial rights.

Eisenhower For 'Sense' In Bias Row

Herald Tribune
Thurs. 3-15-56

Calls for Probe, With Subpoenas

New York, N.Y.
P. 1

By Rowland Evans Jr.

WASHINGTON, Mar. 14.—President Eisenhower, with unusual warmth of feeling, today appealed to South and North alike to be "understanding of other people's deep emotions" in the controversy over public school integration.

The President told his news conference: "extremists on neither side are going to help this situation and we can only believe that the good sense, the common sense, of Americans will bring this thing along."

Mr. Eisenhower took no direct issue with 100 Southern members of Congress, including several Republicans, who have signed a declaration pledging to use "all legal means to bring about a reversal" of the Supreme Court's Public School integration decree of May, 1954.

Calls for Inquiry

But he again asked Congress to set up a bi-partisan commission which "can subpoena witnesses and bring people in and compel them to testify" on the progress of integrating schools in the South.

The Justice Department is preparing a special message to Congress on this subject. It is understood the proposal will go beyond President Eisenhower's request in his State-of-the-Union message for a commission to investigate whether Negroes are being deprived of the right to vote or are undergoing "unwarranted economic pressures."

In response to questions, the President rejected Democratic demands that he call a White House conference of regional leaders in an effort to relieve the emotional tensions and bitterness growing out of the court's integration order.

Little Chance of Adoption

The commission proposal, which Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D., Minn., sponsored two years ago in the Senate, stands virtually no chance of adoption today. Southerners are wholly opposed to any semblance of force, as suggested by the President's use of the word "subpoena," in a search for solutions to the inflammatory question of civil rights.

But viewed as a whole, the President's appeal for moderation and restraint found a responsive and warm reception among powerful Congressional Democrats from the Deep South.

They found comfort, too in a statement by Mr. Eisenhower.

"Now, let us remember this one thing, and it is very important," he said, with heavy emphasis and some emotion. "The people who have this emotional reaction on the other side (the South) were not acting over these past three generations in defiance of law (in maintaining segregated schools). They were acting in compliance with the law as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States under the decision of 1896." That decision came in the case of Plessy vs. Ferguson and established the separate-but-equal doctrine overturned in 1954.

Herald P. 15

The President's careful phraseology and his refusal to be drawn into direct conflict with the Southern manifesto led some Southerners to conclude that he is well aware that four Southern states gave him their electoral votes in 1952. Others said his general position was the only sensible one he could take.

Won't Talk of Force

Mr. Eisenhower said he would not talk about coercion or the use of force in implementing the integration decree. It will take time for the South "to adjust their thinking and their progress to that," he said. "We are simply going to uphold the Constitution of the United States (and) see that the progress made as ordered by them is carried out."

But on Capitol Hill, Sen. Pat McNamara, D., Mich., hurled the bitterest accusation at signers of the Southern manifesto yet heard in the Senate.

"The declaration of nineteen members of the United States Senate presented in this chamber Monday is a matter so shameful, that it will forever be a dark page in American history," he said. "This declaration may not be outright sedition, but it certainly is subversive in its intent to undermine the integrity of the judicial system of this nation."

There was no rebuttal, although Sen. McNamara handed a copy of his brief speech to Sen. J. Strom Thurmond, D., S. C., a leader of the pro-segregationists, just before making it.

"Legal Means"

In his remarks today, President Eisenhower noted, as Adlai E. Stevenson did yesterday, that "the first thing about the manifesto" is its insistence on the use of "legal means" to overturn the decision. The President said: "No one in any responsible position anywhere has talked nullification." He did not mention several states that have overwhelmingly adopted resolutions of interposition, declaring the integration decision illegal.

He admonished the nation, too, not to forget that "there has been some progress." He said 250,000 Negro children in Southern and border states have already been integrated in the public schools and, "except for a certain area in which the difficulties are greatest, there has been progress."

"So let us remember," the President said, "that there are people who are ready to approach this thing with the moderation, but with the determination to make progress, that the Supreme Court asked for."

Americans for Democratic Action charged that what it called "inaction" by President Eisenhower has let civil disorder in the South "approach a level of conflict unknown in America since the Civil War."

In a letter to the President, the group urged him to "move immediately to use all the power and influence of the Presidency to restore law, order and sanity," and specifically asked him to convene a conference of Governors to obtain a pledge to "use the powers of the states to maintain law and guarantee constitutional rights." It also urged Mr. Eisenhower to call a conference of "responsible" white and Negro leaders to rebuild "bridges of communications" between Southern whites and Negroes.

PRESIDENT TO ACT ON RACIAL ISSUES IF CONGRESS LAGS

Times
Sun. 4-1-56
New York, N.Y.

Writes Governor of Florida He Is 'Still Hopeful' for a Bipartisan Panel

P. 1

SEES PROGRESS IN SOUTH

But Says He Will Call Parley if Necessary — Hennings Charges Rights Delay

By CHARLES E. EGAN

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 31—President Eisenhower indicated today he would take a stronger hand in the problem of race relations if Congress failed to adopt his proposal for a bipartisan commission to study the issue.

He made his intention clear today in a letter to Gov. LeRoy Collins of Florida. Governor Collins had urged the White House to call a conference of Governors of Southern states and their Attorneys General to discuss controversial issues in the whole field of racial relations.

The President, in his reply, declared he was "still hopeful" that Congress would act favorably on his plan for a commission, with subpoena powers, to investigate racial relations. He added:

PATIENCE URGED BY EISENHOWER ON INTEGRATION

Daily Tribune
Thurs. 3-15-56
Chicago, Ill.

Favors Congress O. K. of Study Group

P. 4

BY ROBERT YOUNG

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, March 14—President Eisenhower today called for patience and moderation on both sides in approaching the problem of racial integration in the nation's public schools.

The President told his weekly news conference:

"I have never yet given up my belief that the American people, faced with a great problem like this, will approach it intelligently and with patience and with understanding and we will get somewhere. And I do deplore any great extreme action on either side."

Quizzed on Conference

Mr. Eisenhower was asked if he believed it would be useful to use his influence to call white and Negro leaders from the southern states together in Washington to discuss "ways of relieving tensions," as suggested by Adlai E. Stevenson, candidate for the Democrat Presidential nomination.

The Chief Executive replied such a conference would be useful, but he does not favor it. He observed that in his State of the Union message of last January he proposed a joint commission authorized by Congress.

"The reason I want it authorized by Congress is a simple one." Mr. Eisenhower explained. "Because then, they can subpena witnesses and bring people in and compel them to testify.

Could Air Views

"Now, if I merely appoint, call in a party, and let everybody air their views, that would be one thing to do. But it is not thet hing I want done.

"This decision [the Supreme court decision banning public school segregation] was made, as I recall, in 1954 and we are getting along now to where some real investigative body ought t obe watching it and looking at it all the time.

"I would like to have that body organized, bi-partisan and with every point of view represented on it and as quickly as possible."

McNamara Assails Manifesto

Meanwhile today, Sen. McNamara [D., Mich.] assailed the anti-school integration manifesto issued last Sunday by most southern congressmen as "a matter so shameful that it will forever be a dark page in American history." The manifesto denounced the Supreme court ruling.

McNamara said in a senate speech that "this declaration may not be outright sedition, but it certainly is subversive in its intent to undermine the inegrity of this nation."

No Nullification Talk

Asked to comment on the manifesto at his news conference, the President remarked that the congressmen signing it spoke of using every legal means to overturn the court decision, that "no one in any responsible position anywhere has talked nullification." As to nullification, the overriding of constitutional federal authority, the chief executive continued:

"There would be a place where we get to a very bad spot for the simple reason I am sworn to defend and uphold the Constitution of the United States and, of course, I can never abandon or refuse to carry out my own duty."

The President asserted that extremists on either side are not going to help the integration situation. He said only the "good sense, the common sense of Americans will bring this thing along" and could not predict how long it will take to bring about integration in southern schools.

"However, should they decline, I will have to consider other types of conferences, including the kind you suggest."

The President conceded the "difficult adjustments confronting some localities in complying with the school decision of the Supreme Court," but asserted that considerable progress had been made in adjusting race relations in certain areas of the South.

President Sees Gains

The President's letter said that the advance already made "is a clear indication that we can look forward to even greater progress if we can look to moderate and responsible leadership supported by a spirit of patience on the part of all our people."

In his State of the Union Message last January, the President said he would recommend setting up a bipartisan study commission to investigate complaints of infringements of civil rights.

The question of racial relations has pushed steadily to the forefront of controversial domestic problems since the decision by the Supreme Court in May, 1954, outlawing segregation in public schools.

The commission suggested by the President would have the power to subpoena witnesses and to go thoroughly into its assigned subject.

So far the Administration has not given Congress its specific recommendations in the civil rights field. However, Justice Department officials reportedly are redrafting parts of the program, which presumably would emphasize the need to create the bipartisan group. The department's suggestions are expected to be advanced formally by Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr.

Hennings Scores Brownell

Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr., Democrat of Missouri, meantime charged that Mr. Brownell had delayed the civil rights proposals.

Senator Hennings issued a statement today commenting on press reports that the Attorney General soon would send to Congress an Administration civil rights program. The Missouri Democrat said he was "very glad" if Mr. Brownell was interested in civil rights "at last."

In the meantime, Senator Hennings said, the Administration should throw its full support behind four civil rights bills. They were favorably reported by the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights, of which he is chairman, last Feb. 9. The civil rights program expected from Mr. Brownell is "more than covered" by the measures, which his subcommittee submitted to the Senate's Judiciary Committee, Mr. Hennings said.

The measures on which his subcommittee reported favorably were enumerated by Senator Hennings as bills:

¶To establish a civil rights division in the Department of Justice.

¶To protect the voting rights of all citizens in Federal elections and primaries.

¶To protect members of the armed forces against bodily attack.

¶An anti-lynching bill.

All four measures, the Missouri Senator said, are now on the agenda of the Judiciary Committee.

Times
P. 46-2

"What is required in this session," Senator Hennings said, "is full Republican, as well as Democratic support for these bills to get them on the Senate calendar, debated and enacted into law."

President Eisenhower's letter to Governor Collins today was in response to a telegram he received on March 22. In that telegram the Florida official suggested a review of "the South's present problems in the whole field of racial relations."

Fulbright Gives View

On Capitol Hill, the President's letter to Governor Collins brought varied responses.

Senator J. William Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas, and one of the 101 signers of a manifesto issued by Southern lawmakers against the Supreme Court's decision, said it was "too bad" that the President "didn't set up a commission to study the problem before the Supreme Court went off on its tangent."

The Senator said that "it would be far better to have a conference than to send troops."

"I don't mean that a conference will do any good," Mr. Fulbright added, "but I do not oppose the idea. We are in a very serious position. Picking up the pieces after the Supreme Court has done the damage."

Senator Alexander Wiley, Republican of Wisconsin, said that "the President has hit it on the head." He said that if Congress did not act to set up a study commission "we then should have a conference."

Senator Price Daniel, Democrat of Texas, another signer of the manifesto, said he wanted to study the President's letter before commenting.

Senator Olin D. Johnston, Democrat of South Carolina, said he could not see "anything wrong" with the President's meeting with Governors of the Southern states.

"It might be helpful," he said. "He'd get their views in the matter and they could get his."

Senator Spessard L. Holland, Democrat of Florida, said the President's letter to Governor Collins "surely indicates that we are moving toward high-level discussions of these serious problems at an early date."

Collins Praises Letter

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., March 31 (UP)—Governor Collins praised as "cooperative and helpful" President Eisenhower's letter on the critical segregation issue. He said "the President obviously has given careful consideration to our problems. He has indicated a willingness to be cooperative and helpful. I appreciate this attitude."

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER

WASHINGTON, March 31 (AP)—Following is the text of President Eisenhower's letter on segregation to Gov. LeRoy Collins of Florida today:

Your telegram of March 22 in which you suggest that a conference of Southern Governors and Attorneys General be called by me to review "the South's present problems in the whole field of racial relations" has had my thoughtful attention.

I am deeply cognizant of the difficult adjustments confronting some localities in complying with the school decision of the Supreme Court. It seems to me, however, that the progress already made in certain regions of the South before and since this decision is a clear indication that we can look forward to even greater progress if we can look to moderate and responsible leadership supported by a spirit of patience on the part of all our people.

As you and your associates are well aware, the recommendation I have already made to the Congress requesting the creation of a bipartisan commission to study and make recommendations in this area has not yet been accepted. It is my belief that this commission could provide the means for helpful discussion, and the restoration of a clearer understanding on the part of all our people of the real nature of the problems you mention.

I am still hopeful that the conference will act favorably upon my suggestion. However, should they decline, I will have to consider other types of conferences, including the kind you suggest. I trust that the responsibilities that lie primarily with state and local governments, as indeed the responsibilities of the Federal Government, may continue to be accepted, understood, and discharged by every official with an understanding of the deep human values which underlie this problem.

DESEGREGATION PROGRESS URGED BY EISENHOWER

Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La.

Warns Against Getting Into 'Nasty Mess'

Thurs. 3-22-56

By J. W. DAVIS

WASHINGTON, March 21 (AP) — President Eisenhower declared today that "all the South" should show some progress toward racial desegregation.

P. 1

"I am for moderation, but I am for progress," he told his news conference.

He raised this plea:

"Let's don't try to think of this as a tremendous fight that is going to separate Americans and get ourselves in a nasty mess.

"Let's try to think of how we can make progress."

Eisenhower discussed racial matters four times in a half-hour of questions and answers which also produced various other presidential comments.

In Chilly Weather

Eisenhower walked from the White House to the conference room in the old State Department building in bright, but rather chilly weather.

He wore a three-piece gray suit, and kept the coat buttoned at the middle of its three buttons. His necktie was a quiet blue. He stood throughout the conference, as usual, and from time to time rested or tapped his fingers on a yellow desk blotter.

Eisenhower opened the conference by remarking that the Defense Department is making much progress in adopting recommendations of the Hoover Commission on government reorganization.

He also noted that Secretary of State Dulles is returning from his Asian tour, and said that such international visits are valuable. He said the same holds true of his meeting with Mexico's President Adolfo Ruiz Cortines and Canada's Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, scheduled for White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., next week.

Senators Hit, Defend Ike on Segregation

World-Telegram + Sun P.3 Fri. 3-16-56

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, March 16.—President Eisenhower's attitude toward segregation was both criticized and defended as debate over the controversial issue flared again today in the Senate. New York,

Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D., N. Y.) quoted the President as having advocated moderation and as having warned against "the extremists" in the segregation dispute. He asked whether Gen. Eisenhower is "a neutralist." N. Y.

Sen. Clifford P. Case (R., N. J.) described this as an "unwaranted and unfair" suggestion and pleaded that there be no more "suggestion of politics" in debate over the school integration issue.

Assails Nixon.

Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D., Oreg.) told the Senate it was Vice President Richard M. Nixon who first injected politics into the issue. He said this was in a New York speech asserting that a "Republican chief justice," Earl Warren, delivered the Supreme Court's unanimous ruling against school segregation.

Sen. Case said he regards that reference by Mr. Nixon as "unfortunate" and believes the Vice President feels the same way.

The flurry of debate was touched off by a speech in which Sen. Lehman called upon the President to "assume the responsibility" for enforcement of the Supreme Court school integration decree. He said he could not "stand above the battle, like President Eisenhower, and say with fine impartiality that both sides must show restraint."

Sen Neuberger renewed his suggestion that Gen. Eisenhower call a White House conference on racial problems.

He said it was "inconsistent" for the President to call for patience and moderation while asking for a Congressional commission which the Senator said would have "powers of compulsion."

Gen. Eisenhower suggested Jan. 5 the creation of a Congressional commission to make a continuing study of racial tensions. He has said such a body could be given Congressional authority to subpoena witnesses.

EISENHOWER BARS PARLEY ON RACISM

Times, Sat. 5-24-56 New York

Fears Publicity on It Might Be Harmful—Says Brownell Consulted South's Leaders

Times, 5-24-56

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 23—President Eisenhower threw cold water today on a proposal that he call a conference of Southern Governors to discuss racial integration of the public schools.

The President indicated that he believed such a conference might inflame racial feelings rather than moderate tension. He implied that in a formal meeting, requiring a communiqué to be issued at its conclusion, the participants probably would feel compelled to stand by long-established positions.

General Eisenhower told his news conference, however, that Herbert Brownell Jr., Attorney General, had invited Governors and state Attorneys General in to see him about racial problems. The President did not amplify this statement, and it left officials of the Justice Department somewhat mystified.

Mr. Brownell was en route across the country and could not be reached for comment. Two of his top aides said he might have issued a personal invitation to Southern Governors or Attorneys General to discuss racial matters, but they knew nothing about any actual meetings.

Last February Adlai E. Stevenson proposed that the President call a meeting of Southern white and Negro leaders "to explore ways and means of allaying * * * rising tensions' over racial integration in the South. Last week, in convention here, the Textile Workers Union of America called on the President to summon the Southern Governors for a specific discussion of ways to bring about integration of the schools.

At the news conference today the President was asked whether he had any plans for a convocation of the Governors.

General Eisenhower said he had no such plans. Possibly in a reference to Mr. Stevenson's proposal, he said the thought had been advanced some months ago and explored "thoroughly" at the time. He then added:

"I am not sure that we want, at any time, a conference that would exacerbate this situation."

The questioner asked whether the President thought such a conference would exacerbate the situation.

"It would depend entirely on the way it was called * * *," the President said. "You certainly would have to look at the publicity that might come out of it* * *. I am not so certain that is the way to approach it at this time.

"Make no mistake," he continued, "I am ready to confer with anybody on this problem who wants to come in and see me, but a formal conference, always there must be a communiqué—you people insist on it. Well, what are they going to say? And that could be very significant."

As to Mr. Brownell, the President's statement was:

"The Attorney General invited each Governor and his attorney general in to see him, either individually or if they wanted to, some of them came together."

PRESIDENT GIVES KEY TO BIAS FIGHT

Times, 5-24-56 New York

Courageous Action by Heads of 3 Religions Is Needed, He Tells Interfaith Group

Wed. 6-6-56

President Eisenhower has expressed the hope that American religious and racial conflicts might be dealt with most effectively "on the moral and spiritual plane."

In a message to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, released yesterday, the President called for "courageous action by the leaders of the three great religious traditions of our country." He called such action basic to all other steps "that must be taken."

General Eisenhower's message was addressed to the Rev. Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell, minister of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church; Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; and the Rev. Dr. John A. O'Brien of the University of Notre Dame.

The three are national co-chairmen of the conference's Commission on Religious Organizations.

The White House statement was in reply to "A Message to the American People" prepared by the commission on the "growing religious and racial conflicts which are dividing our people." The commission had asked ministers, priests and rabbis to bring together religiously motivated, thoughtful people in building brotherhood and taking common action in lessening tensions and promoting goodwill.

The President hailed the commission's statement as "a ringing call for action by those best fitted to act." The commission had voiced alarm that the "crisis" in human relations would worsen "unless moderating moral leadership is more in evidence."

Following is the President's reply:

"The message to the American people, released by the Commission on Religious Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, is creative and constructive in its proposal that our religious leaders take the initiative in calling together concerned citizens on a local basis, to treat social and group tensions as they arise.

"Problems of such magnitude as American race relations and intercultural goodwill and cooperation can be dealt with most effectively on the moral and spiritual plane. Courageous action by the leaders of the three great religious traditions of our country is besic to all other steps that must be taken.

"A free people, in voluntary association, can unite their talents for the solution of all problems. Self-reliant minds recognizing moral responsibilities that conscience dictates will reach righteous solutions. But the struggle must be led by those with strong moral motivation and spiritual resources.

"The message to the American people is a ringing call for action by those fitted to act."

Ike Criticized On Segregation

Post + Times Herald P.21 Sat. 3-17-56

Washington

Two Democratic senators accused President Eisenhower yesterday of taking an "inadequate" stand in the bitter school segregation dispute. They called on him to "exercise leadership."

Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D-N. Y.) told the Senate Mr. Eisenhower has tried to "stand above the battle" with his appeal for "moderation." He said everybody is for "moderation," but "who does (Mr. Eisenhower) identify as the extremists?"

Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.), like Lehman a member of the Senate civil rights bloc, said it is "incumbent on the President to exercise leadership in a national crisis as far reaching as this one." He called for action "as soon as possible."

Mr. Eisenhower promptly was defended by Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-N. J.). He said any suggestion that the President is "a neutralist" in the struggle is "unwarranted and unjustified." He urged that the segregation issue be kept out of politics.

Neuberger told Case that Vice President Richard M. Nixon first injected politics into the segregation disputs when he boasted that the Supreme Court decision was written by a Republican Chief Justice, Earl Warren.

At his Wednesday news conference, Mr. Eisenhower urged forces demanding immediate compliance with the Supreme Court's school integration order to be "patient without being complacent." He said it will take time for Southerners to adjust their thinking to the court's order.

SOLONS CLASH OVER RACIAL SEGREGATION

Daily World Sat. 3-17-56

Atlanta, Ga.

BY ROBERT E. THOMPSON

WASHINGTON—(INS)— Northern Democrats and a Republican clashed in the Senate Friday over President Eisenhower's attitude toward the bitter dispute over racial segregation. P. 1 28a

Two Democrats, Sens. Herbert H. Lehman of N. Y., and Richard L. Neuberger of Ore., attacked Mr. Eisenhower's call for patience and restraint on the issue, and urged immediate presidential action.

They were sharply rebuked by Sen. Clifford Case (R) N. J., who defended the Chief Executive and charged that the Democrats were "injecting politics" into the civil rights controversy.

The Senate flareup came as a House member disclosed that the Eisenhower administration may unveil its civil rights proposals next week.

Rep. Thomas J. Lane (D) Mass., chairman of a civil rights subcommittee, said he is certain a Justice Department spokesman will testify before his group Wednesday with the new recommendations.

Lane indicated that his subcommittee may vote out a civil rights bill on the same day although he noted that there are more than 50 such proposals now pending.

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D) N. Y., said he believes the Lane group will approve his bill which would protect all persons in exercise of their constitutional freedoms.

Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, also advocates establishment of civil rights commissions and reorganization of the Justice Department to set up a civil rights division.

Lehman touched off the Senate debate by questioning whether the President was trying to be a "neutralist" in the fight over segregation. He declared:

"I do not want violence. No serious person advocates violence. It must be avoided. But the law must be enforced and I call upon the President of the United States, and the Executive Branch of the government, to assume the responsibility to see that the laws are faithfully executed."

Case immediately retorted that "any suggestion" Mr. Eisenhower is neutral in the segregation fight is "uwarranted and unfounded." He declared that "the President's belief that the Supreme Court must be obeyed is clear."

Daily World

When Case charged that the Democrats were "injecting politics," Neuberger countered with the assertion that it was Vice President Richard M. Nixon who "put this into politics" when he referred to Chief Justice Earl Warren as a "Republican." P.4

Case replied that he regarded Nixon's remark in a Lincoln Day speech in New York as "unfortunate" and said he believes the Vice President "feels the same way about it."

Neuberger accused the President of offering "inadequate" and "inconsistent" reasons for rejecting his proposal that a White House conference be called on racial problems.

The Oregon Democrat declared: "...the situation calls for action as soon as possible. It is incumbent on the President, whose office represents the acme of national leadership, to exercise that leadership in a national crisis as grave and far-reaching as this one."

President Urges Racial Parley

Star P.1 Sun. 4-1-56

He Will Call Talks If Congress Doesn't

Washington

By JAMES Y. NEWTON

President Eisenhower said yesterday he will consider calling a conference on racial problems if Congress fails to act on his suggestion for creation of a bipartisan commission "to study and make recommendations" on ways and means of easing tensions in the South. 38a

The President expressed his views on the race situation in a letter to Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida. The Governor had asked Mr. Eisenhower to call a conference of Southern Governors and Attorneys General to review "the South's present problems in the whole field of racial relations."

In Tallahassee, Fla., Gov. Collins said he appreciated the attention the President had given his conference suggestion.

Co-operation Cited

"The President obviously has given careful consideration to our problems," he said. "He has indicated a willingness to be cooperative and helpful. I appreciate this attitude."

Senator Hennings, Democrat, of Missouri, meantime, urged the Eisenhower administration to give full support to four civil rights bills reported favorably in February by the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights. Senator Hennings is chairman of the group.

"The time has passed when the American Negro needs to have his constitutional rights studied," the Missouri Democrat said in a statement.

Text of Letter

In his letter to Gov. Collins, the President said:

"Your telegram of March twenty-second in which you suggest that a conference of Southern Governors and Attorneys General be called by me to review "the South's present problems in the whole field of racial relations," has had my thoughtful attention.

"I am deeply cognizant of the difficult adjustments confronting some localities in complying with the school decision of the Supreme Court. It seems to me, however, that the progress already made in certain regions of the South before and since this decision is a clear indication that we can look forward to even greater progress if we can look to moderate and responsible leadership supported by a spirit of patience on the part of all of our people.

"As you and your associates are well aware, the recommendation I have already made to the Congress requesting the creation of a bipartisan commission to study and make recommendations in this area has not yet been accepted. It is my belief that this commission could provide the means for helpful discussion, and the restoration of a clearer understanding on the part of all our people of the real nature of the problems you mention. Star P.5-B

"I am still hopeful that the Congress will act favorably upon my suggestion. However, should they decline, I will have to consider other types of conferences, including the kind you suggest. I trust that the responsibilities that lie primarily with State and local governments, as indeed the responsibilities of the Federal Government, may continue to be accepted, understood, and discharged by every official with an understanding of the deep human values which underlie this problem."

4 Bills Face Action.

The four bills mentioned by Senator Hennings are now before the full Senate Judiciary Committee. One is an anti-lynching measure, and the others would establish a civil rights division in the Justice Department, protect the voting rights of all citizens in Federal elections and primaries, and protect members of the armed forces against bodily attack.

White House Press Secretary James C. Hagerty said Attorney General Brownell would present the administration's civil rights legislative program shortly after Congress returns from its Easter recess.

Senator Hennings said the proposed administration program, as described in news stories, is "more than covered" by the four bills and other legislation already before his subcommittee.

"It seems evident to me," Senator Hennings added, "that to hold hearings on the measures the Attorney General intends to propose would not only delay congressional action on the subcommittee bills, but might endanger passage of civil rights legislation during this session of Congress."

IKE MAY CALL RACIAL TALKS

Times-Picayune

Will Act If Congress Fails to Set Up Commission

Jun. 4-1-56

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, March 31 (AP) — President Eisenhower, calling anew for "moderate and responsible" leadership to solve racial problems, said Saturday he may set up conferences on the subject if Congress doesn't act.

He said he was still hopeful Congress will follow his recommendation that it set up a bipartisan commission. As outlined in his state of the union message Jan. 5 this commission would investigate charges that Negroes are being deprived of the vote in some localities and are "being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures."

New Orleans

Eisenhower made his remarks Saturday in a letter to Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida, who had called on the President to convene a conference of Southern governors and attorneys general for a discussion of racial relations.

La.

Collins, in a wire on March 22, had told the President that as a result of the supreme court's school integration decision and of activities of extremists on both sides "we are experiencing what well may be a deterioration of racial relations. We are fearful that progress we have made over many years may be dissipated."

'Thoughtful Attention'

Eisenhower replied that Collins' wire "has had my thoughtful attention" and added:

"I am deeply cognizant of the difficult adjustments confronting some localities in complying with the school decision of the supreme court. It seems to me, however, that the progress already made in certain regions of the South before and since this decision is a clear indication that we can look forward to even greater progress if we can look to moderate and responsible leadership supported by a spirit of patience on the part of all of our people.

"As you and your associates are well aware, the recommendation I have already made to the Congress requesting the creation of a bipartisan commission to study and make recommendations in this area has not yet been accepted. It is my belief that this commission could provide the means for helpful discussion, and the restoration of a clearer understanding on the part of all of our people of the real nature of the problems you mention.

Hopeful of Action

"I am still hopeful that the Congress will act favorably upon my suggestion. However, should they decline, I will have to consider other types of conference, including the kind you suggest. I trust that the responsibilities that lie primarily with state and local governments, as indeed the responsibilities of the federal government, may continue to be accepted, understood, and discharged by every official with an understanding of the deep human values which underlie this problem."

The President's indication that he might consider calling such a conference as Gov. Collins' suggested was hailed by some Southern Democrats in Congress as "encouraging" but the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People declared that a conference "should include representatives of both races."

Several of the governors who would be involved in a conference such as was proposed by Collins already have sponsored or joined in moves aimed at thwarting the supreme court's school decision.

Times-Picayune

Meantime presidential press secretary James C. Hagerty told reporters Saturday, in response to questions, that the administration's proposals for civil rights legislation will go to Congress in the near future, through the attorney general.

P. 8

Filibusters Killed

Eisenhower said in his State of the Union message Jan. 5 that these recommendations would be made soon but they have been delayed, reportedly to permit officials to re-word them. It has been indicated they would include legislation to set up a bipartisan commission, and to establish a civil rights division in the justice department.

For years all civil rights proposals have been killed by Southern filibusters in the Senate. Most lawmakers assume this stalemate will continue. Some professed to see the bipartisan commission proposal as an effort to put the onus on a Democratic Congress for any failure to act on civil rights.

Sen. Holland (D-Fla.) endorsed Gov. Collins' suggestion for a conference as "an excellent one." He said he was encouraged that the President seemed to be "moving toward high level discussion of these serious problems at an early date."

"I think the sort of conference Gov. Collins has proposed should come before any attempt is made to set up a special commission," Holland said. "The conference could discuss law enforcement, comity with the federal government and the different conditions that prevail in different states.

'Might Be Helpful'

"From an exchange of views there is bound to come a better understanding of the problems which I believe have got to be solved on the local level in the states."

Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D- S. C.) said that if Eisenhower met with the governors and attorney generals of the Southern states "it might be helpful."

"He would get their views and he could give his," Johnston said. "I've always thought that it's not a bad idea for people to sit down and discuss matters."

Asked if he thought the proposal implied any new step toward federal intervention, Johnston replied he doesn't think it would "bring about any more than we already have."

The South Carolina senator said he is opposed to the establishment of a bipartisan race relations commission.

"I don't see where any good would come of it," he said. "The federal government ought to stay out of these matters and leave them to the states. I believe in states' rights.'

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, said in New York his organization "hopes very much that the President will call a conference on de-segregation. But he said such a conference should include representatives of both races from the areas where the problem must be solved.

'Would Open Channels'

"A conference limited to elected state officials cannot present fairly the views of substantial minorities of Negro citizens in the affected states, nor can it reflect the opinion of moderates among the Southern whites," Wilkins said. He added:

"A White House conference, at the very least, would open the presently clogged channels of communication between races in the South."

Sen. Wiley (R-Wis.) said he hopes Congress will act on the President's proposal to set up a bipartisan commission. But if it doesn't, he said he would favor such a conference as Collins proposed.

"We Americans are in the habit of sitting around the table and reasoning out our problems," he said. "I am satisfied that we can keep our heads and find a way out of these difficulties."

Sen. Barrett (R-Wyo.) said he hopes a concrete White House proposal for establishment of the bipartisan commission will be forthcoming soon. He said that even if Congress doesn't act favorably on it, the proposal might prompt hearings at which "all the people who have a direct interest in this matter" could testify

President Cautions on Race Issues

P. 1

Bell & Times Herald

Thurs. 3-22-56

Washington, D.C.

Ways of Meeting 'Tough' Problem of Integration Aired At Press Conference

By Chalmers M. Roberts
Staff Reporter

President Eisenhower yesterday spelled out the way he believes Americans should meet what he called the 'very tough' recial segregation issue in the wake of the Supreme Court's decisions.

He told his news conference he believes that:

- Americans should not "think of this as a tremendous fight that is going to separate Americans and get ourselves into a nasty mess."
- Instead, "people have to search their own hearts if we are going to get a decent answer and keep going ahead."
- Americans should "try to think of it" in terms of "how can we make progress and keep going and not stop it."
- "It is incumbent on all the South to show some progress" since "that is what the Supreme Court asked for."
- There must, however, be both "understanding" in the Nation as a whole and "really sympathetic consideration of a problem that is far larger, both in its emotional and even in its physical aspects, than most of us realize."
- The "pulpits" of the Nation "do have a very great responsibility" in helping to solve the problem.
- In the last analysis, "the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, is our basic law" even though the Court's views on racial segregation in the schools "was one thing in 1896" and "a very greatly different thing now."

The President summed up his own views by saying that "I am for moderation, but I am for progress." His views, in reply to several questions yesterday, amounted to a further spelling out of those he had given newsmen a week ago.

Yesterday, however, the political aspects of the President's "moderation" but "progress" approach also figured in his news conference for the first time.

The sum of his replies to two questions left Mr. Eisenhower, as the undoubted Republican candidate this fall, in a position which more and more Democrats are coming to believe will be one of their most difficult to counter—drawing Negro votes in pivotal Northern states but still retaining considerazle conservative Southern support; in short, bringing under one party roof many of the opposing elements in the race issue as the Democrats succeeded in doing for two decades under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman.

Asked to give possible reasons for reports that some Negro leaders were switching their political allegiance from the Democrats to the Republicans, the President gave this reply:

"Well, I have got a very good one. I have told you a dozen times that it is anybody's judgment as to whether I am trying to do it for 166 million people, not for any group.

"I don't care how you define them, how you separate them geographically or racially or religiously, I am for America, and that is what I am trying to do. So if they want to come in under that umbrella ,I welcome them with open arms."

Associated Press Wirephoto

LETTER FROM THE FIRST LADY: Judy Genier, 14, shows a classmate the missive in which Mrs. Eisenhower praised her for "making the road to integration" shorter.

Mrs. Eisenhower Hails a Girl For Her Fight on Segregation

Times Thurs. 1-26-56 P.31-C

ASHEVILLE, N. C., Jan. 25 (AP)—Judy Genier, 14 years old, a white New York State girl who chose to attend a Negro school here because she felt she was "wasting my life," has won the praise of Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Judy displayed to students and teachers at Allen High School a letter from Mrs. Eisenhower. She wrote that Judy was "much to be admired for * * * making the road toward integration a shorter one."

Nobody at Allen, a combination boarding and day school operated by the Methodist Church, knew how Mrs. Eisenhower had learned of Judy's attendance.

In Washington, an aide to Mrs. Eisenhower said that she had learned about Judy's decision to go to the school from a letter from the girl's mother.

At Moriah Center, N. Y., Judy's mother, Mrs. Robert May, said, "I'm flabbergasted."

Mrs. May recalled that Judy had become interested in the school two years ago, when Allen's white principal, Miss Julia Titus, spoke at a Methodist Church center in the Adirondack Mountain hamlet here.

Shortly afterward, Mrs. May asserted, her daughter said, "I just feel as if I've wasted my life." She said she wanted to attend Allen and "let them know what it is like to have a white sister."

Judy led the eighth grade in scholarship last year, her first at Allen. Judy is the only white girl in the 130-student school, grades 7-12.

Allen officials quoted the letter Judy received as follows:

"It was gratifying to learn recently about the wonderful work which you are doing at Allen High School. You are much to be admired for your strength in making the road toward integration a shorter one, and I want to commend you for your courage and foresight in taking your place where you could accomplish so much toward making our country a better place for every citizen.

"The President joins me in sending you very best wishes in all of your endeavors."

Others Accept Judy At Allen

Defender Sat. 2-4-56 P.5

ASHVILLE, N. C. — Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower has commended a 14-year-old white pupil at a Negro high school for 'making the road toward integration a shorter one." Chicago Ill.

In a letter to Judy Genier of Moriah Center, N. Y., and the only white pupil at Allen High school, the First Lady said:

ADMIRES HER

"It was gratifying to learn recently about the wonderful work which you are doing at Allen High school.

"You are much to be admired for your strength in making the road toward integration a shorter one, and I want to commend you for your courage and foresight in taking your place where you could accomplish so much toward making our country a better place for every citizen.

"The President joins me in sending you very best wishes in all of your endeavors."

JUDY'S SURPRISED

Judy's immediate reaction to the letter was one of surprise. She said she was "very surprised and happy" to receive the letter but "had no idea the letter was coming or why it came."

Of the other 130 pupils, she said: "They have accepted me and seem glad to have me."

Mrs. Eisenhower learned about Judy's decision to attend the school from the girl's mother, Mrs. Robert May.

Allen High school is a combination boarding and day school operated by the Methodist church. The principal anl most of the faculty are white.

HONOR PUPIL

Judy became interested in the school two years ago, Mrs. May recalled, when Allen's principal, Julia Titus, spoke at a Methodist church center in the Adirondack hamlet.

An honor student, Judy was elected class president last year and this year was chosen a member of the student council.

Her other activities include singing in the school choir, which travels throughout the state, and participating in the New Homemakers of America, an organization of home economic students.

Segregation Leaders From Twelve States Meet; Organize Fight To Maintain Racism

World Tues. 1-3-56

Doctrine Of Interposition Gains Support Of Forces

P. 7

Birmingham, Ala.

MEMPHIS, Tenn. —(SNS)— The forces of segregation met here last week and added the muscle of unity to its fight to halt the forces of integration!

The move occurred here last week when segregation leaders from 12 Southern states met and banded together into a single organization, the Federation of Constitutional Government, designed "to coordinate the efforts" of segregation forces throughout the South.

Observers from New York, New Jersey and Illinois were present at the secret "organizational meeting."

A statement handed to reporters who were made to wait outside said the federation "will act as a coordinating and information development organization, and will not interfere with the activities of presently existing patriotic organizations or those that may come into existence."

"Courageous political leaders at all levels-national, state and city — must have organized support," the statement said. "If we fail them, they face defeat or discouragement. Remember, the minority pressure groups are united and untiring."

45 PRESENT

About 45 persons, including Sen. James O. Eastland (D. Miss.) and Georgia's Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook, both avowed segregationists, attended the secret meeting.

The new organization adopted a resolution supporting the doctrine of interposition which it said five states had used to "nullify unauthorized acts of the federal government."

The interposition doctrine, intended to void a U. S. Supreme Court decision, is to be considered this month by the Virginia Legislature as a means of resisting integration of the state's public schools.

The FCG resolution called on the legislatures of other Southern states to support Virginia on the "issue of state rights."

John U. Barr, a New Orleans businessman, was named chairman of an executive committee designed to "organize an aggressive campaign" against integration.

Others named to the executive committee:

Micah Jenkins ,Charleston, S. C.; R. B. Crawford, Farmville, Va.; Circuit Court Judge Tom P. Brady, Brookhaven, Miss.; W. M. Shaw, Homer, La.; J. Evetts Haley, Canyon, Texas; State Sen. James D. Johnson, Crossett, Ark.; State Sen. Walter C. Givhan, Stafford, Ala.; T. Walker Lewis, Memphis; Joseph Jenkins, Gainesville, Fla.; Edward H. Malone, Louisburg, N. C.; Hugh C. Grant, Augusta, Ga., and Mrs. Hallie M. Kendall, Charleston, W. Va.

Executive committee chairman Barr said "We are going to coordinate the work of such groups as the Citizens Councils, the States' Rights Council of Georgia and the Committee of Individual Rights in Virginia."

Tells Why He's Glad He's White

Defender Sat. 1-14-56 P. 8

Chicago, Ill.

By REV. ROBBINS RALPH

(Rev. Robbins is associate superintendent and minister of church extension for the Florida Congregational Christian conference. This sermon was preached at Rev. Ralph's former pastorate, the Church-by-the Sea, Madeira Beach, Fla.)

I'm glad I was born white, since this is a white man's world. There are lots of reasons. I can go into any kind of a store and be fitted for a suit. My wife can try on a dress in any dress shop in any city in the country. We can board a bus or train or boat, if we can pay for the ticket, and we can occupy any seat that is available, and no questions asked.

I'm glad I am a white man. I can go to any theatre, and choose my own seat. If I were a Negro, I could not do that. I enjoy baseball, and when I go to Al Lang Field, all I have to have is one dollar and I can enter the main gate and go anywhere I choose in the great shaded grandstand. Negroes have to sit on bleachers out in the sun. I'm glad I'm a white man.

I'm glad my children have the privileges and advantages of freedom. The public schools that have been open to them are fine schools. They could attend any private school or college in the country to which I could afford to send them and for which they are intellectually qualified.

NO JOB BIAS

They may choose their own careers. They may apply for any job in the country, and the only requirement is that they have the ability to perform the work. And that they be white. I'm glad my children are white, since this is a white man's world.

And yet I'm not altogether glad that I'm a white man. There is something on my mind. Since this is a white man's world, I rather naturally get the impression that I'm a better man than the Negro. More intelligent, more cultured.

Take the matter of money, for example. I know how to use money fairly, wisely. I don't spend it as fast as I get it, and then go on relief when it is gone. I don't own a television set because I can't afford it. I can't drive a Cadillac because, for my money, there are other values in life more important.

BOTHERS ME

But the Negroes who live in tumble-down shacks have forests of TV towers over their quarters. They love to drive flashy and powerful cars. Their cultural scale is obviously lower than mine. Or so I am tempted to think.

And yet, something bothers me. It just happens that I like to live in an adequate and modern house, set on a spacious land-scaped lot, in a pleasant neighborhood. How do I know what I would do if this privilege were denied me? How do I know what I would do if I had to live in the narrow confines of a crowded slum?

If it were impossible for me to go out and buy, or build, or rent the kind of a house I like? If I could not go to the better churches, could not spend my money at the better theatres, could not play golf at the country club?

DO LIKE NEGROES

I imagine I'd get a television set as soon as I could manage the down payment. Would I be able to keep up the payments? I don't know. If a white man and I work together in a certain place and the employer has to let one of us go, I'll be the one laid off. I can't be sure of the future anyway. I might as well enjoy TV while I can. And if they have to take the set back to the store, so what?

And as for the Cadillac, this is a white man's world. And in the white man's world, a Cadillac is a symbol of success, achievement, of power and prestige. Since I happen to be a white man, there are also other ways in which I can satisfy the urge to be somebody; other ways in which I can prove myself successful.

I don't need a Cadillac. But if these other avenues were closed to me; if I could not have a good house to live in; if I could not hobnob with the best people; if I could walk through the hotel dining room as a waiter but not as a diner; if I could go out in the municipal pier with a broom to sweep the floor but not with a pole to catch the fish; if my wife could to into the homes of the rich and elegant to serve tea but not to take tea — you know, I think a Cadillac might be tempting.

No, I'm not altogether happy about being a white man in a white man's world. This world gives me the impression that I'm a better man. But the horrible and disturbing thought is that I may be wrong.

The cards are stacked in my favor. The comparison is not fair. Maybe I'm an inferior person, and don't know it.

No I'm not entirely happy about being a white man in a white man's world. There is something gnawing on my conscience. It is on my conscience that I and my sort are depressing my brother and his children . . . When we elevate ourselves by stepping on the colored race, by the same act, we send the colored race down.

When we deceive ourselves into the notion of innate and God-given superiority, by the same token we sometimes force upon the Negro a sense of inferiority which dooms him to live way below his best.

If he is sensitive (and he is human), something gets crushed. Why fight against a stone wall? Why push in where you obviously are not wanted? You can always go back to shanty-town, the television, the Cadillac. For excitement and adventure you can always turn to moonshine liquor and the bolita game.

I love this church, and the people in it. I love them very greatly. Could I come to church some Sunday morning with a Negro friend and could we worship quietly together? I don't know. We had better be doing some thinking and some praying about these things.

WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY

At present, it is still a white man's country, the American Negro today being where all our ancestors were 200 years ago, where all women were 100 years ago. We do not well to boast of freedom until the last battle has been fought and won.

I happen to be white. I want to be a Christian. The white man part of me is satisfied the way things are. The Christian part of me is restless and unhappy and guilty and ashamed.

The Christian part of me will not be at peace until this is not a white man's country nor a black man's country, but God's country. For all men are His children.

I beg your pardon if I have spoken in such a way as to disturb your thinking. I beg God's pardon if I have not.

Cops shoot up home

Afro-American Sat. 1-28-56 P. 1

Baltimore, Md.

PENSACOLA, Fla. — Mystery of who riddled the residence of Dr. Charles A. Augustus with bullets on Jan. 13, was cleared up Tuesday with the suspension of two white policemen.

A barrage of shots were fired shortly before midnight into Dr. Augustus' home, located in a white neighborhood, as the family slept.

Windows were shattered in the living room, guest bedroom and the bedroom occupied by the two Augustus children.

* * *

ACCUSED OF the shooting were Patrolmen George C. McLarty, 25, and Randall E. Sellers, 23.

The charges were filed by Police Chief Crosby Hall with the Civil Service Board. Criminal charges may be added later, he said.

In addition to the shooting, the two officers face charges of attempted rape.

The assault attempt occurred when their radio car became stuck in a sandy strip near a colored neighborhood, City Attorney F. Churchill Mellen said.

McLarty reportedly banged on a door of one of the residences and shouted:

"Open up, it's the law."

* * *

UPON DISCOVERING that the matron who answered his knock was alone, he drew his gun and attempted to rape her.

When she fought him off, he went next door where an attempt was made on another woman.

Earlier, the two officers had driven up beside another police car and asked:

"If you heard that Dr. Augustus' house was shot up tonight, how long would it take you to get out there?"

A short time later Dr. Augustus' home was riddled with three shotgun blasts and bullets from a .38 calibre pistol.

Anti-Integration Party Proposed

Times-Picayune P. 12 New Orleans, La.

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Feb. 1 (AP) — Fred H. Kent, chairman of the board of control over state universities, has proposed a new political party as a means of combatting racial integration.

"From a practical angle such a party should become immediately, even if limited to the solid South, the controlling factor in the government of this country," Kent said in a talk before the Jacksonville Junior Chamber of Commerce.

"In almost every election we would be the balance of power in the country. We would force presidential elections into the House of Representatives. In Congress we could control the organization of both houses."

Collins Says Florida Cannot Afford Racial Issue Turmoil

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 2-8-56

TAMPA, Fla., Feb. 7 (AP)—Gov. Leroy Collins declared today Florida canont afford to get mixed up in turmoil over racial issues and denounced any office seeker who campaigns by "inflammatory statements calculated to arouse fear and hatred."

Using perhaps his strongest words on the racial problem, Collins told a gathering of several hundred Tampa businessmen at a Florida State Fair luncheon:

"Believe me when I say Florida cannot afford an orgy of race conflict and discord."

Collins saved his remarks on racial issues until the end of his prepared speech, which he read. He led up to his remarks on segregation by telling of present and future industrial developments in Florida. He said he wanted to see Florida have the best of everything.

"Above all, this is why I do not want to see us waste our energies in the fruitless furor of agitating racial misunderstanding.

"As your governor . . . I wish to emphasize that this is a time, perhaps above all others, when our people should be united in a common dedication of unselfish service to promote the welfare of all."

Then he added:

"One of our most effective appeals (to investors) has been that we can offer soundness, stability and security. Nothing will turn these investors away quicker than the prospect of finding communities hepped up by demagoguery and seething under the tension and turmoil of race hatred.

"We can preserve segregation without furor. We have demonstrated this effectively up to this time."

Florida Chief Hits 'Furor' In Integration

Advertiser Wed. 2-8-56 Montgomery, Ala.

TAMPA, Fla., Feb. 7 (AP)—Gov. LeRoy Collins declared today Florida cannot afford to get mixed up in turmoil over racial issues and denounced any office seeker who campaigns by "inflamatory statements calculated to arouse fear and hatred."

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'FRUITLESS FUROR'

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Florida Grocer Forced to Sell Out

Richmond Heights Boycott Succeeds

Courier Sat. 2-18-56 Pittsburgh, Pa. P. 6

RICHMOND HEIGHTS, Fla.—An aroused citizenry of this all-Negro community, seventeen miles south of Miami, Fla., successfully boycotted the operator of the Richmond Heights Food Market and forced him to sell out the store and quit the community. This action was started two weeks ago when the white merchant, Jack Richards, slapped a 6-yearold child.

The successful boycott of the community's only store was obtained by about 90 per cent cooperation from the residents, with neighbors shopping for neighbors in stores along the highway, and the operation of a car pool for shoppers.

At a mass assembly reminiscent of a New England town meeting, the citizens of Richmond Heights met at the school to hear a report on their boycott by James M. Reid who in turn introduced the new store owner, Saul Kricum, of Philadelphia. Mr. Kricum stated that the policies he will follow in the store and heard from the group the kind of store they wanted in the community.

Other speakers at the meeting were Mrs. Ola Stevenson, Mrs. Ora D. Taylor, Mrs. M. K. Reid and George Davidson, a developer in the Richmond Heights area. Willie L. Redding, commander of the American Legion Post, presided.

The group voted to continue its mass assembly and to work on other projects to benefit the community. They will next demand the school board to begin construction of a permanent school, conduct a registration drive to enroll every household, build and furnish a playground, and launch a drum and bugle corps.

—BIGGEST and the BEST—

Bryant Supports Segregation

Herald Thurs. 1-26-56 Miami, Fla.

Different Standards Cited by Candidate

TAMPA — (UP) — C. Farris Bryant, candidate for governor, came out Wednesday emphatically for segregation and warned that "violence, bloodshed and death" will result if integration is forced on the south.

Bryant, who was scheduled to address the Tampa League of Women's Voters on "constitutional government," was badgered by club members on the segregation issue until he finally gave up and said, "I'm for segregation, yes, ma'm."

The veteran legislator explained that "my line of thinking comes not only from my life but the lives before me and from what I'm accustomed to. In the homes of Negroes we find different intellectual levels and moral and sanitary standards."

Bryant said, however, "Negroes have come very far in these past 100 years, but not as far as they will go in the next 100. I feel that it would not be for two groups with such different standards to be thrown into direct contact."

Bryant predicted that forcing integration in the schools of the South would cause parents to take their children out of public schools and put them into private institutions.

Florida Solon Seeking Pow For Governor On Segregat

Advertiser Thurs. 3-15-56 P. 6-A

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., March 14 (AP)—State Rep. Kenneth Ballinger of Tallahassee today wired all members of the Florida House proposing a special session of the Legislature to give the governor sole control over admission of students to state universities. Montgomery

Ballinger said giving the governor such authority would aid Florida in opposing racial integration at the universities because a governor cannot be imprisoned for refusing to perform administrative duties. Ala.

COLLINS OPPOSED

However, Gov. LeRoy Collins, who alone has authority to call the Legislature into special session, said the plan did not sound feasible to him.

Collins, who has said he would call a special session to consider segregation problems if it is determined any good would come from it commented:

"Offhand, it certainly does not sound good to me. I don't think it is consistent with our form of government to vest that much power in any single official."

Ballinger suggested submission of an emergency constitutional amendment to the voters which would give the governor "the final supervisory authority over requirements to the universities and colleges because the governor is the only state authority who cannot be placed in federal prison for refusing to perform administrative duties."

Ballinger's telegram to his 94 fellow House members followed the U.S. Supreme Court's order of Monday that Virgil Hawkins, Daytona Beach Negro, be admitted to the law school of the University of Florida.

"Florida must act promptly and courageously to meet this crisis," Ballinger said.

Florida Politics Feed Racial Tension

Post & Times Herald, Washington, D.C. Mon. 5-7-56

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., May 6 — Politics has fertilized the seed of racial stress in Florida.

A few months ago, the Sunshine State was pictured as one of the more moderate southern states in its reaction to the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. The picture has changed.

Baker

Floridians will go to the polls in Tuesday's Democratic primary and vote for any of six candidates for Governor. The results will show how deep have burned the flames of racial stress, fanned vigorously in the past three campaign months.

Gov. Leroy Collins, running for reelection, has always said he favored segregation of whites and Negroes. He said he would do everything legally possible to maintain it.

He specifically asked the 1955 State Legislature to do nothing about the segregation problem. Unlike other southern states, which passed numerous and various laws intended to preserve segregation, the Legislature passed only a mild one: Giving local school boards greater assignment powers. Stronger measures got nowhere.

Need for Gradualism

Up until Feb. 1 of this year, Florida was considered moderate in its reaction. Its Supreme Court brief had stressed the need for gradualism in complying with the desegregation decision. Many observers credit this brief with influencing the court's implementation decree.

On Feb. 1, Sumter L. Lowry of Tampa, retired lieutenant general of the Florida National Guard, announced his candidacy. Up to that time, segregation was not an issue. Since then, it has become for all practical purposes, the only issue.

Lowry, who has said he feels "absolutely sure the hand of the Lord is on my shoulder," definitely promised: "There will be no mixing of races if I am Governor."

Integration, said Lowry, would "destroy the wonderful qualities of the white so that people will have no initiative and backbone for anything. We will become a nation of weaklings." He added he had nothing but the kindest feelings toward Negroes.

Farris Bryant of Ocala, former speaker of the State House, another candidate, at first attacked Lowry's performance. Now Bryant is whooping up the segregation issue.

Warren Drops Restraint

Another candidate, former Gov. Fuller Warren, maintained restraint until two weeks ago. Now he says NAACP stands for the National Association for the Advancement of Collins Politics. If school segregation ends, he warned, "the next step is intermarriage" and "ultimately there would be no longer a white race and no longer a Negro race."

He swore by affidavit that he would maintain segregation. His solution: Simply repeal the Fourteenth Amendment, upon which the Supreme Court based its decision.

But the strong anti-integration stands of Warren and Bryant make no difference to Lowry. He said they and Collins are "three peas in a pod and a vote for any of them is a vote for mixing of the races."

Collins continues through the storm to discuss planks of his platform—revision of the State Constitution, reorganization of state government, reapportionment of the Legislature. "If you want racial hatred, don't vote for Leroy Collins," he said.

But Lowry's only platform has been maintenance of segregation. Bryant and Warren have virtually dropped their other planks and speak now almost exclusively of their segregation stand.

Collins has been charged with failing to prevent integration on municipal buses (by not calling out the sheriff to enforce segregation); with being under the influence of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People when he commuted the death sentence of a Negro, convicted of raping a white woman, to life imprisonment; with not stopping a Negro church convention from meeting in Miami Beach where the Negroes stayed at hotels usually reserved for whites and usually closed at this time of year.

State Aide Suspended

Collins was forced under pressure to suspend Henry Arrington, a Negro he had appointed to the post of assistant state attorney for Dade County (Miami). The appointment, when made, was called a step forward in race relations.

Peaslee Streets, Palm Beach County constable, is another candidate for Governor. He is the only one to announce support of the Supreme Court decision. Recently he sponsored a 15-minute television film consisting of a white woman's description of her rape by four Negroes. The sixth candidate is W. B. Price, Jacksonville used car dealer.

Political observers are unable to tell just how much the racial campaign has riled Floridians. If none of the candidates wins a majority of the total votes cast on Tuesday, a runoff will be held May 29.

Observers feel damage already has been done to Florida's moderacy. In 1954, after the Supreme Court decision, the state had pointed out reaction might consist of "a tidal wave of hate and inflamed emotions." But it added the decision could also be looked upon as "a high goal which this court has fixed for men of good will to strive to attain in due course if rational consideration is given to human frailty and faith is maintained in the slow but sure upward movement of democracy."

Florida's course may be set Tuesday.

Gunman Shoots Up City After Sidewalk Feud

Daily World, Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 5-16-56

TAMPA, Fla.—(INS)— A white man whipped out a gun and sent several shots whistling through Tampa's business section Tuesday when he became embroiled in an argument with three Negroes over who had the right-of-way on the sidewalk.

No one was injured in the incident, which wasn't without its humorous aspects.

When the shouts rang out a woman wearing a large white hat and a polka-dot dress rushed screaming into a telephone company building and reported: "A man with gun is trying to kill me." She demanded that police be called to protect her, but dashed out before officers arrived.

THREE TARGETS

The three "targets" in the wild shooting spree took off with John Landy-like speed and still have not been located.

Hours after the incident, which occurred in front of the postoffice building Tuesday morning, police had pieced together this story:

John A. Davant, 46-year-old Tampa mechanic was walking along the street when three Negroes deliberately blocked his path. He pushed them aside and continued on, with the trio dogging his footsteps making insulting remarks.

Davant warned them to leave him alone but instead, one of the men struck Davant on the head with his fist. Davant pulled a gun from his shirt and fired one shot into the sidewalk and two more at two of the fleeing Negroes. The third man remained momentarily to grapple with Davant, and then made tracks with his companions.

The shots sent pedestrians dashing for cover and several persons reported hearing the bullets whizz by their heads.

Davant was charged with discharging fire arms in a public place and was released under $100 bond.

Arms Hunt Ordered In Delray

Herald, P.1 Sat. 5-26-56 Miami, Fla.

By RUSS MARCHENER
Herald Staff Writer

DELRAY BEACH — The City Commission Friday night gave police here the power to search all persons and cars for weapons in a move to "prevent riots" over Negro use of the municipal beach.

Following Wednesday's action in which Negroes were barred from the beach and city pool, the latest emergency ordinance "forbids the carrying of weapons on the person or in any motor vehicle."

Based on the "great amount of tension existing in the city and the unusually large number of residents of this city and nearby areas who have recently purchased large quantities of guns and ammunition," the ordinance, unprecedented in South Florida, gave Police Chief R. C. Croft authority "to set up road blocks as may be necessary."

After a 35-minute closed caucus, the commission once again minus Commissioner Catherine Strong, approved without hesitation the city's latest effort to combat a situation which exploded with Mrs. Strong's statement in district federal court last week that the mile-long ocean beach here was open to all races.

The commission cited "persistent rumors have come to the attention of the City Commission that trouble will soon break out on the municipal beach which may lead to injury and death to residents of this city."

BEACH BARS NEGROES

Times 5-13-C

Florida City Votes Ordinance to Halt 'Racial Tension'

New York

DELRAY BEACH, Fla., May 23 (AP)—The Delray Beach City Commission adopted an ordinance today to prohibit Negroes from using the municipal swimming pool or the municipal beach.

Times 5-24-56

The commission called its action an "emergency ordinance to prevent interracial riots within the city."

"Racial tension has increased in this community to the point that the life of one commissioner has been threatened," the commissioners said.

The law was adopted without discussion in a public session. The action followed by eight days dismissal of a suit in Federal court at Miami in which nine negroes sought the use of the facilities.

The city previously has had no law to prevent the "intermingling of the negro and white races," the commission noted.

The maximum penalty for violation of the law was set at $500 fine and ninty days in jail.

Negroes Drop Suit At Florida Resort

Washington Post, Jacksonville Times, 5-14-56

WEST PALM BEACH, Fla., May 14—A group of Negroes seeking the right to use public swimming facilities in the exclusive little Florida community of Delray Beach dropped their law suit after one witness for the city testified Negroes never were barred.

The base, heard by District Federal Judge Emmett C. Choate, was dismissed "without prejudice" with the consent of both parties.

Delray Beach is located just south of West Palm Beach, center of the Gold Coast's high-society life during the winter months.

Prior to filing the suit, the Negroes had petitioned the city commission to give them the right to use the beaches. Catherine Strong, former mayor of Delray and the only witness to take the stand, said the commission never answered the petition because it had never said Negroes could not use the swimming facilities.

Asked whether this meant the beach would be integrated, Mrs. Strong replied: "This means we are going to continue exactly as we have been. No one has told the Negroes to stay off the beaches. There's nothing new about this."

POLICE GIVEN POWER FOR DELRAY GUN HUNT

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. 5/1

Bars Lifted On Public Facilities

Court Dismisses Federal Action

By RUSS MARCHNER
Herald Staff Writer

WEST PALM BEACH — In momentous action, without precedent in Florida, the city of Delray Beach gave the green light in federal court Tuesday to integration on public beaches. Herald

By agreeing to an order from District Judge Emett C. Choate dismissing the suit of nine Negroes to obtain use of Delray beaches, the Gold Coast city and its commissioners indicated that all public recreational facilities in the city are open to Negro use.

Former Delray mayor Catherine Strong, whose lone testimony that Negroes were "welcome to use the beach" caused a joint motion for dismissal, told The Herald that "the public beaches always have been open to all people regardless of color." Miami Fla.

When asked if the city's action in the case implied that all public recreational facilities are open to white and Negro alike at all times, Neil MacMillan, one of two defense attorneys, said, "In that respect I think the order speaks for itself."

Mrs. Strong retorted, "They always have been."

She added, "We're still not responsible though for what individual people will do. Everybody will be protected, white or black; They're the public."

MacMillan was joined by Miami Attorney William Steel, the other defense counsel, when he said, "the city is satisfied with the outcome of the case."

"We contemplate no further action. We hope this will settle it for awhile."

Apparently, neither county nor city laws will stand in the way of the plan. Harry Johnston, Palm Beach county attorney, and John H. Adams, Delray Beach city attorney, both said they knew of no ordinances blocking mixing of the races at beaches.

State Atty. General Richard Ervin said in Tallahassee that he did not know whether any state law could be applied in the case. He would not comment on the integrated bathing beach approval.

Francisco A. Rodriquez, Tampa Negro attorney, who filed the suit for the Delray Negroes asking a permanent injunction allowing beach use, was asked by The Herald, "Does that mean that you got what you wanted?"

"Absolutely," answered Rodriquez.

"As far as I know, it is the first time in the state of Florida and one of the firsts in the South that there has been an official statement that Negroes may use a recreational facility without discrimination," he said.

"In my capacity," he said, "as state-wide representative for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and in private practice, I have tried numerous cases of this type."

"From a practical standpoint it sets a valuable precedent," Rodriquez commented. "We always have had the legal standpoint."

"With intelligent action by both parties," the Negro said, "it may well be that this will serve as an open door toward the settlement of all these civil rights cases in the field of recreation." Wed 5-16-56

Mrs. Strong, Delray mayor when the complaining Negroes said they were denied use of the lone city beach in 1954, said under Rodriquez's questioning, "I don't recall any city official telling them not to use the beach."

"They stopped using it themselves," she observed.

In addressing one of the Negro complainants who sat across the Datura Street courtroom, Mrs. Strong said, "Ozzie (Youngblood) remembers that when we were children we both used that beach."

She indicated that after she became mayor Jan. 1, 1954, she gave instructions to the police department that "regardless of who wanted to use the beaches, they should provide protection."

Judge Choate handed down the dismissal order after saying, "I have been advised by counsel that they feel that they can work out their own problems."

"I want to congratulate counsel on both sides in the manner they have disposed of this problem in contrast to the manner in which the same problem has been handled in other states."

He continued, "We must keep in mind that these things cannot be accomplished in a day or a year."

During pre-trial conferences, Judge Choate said the integration issue as a whole "poses some very serious joint problems" for both white and Negro races.

He said integration "has to be thought out by both sides" over a reasonable period of time, with due consideration for the state's big tourist industry.

"We don't want to change things to hurt our tourist business."

Choate, a native of Ohio, is 64 and has been a resident of Florida since 1926. He is in West Palm Beach for a week for federal court's annual visit to that area.

4 Negroes Seek WPB Course Use

Herald P.4-b Sun. 5-27-56 Miami, Fla.

File Petition With City Commission

Herald Bureau P.4

WEST PALM BEACH —Four Negroes petitioned the City Commission Saturday to allow them the use of the city's municipal golf course following what they said was a denial of that use last week by the course manager.

In action similar to that taken in February, 1955, by nine Delray Beach Negroes to use the public beach there, Drs. W. H. Collier and G. J. Gaines, Carney Green and Arthur Davis petitioned the City Commission, the golf commission and City Manager Keith Chinn for use of the southend 18-hole course.

The four, through attorneys W. H. Holland and I. C. Smith, said they were denied "the use and enjoyment of the golf course" by its manager, C. R. Philips.

The petition sent in the mail Friday, according to Holland, said that Philips based his denial on a directive from the golf commission to deny the use of the course to Negroes.

The City Commission is expected to receive the petition officially at Monday's meeting.

The action marks the first move by local Negroes to force the integration issue here.

The local action said that the four, "not only citizens of the city, but taxpayers as well," were met by Philips Thursday when they tried to gain admission to the course by paying green fees.

After stating that "the golf course was being used . . . by people of other races, other than Negro, who were neither citizens, nor residents, nor taxpayers of the city," the petition asked that:

The three city offices "rescind, repeal, countermand, annul, and revoke any and all directives, regulations, or ordinances, which deny the undersigned and other members of the Negro race use . . . of the country club on or before the first day of June."

The petition indicated that failure to do so by that date would mean that "other remedies" would be sought by the quartet.

Florida Town Bans Negroes From Beach

Constitution Thurs. 5-24-56 Atlanta Ga. P.2

DELRAY BEACH, Fla., May 23 (AP)—The Delray Beach City Commission adopted an ordinance today to prohibit Negroes from using the municipal swimming pool or the municipal beach.

The commission called its action an "emergency ordinance to prevent interracial riots within the city."

"Racial tension has increased in this community to the point that the life of one commissioner has been threatened," the commissioners said.

The law was adopted without discussion in a public session. It came eight days after the dismissal of a suit in federal court at Miami in which nine Negroes sought use of the facilities.

The city previously has had no law to prevent the "intermingling of the Negro and white races," the commission noted. This was the basis for dismissing the suit brought in the federal court before Judge Emett Choate May 10.

DEL RAY BEACH, Fla. — (INS) — The Del Ray Beach City Commission, in an unprecedented action it said was aimed at avoiding a racial riot, gave police the power last night to search all persons and cars for weapons.

The action followed closely on the heels of an "emergency ordinance" passed by the Commission Wednesday barring Negroes from the city swimming pool and beach facilities.

The latest ordinance forbids the carrying of weapons on the person, or in any motor vehicle. The move was taken, the ordinance says, because of "the great amount of tension existing in the city, and the unusual large number of residents in this area who have recently purchased large quantities of guns and ammunition."

Police Chief R. C. Croft said he planned to hire no new, but declined to say whether auxiliary policemen would be used. The ordinance gives Croft authority to setup roadblocks.

A group of Negroes withdrew a Federal Court suit last week which sought to force the city to give Negroes the right to freely use swimming facilities. The case was dropped after a member of the City Commission testified that the city had no law banning Negroes from the beach or pool.

Police averted a near-riot at Delray Beach last Sunday when Negroes, taking the City Commission at its word, appeared on the beach. An argument between whites and Negroes resulted, and police ended the disturbance by clearing the beach.

'With love, determination'

Afro-American Baltimore Md. Sat. 8-4-56

By SAMUEL HOSKINS

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — The current special session of the State Legislature is the end-product of political dilemma and judical contradiction.

Its burden, from the Administration's point of view, consists of two inconsistent tasks.

It must find a lawful means of evading a ruling of the highest legal authority of the land —the United States Supreme Court — and at the same time remain within the scope of law and order.

THIS MEANS Gov. LeRoy Collins must produce an effective method of evading the Supreme Court's school integration ruling, or run the risk of losing state leadership to the bitter-end racists in both the House and Senate.

Possibly better than anyone else in the state, Gov. Collins knows what will happen should he fail in this all but impossible task.

He knows the bitter-enders would chart a course of open defiance of the Supreme Court.

He also knows that such a program undoubtedly would result in either swift orders from Federal courts that schools be integrated or abolition of the public school system by the bitter-enders, themselves.

* * *

THE DILEMMA of the Administration is revealed by the following words of the governor:

"I am against defiance of constituted authority... (but) I am for orderly and effective assertion of our rights under the authority of law."

The instrument by which the Administration hopes to assert states' rights, while remaining within the spirit and letter of the Supreme Court ruling, is the Fabisinski Committee.

This committee is composed of a group of so-called legal experts, headed by retired Circuit Judge L. L. Fabisinski of Pensacola.

* * *

OTHER MEMBERS are: Judge Rivers Buford, J. Lewis Hall, John T. Wigginton, all of Tallahassee; Judge Millard Smith, Cody Fowler and Luther Mershon.

Such a group of legal experts was envisioned by the governor shortly after the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision. He said:

"We cannot find a solution to the problem arising from the U.S. Supreme Court decision in an atmosphere of hysteria and political demagoguery.

"We should call together the best brains in our state to study the situation and meet it calmly and properly."

* * *

AFTER STUDYING the situation, this group of so-called experts proposes to meet it with the following legislative program:

1. Authorize county school boards to assign pupils to schools for which they are considered best fitted.

2. Assign teachers on a similar basis.

3. Increase the governor's authority to suppress disorders.

4. Recommend a resolution calling for clarification of the "states' rights amendment" to the Federal Constitution.

5. Authorize funds for 100 additional state troopers and driver license examiners.

(The latter proposal is believed aimed at curbing boycotts against public transportation companies.)

BUT THE "legal experts" reckoned without the bitter-enders.

Arrayed against this alleged program of moderation are such rabid pro-segregationists as Reps. Prentice P. Pruitt, Jefferson County; J. Kenneth Ballinger, Leon County; James M. Beck, Palatka, and Frank Allen, Bay County.

* * *

PRUITT WANTS a new law to permit residents to abolish schools rather than integrate them. He wants approval of a resolution declaring the Supreme Court's integration ruling null and void in Florida.

* * *

BALLINGER, a lame duck legislator who credits the colored voters with defeating him, wants a law which would permit the jailing of car-pool operators.

He wants the legislature "to empower the governor to defy the federal courts" should integration orders be issued for any school in the state.

Allen is seeking a law to ban bus boycotts.

Beck is agitating for a law to authorize firing of state employees who take part in a boycott of any type. He says members of Florida A. and M. University faculty have been active in the boycott movement here.

There are similar bitter-enders in the Senate.

* * *

IN ADDITION to these extremists, the Administration is faced with two other very real dilemmas.

One is the case of Virgi Hawkins of Bethune-Cookman College. A Federal Court has ordered the State Board of Control to enroll him as a student in Florida State Univedsity.

The gravity with which Governor Collins views this case is indicated by the fact he called a special cabinet meeting last March after the U.S. Supreme Court denied an appeal by the State Attorney General.

At that time he (Collins) stated: "... Unless we can secure a new and sensible decision in the Hawkins case, we will be severly handicapped in trying to develop a course of legislative action which would be effective."

* * *

THE OTHER dilemma the Administration faces in its efforts to block integration is increasing registration among colored people of the state.

As early as last spring, Gov. Collins recognized this fact as something politicians soon will have to reckon with. He said: "More and more colored people are voting in our elections."

The importance of this issue is further indicated in the fact that even now colored leaders of Tallahassee are talking of running candidates for public offices in next year's primaries.

The Rev. Charles Kinzie Steele, boycott leader, has publicly called for 10,000 colored voters on the registration books by next spring.

* * *

THE BATTLE-CRY is: "The ballot will solve most of our problems." The slogan is: "Forward wtih love and determination."

And it is evident to even the casual observer thaat the movement is catching on. Soon it will spread throughout the state, even throughout the South.

It is evident, too, that neither the bitter-enders in the Legislature, nor restrictive laws nor the Ku Klux Klan can stop the movement. It's futile for them to try.

FLORIDA

RIGHT TO LIMIT SESSION ISSUE

Times-Picayune New Orleans La. Mon. 7-23-56

Challenge Is Expected on Florida Racial Plan

By HAROLD PARR

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 22 (AP)—The right of Gov. Leroy Collins to restrict legislative consideration of segregation measures to the four-point program of the Fabisinski committee apparently will be challenged by legislators who claim the committee recommendations will not effectively prevent integration of the races in Florida.

Under the constitution, the legislature cannot transact any business "other than that for which it is especially convened."

In the segregation phase of his call Collins convened the lawmakers "for the sole purpose" of considering enactment of the Fabisinski committee's program in the segregation field. To take up business not included in the governor's call requires a two-thirds vote of each house.

Laws recommended under the Fabisinski committee program would allow county school boards to assign pupils to schools to which they were considered best suited, assign teachers similarly and increase the governor's authority to suppress disorders.

Rep. Prentice Pruitt, one of the legislature's most active proponents of segregation, said he will introduce a number of segregation proposals outside of the Fabisinski committee recommendations.

And he said he would contest any effort to require a two-thirds vote of both houses for their consideration.

"As I interpret the constitution, the governor can restrict the legislature in special session to particular fields of legislation, but he cannot restrict it to specific bills. As I see it any bill dealing with the general subject of segregation may be introduced without invoking the two-thirds rule," Pruitt said.

Collins said he believed the program proposed by the committee would block integration in the schools and would withstand legal attacks.

Rep. Kenneth Ballinger of Leon county, who has announced he will introduce a bill to put carpools operated during transportation boycotts under regulation by the state railroad commission, said he anticipated that most segregation proposals by legislators outside the Fabisinski report could get the required two-thirds vote on a roll call.

Florida Chief Calls Session On Race Laws

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Sat. 7-21-56

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 20 (AP) — Gov. LeRoy Collins today called the Florida Legislature into special session Monday to deal with a limited field of segregation matters and 12 other emergency proposals.

His formal call expanded the scope of legislation beyond what he had announced earlier this week.

The program is expected to call for new appropriations totaling about $7,700,000. This amount would include five million dollars as the state's share of the fight on the Mediterranean fruit fly.

The Legislature was asked to restrict its actions on segregation to the four-point program and federal states' right amendment recommended by a committee of legal experts earlier this week.

This program calls for a strengthened pupil assignment law, a teacher assignment law, and increasing powers of the governor to prevent or suppress disorder in event of emergencies.

The assignment law would give county school boards the authority to assign pupils to schools for which they were best fitted and would authorize them to consider certain sociological and psychological factors in classifying pupils.

Other measures covered in the call included appropriation of adequate funds to be used in the eradication of the Mediterranean fruit fly.

Beach "Invasion" Expected July 4 In Jacksonville

Daily World Tues. 7-3-56 Atlanta, Ga.

JACKSONVILLE BEACH, Fla.—(INS) — The seaside community of Jacksonville Beach was cloaked Monday in an atmosphere of uneasy tension, built on a persistent rumor of an alleged Negro "invasion" of area beaches on July 4.

For the past week the main topic of conversation has been, "will they or won't they."

Negro leaders in Jacksonville have stated through the medium of a weekly newspaper that "no march on the beaches is planned." They have said, without identifying themselves, that the "march is an unfounded rumor."

Beach residents still are not sure, however. July 4th is the traditional peak of the summer tourist season and elaborate preparations for the celebration have been made.

Negroes have never been admitted to the main part of Jacksonville, Atlantic or Neptune beaches, but have for many years utilized several other nearby beaches.

Beach officials said Monday they had been advised of the possibility that an organized effort to invade the "white" part of the beach will be made. Extra policemen have been alerted to report for duty in the event the threat materializes

Acting City Manager Wilson Wingate said he understood some Negroes had been "chased off" Seminole Beach, just north of the main Jacksonville Beach, a few weeks ago.

He said if Negroes go to Seminole Beach Wednesday it will not be considered unusual nor will any action be taken by beach authorities to prevent them from going there.

Wingate said that if a march starts on Jacksonville Beach, "we are going to try and keep them from getting here."

Accompanying the "invasion" rumor was another report that the Ku Klux Klan would stage a warning demonstration on the beach Tuesday night.

Klan officials said Monday such a report is untrue and beach officials also have discounted the idea. A Klan gathering on public property would have to be approved by the city officials concerned.

First Of Emergency Measures Become Laws

Herald Fri. 7-27-56

Segregation and Medfly Bills Signed

Miami Fla.

TALLAHASSEE —(UP)— Gov LeRoy Collins signed into law Thursday the major segregation bill passed my the current Legislature and a bill appropriating five million dollars to help eradicate the Mediterranean fruit fly.

The bills were the first to become law of a series of "ermgency" measures passed by the special session since it convened Monday.

P. 9-A

Collins put his singature on the pupil-assignment law, principal bill of five recommended by the governor to prevent racial integration. It gives county school boards complete authority to assign pupils to the school for which they are best suited with appeals from adverse decisions to the State Board of Education and circuit courts.

It also authorizes the boards to establish school attendance areas but to ignore them in assigning individual pupils on a basis of intelligence, aptitude, physicological, moral, ethical and cultural background. Boards may also consider available school facilities, teaching capacity and the effect of each admission upon the particular school.

A pupil could be kept out of a certain school if the board determined his admission would interfere with the proper administration of the school or would endanger the health and safety of others enrolled.

The attorney general is authorized to furnish legal counsel to county and state school boards and county boards can hire special counsel to assist in legal suits.

The Medfly appropriation, to be matched by five million dollars in federal funds, can be spent only at the direction of five members of the Cabinet, one of whom must be the governor. No part of the funds can be used for salaries or buildings or to create any new agency or function.

Integration Foes Plan Their Drive

Herald P. 4-A Miami Fla.

Tues. 7-24-56

The Dade County Property Owners Assn. will meet Tuesday night to consider ways of preserving segregation in Florida under the state's laws.

David Hawthorne, spokesman for the association, said a delegation representing the association will go to Tallahassee Wednesday to present legislators with a petition containing 135,000 names.

The petition will urge the lawmakers to do all possible to preserve segregation in Florida.

Tuesday's meeting will be held at the Grapeland Heights Civic building, 1550 NW 37th Ave. beginning at 7:30 p.m.

White Miami Woman Declares She Is Ashamed of Her Race

Call Kansas City Mo.

Times 8-11-56

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — Miss **Loyce Cargile, a young white Miami resident, recently took a firm stand against segregation when she declared, "she is ashamed to belong to the white race."**

The statement was made before 900 people attending a mass meeting of the Inter-Civic council in Tallahassee, Fla. Miss Cargile further stated that she would rather walk herself "bowlegged" than ride a taxi or a bus under the present conditions in Tallahassee.

Tallahassee Negroes were congratulated by Miss Cargile for their initiative and efforts to hasten integration. She feels that the liberals and progressives cannot afford to wait any longer. According to the white woman, her patience has already collected "spider webs."

Reference was made in the talk of Miss Cargile to the twisting and turning of old laws and the creation of new ones just to intimidate Negroes. "Taking away the privileges of democracy leads us to another form of government. When democracy is in danger for a segment of the population, it is in danger for all. Traces of a caste system has no place in a democracy," stated Miss Cargile.

The speaker compared some of the tactics being used by the politicians in Florida with those employed by the fascists: "Absolute power corrupts absolutely," she added.

She refuses to teach in a state whose constitution goes against the Supreme Court. Her moral courage cannot be sold for a job with "political contamination." She will not accept anything from the "taxpayers' feedbag." Any effort "taxpayers' feedbag." Any effort to compel her to go against her own convictions is like trying "to fit a square peg in a round hole."

Miss Cargile also attended the meeting of the Ways and Means committee of the ICC where she suggested that a rummage sale be put on in order to raise funds. When leaving Tallahassee to return to Miami, she gave the committee her suitcase and all it contained for the sale. The dress she wore when she addressed the mass meeting was also in the bag. As she boarded the train, she also donated her earrings, necklace and bracelet.

Kansas City Mo.

During the so called emergency session of the legislature she came to Tallahassee to attend the hearings. She sent every senator and representative air mail special delivery postcards in an effort to persuade each legislator to vote against any measure that goes counter to the constitution of the country.

Times 8-17-56

She had photostatic copies made of answers by legislators who declared they intended to defy the Supreme Court and sent them air mail special delivery registered to Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren.

The speaker of the house was also sent two "insulated" hats to be passed on to the most hot-headed legislators. Seemingly these hats when soaked in ice water and worn will keep one's head cool for a considerable length of time.

Florida Group

Advertiser P. 5-A

DELRAY BEACH, Fla., May 23 (AP)—The Delray Beach City Commission adopted an ordinance today to prohibit Negroes from using the municipal swimming pool or the municipal beach.

Times 5-24-56

The commission called its action an "emergency ordinance to prevent interracial riots within the city."

Montgomery Ala.

"Racial tension has increased in this community to the point that the life of one commissioner has been threatened," the commissioners said.

The law was adopted without discussion in a public session. It came eight days after the dismissal of a suit in federal court at Miami in which nine Negroes sought use of the facilities.

The city previously has had no law to prevent the "intermingling of the Negro and white races," the commission noted This was the basis for dismissing the suit brought in the federal court before Judge Emmett Choate May 10.

Representatives of the city told the judge then that "the public beaches always have been open to all people regardless of color."

Little tnsion had been noted in this south Florida town of some 8,500 persons — including about 2,000 Negroes — before the suit was brought. Four Negro men sun-bathed on one section of the beach two days after the decision without incident.

But a group of about 70 Negroes went to the beach last Sunday and met a group of whites of about equal size. They argued several minutes before policemen dispersed them. There was no violence and no arrests were made.

Penalty for violating the law was set at up to $500 fine and up to 90 days in jail.

The suit for the nine Negroes was filed by Francisco A. Rodriquez, Tampa attorney and representative of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Bars Negroes From Beaches

Governor Names Bi-Racial Advisers

Herald Thurs. 8-30-56

Miami Fla. P. 2-C

TALLAHASSEE —(AP)— Gov. LeRoy Collins Wednesday appointed a bi-racial committee to advise him in implementing segregation laws enacted by the recent special session of the Florida Legislature.

Collins said the three-member group also would be asked to advise with him "as to progress we can make otherwise in advancing proper and sound racial relations."

Retired Circuit Judge L. L Fabisinski of Pensacola was named chairman of the committee. Other members are Doak S. Campbell, president of Florida State University since 1941, J. R. E. Lee, business manager of Florida A & M University.

Lee, a Negro, has been business manager at A & M here since coming to Florida 32 years ago. Fifty-nine years old, he is a native of Marshall, Tex. His father was president of A & M from 1924 to 1944.

"The duties which have been given to me as governor, through the adoption by the Legislature of the bills recommended by the Fabisinski committee, are very far-reaching and should be exercised only with extreme caution and understanding," Collins said.

"There is a very strong need for me to have an advisory commission thoroughly familiar with the laws and with conditions throughout the state, to advise with me in respect to the implementation of these laws by specific action and also as to progress we can make otherwise in advancing proper and sound race relations."

Collins said the commission probably would hire a legal assistant and will have an office in the State Capitol. He said the office would work closely with the State Department of Education and the Attorney General's office.

The governor said he expected the commission members to receive some nominal compensation for their services, but no final arrangements had been made for this.

The Cabinet budget commission has allocated $15,000 in emergency money to the governor's contingency fund to meet emergency expenses of the group.

Judge Fabisinski served as chairman of the committee of legal experts who drafted the program adopted by the recent Legislature designed to block integration by legal means.

The program consists of pupil and teacher assignment laws and laws expanding powers of the governor to deal with emergencies.

Leaders Complain They Are Being Bypassed

Herald Miami, Fla.

Delray Negroes Still Hope for Solution, But Faith Vanishing

Fri. 6-29-56

Last of Six Articles

By HENDRIK J. BERNS
Herald Staff Writer

DELRAY BEACH — Until recently, the 3,300 Negroes of this city could use the 100-foot Ocean Ridge beach north of here.

They were not happy with it because it's only 100 feet long and hazardous, but they used it.

Of late, they have abstained in fear of conflicts with neighboring white residential areas.

They have kept away from it, too, because "no Parking" signs have been posted and they prefer not to get into conflict with authorities.

Consequently, their 2,100 children can get their fun and recreation only in Teen-Town a Negro recreation center in the city's West Side.

It consists of a wooden building, a large field, grass covered but beset with deep, grayish-black sand, and a tennis court adjacent to it.

They can swim only in a rockpit where two of them have drowned.

Unless their fathers take them on weekends to spots like Virginia Beach in Miami, which they do at times.

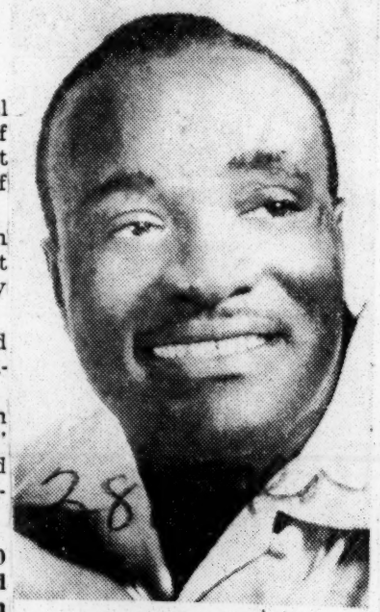
Their leaders are George S. McKay, secretary of the Civic League which has been in existence here for more than 10 years, and Spencer C. Pompey. Pompey is a history and sociology teacher at Carver High School. He is also coach and recreation director in Teen-Town.

Both of them talk freely about their problems.

They deny above all two arguments put forth by the city:

First that their battle for swimming facilities is NAACP-inspired.

Pompey says: "We are intelligent enough, without outside guidance, to realize that we and our children are entitled to go swimming, too.



SPENCER POMPEY
. . . willing to compromise

"In fact, when the NAACP offered to come in and help us, we told them to stay out. We want to handle this alone."

There is no NAACP chapter in town. However, an NAACP lawyer handled the case of the nine petitioners who sued in Federal Court for opening of the beach.

He came from Tampa and the word is that he did because no local lawyer could be found to handle the case.

The second city argument McKay and Pompey deny is that the Negro population is not united, that there is no leadership with which the city could deal.

McKay says: "The Civic League, though city commissioners have talked once or twice with our Ministerial Assn., is representing all Negroes.

The commissioners know that because when they run for office, they come to us and ask us to present them to our people. They do not go to the Ministerial Assn."

In addition, he points out that last November an Interracial Council was organized, consisting of nine Negroes and nine whites, and formed for the specific purpose of finding a compromise.

"So, they could certainly find a way to come forth with direct negotiations and action."

Summarized, what McKay and Pompey have to say amounts to this:

The Negroes will insist on better swimming facilities.

They are still, however, willing to compromise.

They resent bitterly the exclusion resolution.

Since its passage, they will not accept anything from anyone unless and until it is wiped out.

McKay as well as Pompey, told me that Negroes do not care about school integration becuase they have a good school.

They do not care about swimming with whites, and "the city could just as well give us a beach with wall separating us from the whites. We would not mind."

But they told me too, that they are bitter and have lost much of their faith because the promised swimming pool is nonexistent and the exclusion resolution "hurts them deeply."

They are still eager to come to terms with the city, nevertheless, though much of their hope for such terms has vanished.

Consequently, they point out, too: 'If the city does not go ahead with the swimming pool and continues to push this exclusion act, it will just force us to seek outside help. Because we will then have to fight it with all the legal minds we can possibly gather."

These then are the pros and cons of the argument.

These then are the two sides to the problem.

Segregation Extremists Sidetracked

Herald P.2-A
Tues. 7-31-56
Miami, Fla.

Lowry and Ervin Urge Defiance

By JOHN B. McDERMOTT
Herald Staff Writer

TALLAHASSEE — Extremists urged the Florida legislature Monday to wage open defiance of the United States Supreme Court integration edict and gamble on the federal government's known opposition to using troops in the segregation fight.

Indications were, however, that the lawmakers would continue their course of moderate resistance to integration under a program of legal moves outlined by Gov. LeRoy Collins.

The open defiance was advocated by Sumter Lowry, of Tampa, retired National Guard general and an unsuccessful candidate for governor in last May's Democratic primary.

He had what amounted to a strong assist from State Atty. General Richard Ervin.

Ervin, in a more restrained vein, suggested legislation which would permit abolition of the public school system in counties where voters themselves authorized it.

Both men urged a special House committee on education and internal affairs to approve and send to the House floor an interposition resolution comparable to ones already adopted by seven other states.

The requests were deferred to a sub-committee.

Political observers interpreted this move as virtually killing them.

Lowry and his extremist point of view was backed by some eight other speakers from around the state who made similar pleas before the committee during a 2½-hour public hearing.

Ervin called on legislators to ace the segregation edit squarely, and to give him "laws' to fight integration.

He called for "a last-ditch stand—if we are serious about resisting integration."

"If some counties want to integrate, let them," he declared. "Give them that right . . . but don't put up a mirage."

For counties which do not want integration in their schools, Ervin said the voters should be allowed to make the decision themselves.

The attorney general said he did not know whether interposition would be an answer to halting integration "but I'd like to try it."

He said a possible alternative which would allow students to continue their education without interruption would be to set up a system of tuition grants — scholarships — under which students in a county could attend private schools.

Ervin predicted that the governor's program — patterned on recommendations of his citizens committee headed by former Circuit Judge L. L. Fabisinski, of Pensacola—would slow down integration "one or two years."

But he emphasized that in his opinion it would not stop it ultimately.

Lowry, urging open defiance said the only way to combat the problem is to battle the U. S Supreme Court "head-on,"

"The Supreme Court defied the people and we can defy the court legally and without violence," he declared.

He called for the governor to give leadership to a program of interposition "and go to jail if necessary" in opposing the federal ruling.

J. Lewis Hall, Tallahassee attorney and a member of the Fabisinski committee told legislators that an interposition ruling would serve to undermine the entire work of the citizens group which had tried to provide a legal answer to integration without actually making it an open racial fight.

Hall said he could see no "magic" formula in interposition.

Five members of the Miami branch of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People registered as lobbyists to speak at the hearing, but only two attended and none spoke. Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, the president, said the NAACP will challenge each of the laws in court.

Loses Job Over Riff With Negro, Man Kills Self

Herald P.1
Sat. 7-7-56
Jackson, Miss.

Tallahassee—(Special) — July 2 — A white garage mechanic chose suicide rather than face the world after losing his job for striking a Negro following an argument over repairs on the Negro's car.

Police said that William C. Bramlett died in a local hospital here Thursday of a self-inflicted gunshot wound of the head. A deputy sheriff said that the shooting occurred Wednesday night near a railroad station.

According to police, the victim's wife said that her husband had been despondent since his arrest last Saturday and the loss of his job at the garage where he struck Edward Pompey over the head with a tire jack during an argument over repairs to Pompey's automobile.

ICC DIARY

Afro-American p.3

This is Part III of the diary kept by the Inter-Civic Council, the group of Tallahassee citizens which is spearheading the fight for full civic rights for the colored people of Tallahassee.

Parts I and II were published in previous issues of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers. If you would know the full story of the bus boycott movement in Tallahassee, you may obtain copies of the previous editions of the ICC Diary by writing to the Inter-Civic Council Inc., 803 Floral St., Tallahassee, Fla., and sending a donation to further the fight against segregation.

Baltimore Sun

JULY 26 — The Florida A. and M. University Chapter of the American Association of University Professors discussed steps that could be taken if the rights and academic freedom of any faculty members were violated on account of the bus protest here.

8-18-56

JULY 27 — Further moves have been made to inconvenience leaders of the Inter-Civic Council. Although the Rev. Rollins had had insurance with De Milly Yeager, local agents for a national company, for two years with an accident - free record, he was refused renewal of his policy.

After application to Mdyette-Moor Insurance Agency, he secured insurance after an investigation showed that he was denied insurance with the other company purely on account of a local reason, i. e., his connection with the fight for integration on the buses.

Despite Rev. Rollins' excellent credit references he was not given a courtesy card for a national gas company. Local distributors did not recommend him for the credit card, since "he has not been here long enough." Rollins has been a Tallahassee resident for three years.

One of the city commissioners has the franchise here for one of the national gas companies . . .There are some signs that Tallahassee is not divided into two racial camps.

The combined youth groups of the First Presbyterian Church, the Trinity Methodist Church and the First Christian Church (all white) invited the Rev. Rollins to their joint meeting to speak on "The Role of the Minister in the Bus Protest."

JULY 28 — The Inter - Civic Council ran a full page ad in the Tallahassee Democrat reminding the entire citizenry that ordinances passed directed at Negroes could be subsequently used against whites as well.

JULY 29 — At the mass meeting, Mr. Cook, one of the hardest workers in the movement, was introduced. He has set a record of seven escorted trips to the police department . . . .A $20,000.00 (twenty thousand dollars) legal defense fund is to be set up to fight for the rights of our people, who are mistreated when they do ride the buses, or because they do not ride.

AUGUST 1 — The executive committee drew up the following recommendations, which were accepted and approved at the mass meeting:

1. We recommend that the body file a law suit for the council to resolve the bus situation.

2. We move that we continue serving our members.

3. We reaffirm the position that the council try to find transportation for those who do not wish to ride in humiliation.

4. We reaffirm the position that we have never intimidated and we do not intend to intimidate. If the City Attorney can prove that there has been intimidation that they prosecute commensurate with the offense committed.

* * *

AUGUST 2 — Bus service resumes. Buses serving predominantly colored routes were driven by colored drivers. While the ICC took note of the fact that the bus company had met their request to hire colored drivers, the Rev. Mr. Steele, council president, said the hiring of colored drivers is not the "crux of the problem."

"The crux of the problem is around the seating arrangements for the passengers on the bus, and so far, that seating arrangement remains as before. And certainly we would not be willing to settle for the jobs of a few while the many must still ride in humiliation and segregation.

"Our people voted that they will not be herded like cattle to the rear of the bus though driven by smiling colored drivers."

"Pressure of monetary value has been brought to bear on the Rev. Mr. Rollins by members of the sponsoring group of his church.

The congregation met Sunday, July 29, and gave him a unanimous vote of confidence, and assured him that they are willing to make the necessary sacrifices to retain him as their minster and leader of their congregation.

AUGUST 3 — As part of the "Ride-the-Bus" campaign it was reported that 1,000 civic workers spent an evening collecting $800. One colored man said "if each worker had bought one of the $1.25 passes, they could have stayed home and done better than that."

AUGUST 3 — One of the leading bus promoters in the chamber of Commerce complained that while waiting for a bus, he was offered rides by three of his friends. It appears that not all of the whites are aware of the role that they are supposed to play.

EDITOR'S NOTE: While typing this diary, the editor observed four consecutive empty buses pass.

BID TO DEMS FUTILE

CHICAGO — The Progressive Democrats of South Carolina and the Hamiltonian Democrats of Mississippi, this week, made futile bids before the credentials committee of the National Democratic Party for seats during the convention on the basis that the regular wing of the party did not deserve seats because of having gone Dixiecrat during the last Presidential election.

Negro Ban Bills Voted

Herald Tues. 7-31-56

TALLAHASSEE —(UP)— Sarasota County and the City of Fort Lauderdale got bills through the legislature Monday enabling them to keep Negroes off their beaches and golf courses.

Miami, Fla.

The House completed legislative action on a Senate-passed bill permitting Fort Lauderdale to sell or lease public property to private interests on a deferred payment basis.

p. 2-a

The House also passed a bill by Sarasota's Republican delegation permitting the county to sell its new beach on Siesta Key to prevent its use by Negroes.

Delray Dedicates Pool for Negroes

Herald Mon. 11-5-56 p. 24

Miami, Fla.

By HENDRIK J. BERNS
Herald Staff Writer

DELRAY BEACH—Whites and Negroes joined hands Sunday afternoon in true brotherhood to dedicate a swimming pool for Negroes in the west side of this city.

C. Spencer Pompey presided at the ceremony. Negro speakers were the Rev. J. D. Edwards, of the St. Paul A. M. E. Church in Delray Beach, Leroy Baine, president of the Negro Civic League, and Dr. Edward T. Graham, pastor of the Mt. Zion Baptist Church in Miami.

The Carver High School Glee Club sang and a number of city officials, among them Mrs. Katherine E. Strong, officiated at the opening of the pool.

It marked the end of a long battle for which city officials attempted to take credit though it was not one without decisive contributions by the Florida press radio and television.

Fla. NAACP head freed of resisting arrest charge

Afro-American Sat. 11-10-56

Baltimore Md.

TAMPA, Fla. (ANP) — William A. Fordham, president of Florida's NAACP, was acquitted here last week of charges of resisting arrest brought by sheriff's deputies.

p. 3

Mr. Fordham said he was arrested, kicked and beaten by officers when he double parked his car and questioned the officers when they wanted to tow it away.

MAGISTRATE W. MARION convicted Mr. Fordham of blocking traffic by double parking and fined him $10, but dropped the other charge. He denied resisting arrest.

Leaders strongly protested the action by police in the manner of which they handcuffed him.

Timetable Tells the Story

Herald Nov. 6-25-56 P.2-A Miami, Fla.

Of Delray Beach vs. Negro

Second of a Series

By HENDRIK J. BERNS
Herald Staff Writer

DELRAY BEACH — The history of the swimming argument dividing this city is a long one.

Its development is evident from the time table.

Its highlights are these:

In January, 1954, the city paid $30,000 to create a separate beach for Negroes. The city bought a 100-foot strip of beach at Ocean Ridge, about five miles north of Delray's mile-long public beach.

Negroes used the beach a few times in 1954 but have not used it since because of dissatisfaction with it.

They have pointed out that the white population of 4,200 people can enjoy a public beach one mile long and also has the use of a public swimming pool. They have claimed that 100 feet of beach is not enough for their own group of 1,200 adults and 2,100 children.

They have argued, and city officials have confirmed it in writing, that the Negro beach is hazardous because it is very rocky and that it lacks parking facilities.

From July 1954 to January 1955, Negro leaders asked the city for additional and better beach territory.

Nothing was done about it.

On February 28, 1955, nine Negro petitioners filed suit in Federal Court, demanding use of the city's public beaches by white and Negro residents alike. As defendants, the suit named the mayor and the four other city commissioners.

While this suit waited its hearing in court, the argument for better Negro swimming facilities kept on.

On Sept. 15, 1955, the City Commission approved and voted to set aside $60,000 for the construction of a Negro swimming pool.

The pool has not been built yet. Its construction lacks a City Commission vote which would put the project up for bids.

Meanwhile, Federal District Judge Emett C. Choate heard the suit of the nine Negro petitioners. Francisco A. Rodriquez, a Tampa lawyer, represented them.

City Attorney John H. Adams and Palm Beach County Attorney Harry Johnston represented the city.

While all five commissioners were scheduled to testify, only one did. The suit ended with the testimony of Mrs. Catherine Strong, a former mayor and now vice mayor of the city.

She said under oath that Delray Beach Negroes had always been "welcome to use the beach."

Adams and Johnston said they knew of no ordinance barring Negroes from the beach.

On that basis, Judge Choate dismissed the suit on May 15. He did so, praising both sides for "the manner in which they have disposed of this problem, in contrast to the manner in which the same problem has been handled in other states."

Yet no sooner had he done so, when the argument picked up steam and action.

On May 21, Steve Forsythe, the city's aquatic director, said no Negro would ever get into the municipal pool.

In quick succession, the City Commission — with Mrs. Strong absent — passed two emergency ordinances.

One barred Negroes from the public pool and beach; the other permitted the search for and seizure of weapons in cars.

The climax came on June 5 when the Commission passed, with Mrs. Strong objecting, a resolution for "exclusion" of all Negroes from city limits. There the problem stands.

★ ★ ★

NEXT: Mrs. Strong and why she testified the way she did.

Negro Pool Voted Down By Delray

Herald P.2-A Jun. 6-26 Miami, Fla.

Special To The Herald

DELRAY BEACH — The argument over swimming facilities for local Negro residents broke wide open Monday night when the City Commission voted, in effect, against construction of the previously approved $60,000 pool.

The vote was 3-1. Mrs. Kathrine Strong, vice mayor, was the only commissioner opposing it.

City Commissioner Howard Cromer, just back from a Texas medical checkup, introduced a resolution to put the money appropriated for the pool into a trust fund pending the outcome of a referendum on the exclusion act.

This act would take the entire Negro population, 40 per cent of the total population, and the four square miles on which they live, out of the city limits. It must yet be introduced and voted on in the Legislature.

Consequently, if it does not reach the Legislature or is voted down by it, there will not even be a referendum.

Emory Barrow, who had charged that newspapers predicting a planned Commission stalling on the project were wrong, seconded the motion. Mayor Mike Yargates voted for it, along with Barrow.

Mrs. Strong told her fellow commissioners: "You are letting people down by going back on your promise. In fact, you say with your vote, you don't want to spend the money allotted for their swimming pool, if you can kick them out."

When the motion passed there were howls among the public. The majority of the overflow audience, white as well as Negro, protested bitterly that the commissioners and particularly Yargates had broken campaign promises and pledges made since they were in office.

A newcomer to this city told them that they could now "no longer complain about bad publicity."

Col. Dugall Campbell, president of the Delray Beach National Bank, said: "You may call me what you want and I do not care if I lose friends; in fact I will perhaps lose more dollars by speaking up than anyone in this room. But I am a human being and I love other human beings. You have gone back on your word of honor."

Negroes, many of whom claimed that they and their parents had been born in this community, asked simply: "Why do we deserve such treatment? Are we not citizens too?"

Cromer, Yargates and Barrow denied they ever promised to build the pool. However, it is one of the established and exclusive secrets that a clandestine agreement was signed at a highly confidential meeting in May.

This agreement, carrying the signature of Yargates, Barrow and Commissioner W. J. Snow, who was absent Monday night, called for: 1. Clearing of the Negro beach at Ocean Ridge to eliminate hazards; 2. Construction of the $60,000 Negro swimming pool for which money was allocated last September; 3. Consideration of additional beach frontage for possible Negro use.

This agreement has never been published. It is completely hush hush. But it does exist.

In view of this fact, it can be expected that Negro leaders will now seek outside help to push their case.

The city, as predicted in last Sunday's Tip Off column in The Miami Herald, will push the exclusion act and sit tight otherwise.

The end results of Monday night's Commission meeting is that the lines have been drawn irrevocably unless influential outsiders begin to mediate.

Fla. Judge Voids Pool Jim Crow

Courier P.7 Sat. 2-11-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.—A Federal judge ruled here that segregation cannot be sustained at St. Petersburg's SPA pool and beach; a ruling which Assistant City Attorney Harry I. Young announced will be appealed.

A motion for summary judgment sought by plaintiffs in the case was granted by Judge George W. Whitehurst in Tampa Friday.

Plaintiffs were Dr. Fred W. Alsup, Willette Williams, Chester L. James Sr., Dr. Ralph M. Wimbish, Naomi Williams and Harold J. Davis.

Final order will be delayed about a week to allow the city time to determine the method of appeal to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The city opposed the order, basing their claim on what they termed "business reasons." Attorney Young stated that Southern custom would cause revenues to drop if Negroes gain admittance.

Atty. Francisco A. Rodriquez represented the plaintiffs.

In Miami, City Manager E. A. Evans received a petition calling for the city to end segregation at the Miami Springs Golf Course.

Evans turned the petition over to the City Commission with the comment, "Here's a hot one for you."

Negroes are now allowed to play on the course on Mondays. The city maintained that they first opened the golf courses on a non-segregated basis for a test period of two weeks but lost money.

Evans told the petitioners he will take the matter under advisement.

The Timetable of Events

1953	9-3	Negroes petition for beach
	12-30	Ocean Ridge protests beach purchase
	12-31	Ocean Ridge protest suit dismissed
1954	1-21	Delray buys Ocean Ridge beach
	7-15	Negroes plead for more beaches
	9-12	Negroes repeat their plea
1955	2-28	Nine Negroes file suit for admission to public beach
	9-15	City approves $60,000 Negro swimming pool fund
1956	5-16	Court dismisses Negro suit
	5-22	Negroes appear on public beach
	5-23	City orders segregation
	5-25	City order arms search and seizure
	6-5	City passes exclusion resolution

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Fri 6-29-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery Ala.

Jim Crow In Reverse

P. 4-A

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Lake Talquin, Florida, near Quincy, has many fish camps run by whites who do not discriminate against the Negro, and there being so many Negroes in this tobacco growing section, they patronize these camps as much as the whites, but there is one camp for "COLORED ONLY." It advertises and practices discrimination. How awful. See picture enclosed.

S. P. POYNER.

Dothan, Ala.

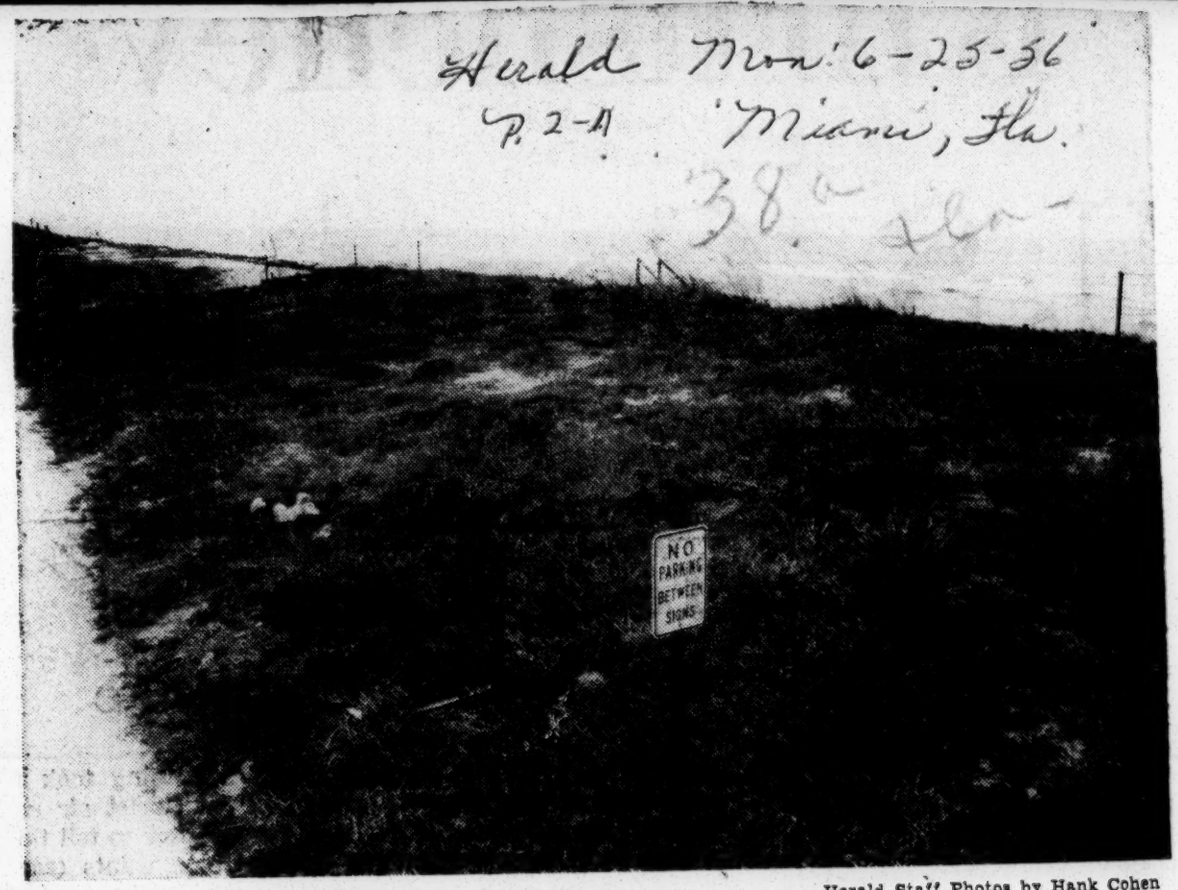
Florida Negro Accused Of Hitting Bus Driver

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. Sat. 2-25-56

Tampa, Fla., Feb. 24 (AP)—A Negro who refused to move to the rear of a segregated bus today assaulted the bus driver, then fled from the crowded vehicle, Detective W. B. Keenan reported. Bus driver Perry Coker, 50, received face cuts.

Herald Mon. 6-25-56 P. 2-A Miami, Fla.

38 Fla.



—Herald Staff Photos by Hank Cohen

THE 100-FOOT BEACH AT OCEAN RIDGE

. . . for Negro use

Herald P. 2-A Miami, Fla. Mon. 6-25-56

PART OF ONE-MILE PUBLIC BEACH AT DELRAY

. . . not for Negro use

Would fire medic who dined with consultant

Afro-American p. 1 Baltimore Md.

MADISON, Fla.—Dr. Deborah Coggins faces dismissal from her job as state health officer in Madison county because she dared to lunch with a colored registered nurse.

Sat. 6-23-56

The nurse, Miss Ethel Kirkland, employed by the state as a midwife consultant, had responded to a request by Dr. Coggins to open a class for midwives here.

When they found their schedule too busy to discontinue a conference and have lunch separately, a Madison restaurauteur permitted them to have lunch together in a private dining room in which another white state health nurse joined them.

THE TRIO entered the restaurant by a rear entrance, sat down and continued discussion of their midwife program as they ate.

"No one seemed displeased about the whole thing except maybe the waitress," Dr. Coggins said. "I don't know what happened after that but probably she told somebody about it.

"But, anyway, a gossip campaign got started and the commissioners asked that I be fired for lunching with the colored nurse," she said.

Dr. Coggins said that she did not plan to resign.

In answer to requests for the health officer's dismissal, state health officer Dr. Wilson T. Sowder said:

"I feel this was a very unfortunate incident, contrary to the custom in that county and in the state of Florida. I am extremely sorry it happened.

"However, I hope she may be forgiven because she is a good health officer and a fine person."

Dr. Coggins, 32, is a native of Tampa, and the wife of a Madison physician.

Lauderdale, Afraid of Cash Loss, Votes to Bar Negroes On Links

Herald P. 23-A Miami, Fla.

F.M. 3-16-56

Herald Bureau

FORT LAUDERDALE — City commissioners by a 3 to 2 vote Wednesday adopted a resolution barring Negroes from the Fort Lauderdale Golf and Country Club.

It instructed Manager Norman Somers to deny them admission.

The resolution states that "by admitting Negro citizens to the golf club a large percentage of winter tourists and local White golfers will leave the municipal course.

"The result will be that the city will default in the payment of its bonds, a receiver will be appointed, the golf course will have to be sold andt here will be no municipally owned facilities for any golfers in the city."

If Negroes go to court to force the city to admit them to the golf course, it will be the first time the question of non-segregation of municipal facilities is tried on the issue of its financial consequences, City Attorney Julian E. Ross said.

The northwest Golfers Association, a Negro group, Thursday informed the city commission it plans to take court action unless the city opens the municipal course to Negroes immediately.

In 1950 the city borrowed $262,000 for improvements to the golf club. The entire revenue of the course is pledged to pay off the debt and operate the course.

The Men's Golf Association of the country club reported that it was the consensus of the group that allowing Negro citizens to use the course would seriously jeopardize the operation of it.

A resolution adopted Wednesday by the golfers states "The city needs so many public facilities such as sanitary sewers, bridges to relieve traffic and the like that it cannot jeopardize a public improvement program to be financed by bonds by following a course which will lead to default in bond payment, loss of revenue, loss of the golf course and impairment of credit standing."

REP. WILLIAM CRAMER
. . . an angry GOP

Cramer Joins Blast At Court

Herald P. 14-A Tues. 3-13-56 Miami, Fla.

Fascell Maintains Approach Is Wrong

By AL NEUHARTH
Herald Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Rep. William C. Cramer of St. Petersburg belatedly joined the Southern bloc's blast at the Supreme Court Monday, while Rep. Dante Fascell of Miami reiterated his stand against the resolution.

Although more than 80 Southern congressmen in all refused to go along with the strongly worded segregation decree, Fascell was the only non-signer who openly expressed his views on the touchy issue.

He maintained a position he first outlined in The Herald on Sunday, when he said he wouldn't sign the resolution because it was the wrong approach to the segregation problem.

Cramer, Florida's lone Republican congressman, signed the resolution Monday saying that he had not done so earlier because he had not been given the opportunity.

He charged the dean of the Florida delegation, Rep. R. L. (Bob) Sikes, Crestview Democrat, specifically excluded Cramer "for obvious political reasons."

Cramer's belated signature lined up seven Florida congressmen and both senators behind the resolution which denounces the Supreme Court's integration rulings and vows to seek ways to reverse the court.

Sikes was away from Washington Monday and could not be reached for comment.

Fascell made it plain he is strongly in favor of continued segregation, but he reaffirmed his belief the congressional resolution was the wrong approach and would accomplish nothing.

Fascell's statement:

"It should be obvious to everyone that forcing integration in the school systems on the people of Florida and the South will be met with resentment and hostility.

"Integration will be accomplished only if and when the people of the South are ready and willing to accept it. The principle of segregation in the public schools in Florida has been a part of the state Constitution for over a hundred years. It was adopted by a vote of the people of the state.

"I have stated before and I state again that since the principle of segregation was invoked by a vote of the people of Florida, as a congressman, I would not cast a vote which would change that principle unless the people of Florida themselves voted to do so.

"However, Congress has not acted. The Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that segregation is invalid. I do not agree with that opinion as a matter of law, primarily because I believe the school system is one for state and local control.

"But once the Supreme Court establishes law, it is my duty as an American citizen and public official, sworn to uphold the laws, to abide by them.

"The manifesto or statement subscribed to by many congressmen Monday is, in my opinion, a denouncement of the Supreme Court of the United States which is a cornerstone of our American government.

"In the light of the Supreme Court decision, the statement offered no solution to those who want segregation. It was simply a statement of open defiance of the Supreme Court which in itself accomplishes nothing and to which I cannot subscribe."

Harvard Insists On Equality For Negro Glee Club Member, So Florida Date Cancelled

Call P. 4-6-56 Kansas City, Mo.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. —(INS) —A spokesman at the Florida State university said a scheduled appearance of the Harvard university glee club was cancelled because Harvard "insisted" that a Negro member of the glee club be given equal treatment with whites.

The FSU spokesman said Harvard had asked that the Negro be allowed to attend a reception for the glee club and that he be quartered with other members of the club at a hotel in Tallahassee.

The reception was to have been held at a sorority house on the campus.

The school spokesman said Harvard was told that "customs and traditions" of the state required segregation in social affairs.

The spokesman added that the school had made arrangements for the Negro to stay at Florida A&M university, a Negro college in Tallahassee, but that Harvard wanted him to stay at a local hotel.

The club was to have performed after the Easter holidays.

privileges of white singers.

But Harry J. Kraut, graduate manager of the Glee club, said the cancellation was due to financial reasons.

Kraut said the glee club was offered $300 for the FSU appearance, and the glee club then notified FSU authorities that the cost of train fares alone would be about $700. He said FSU also was told of the Negro singer.

When no reply was forthcoming from Florida, Kraut said, the glee club canceled the engagement on its own as unprofitable.

Negroes' Rights To Beach Appealed

Herald Miami, Fla.

F.M. 3-23-56

TAMPA —(AP)— Federal Judge George W. Whitehurst Thursday suspended his order that Negroes be admitted to St. Petersburg's municipal Spa Beach, pending an appeal by the city.

Judge Whitehurst heard the suit several weeks ago and said then he would uphold the petition by a group of St. Petersburg Negroes for use of the beach.

He signed the formal order Thursday, then granted the city's motion for appeal and suspended enforcement of the order.

The city contended first that equal facilities were provided Negroes elsewhere and second that the city is not bound by recent U. S. Supreme Court rulings on admitting Negroes to public facilities because in this instance the city is not acting as a municipality but as a proprietor of a commercial enterprise.

Judge Whitehurst ruled with the plaintiffs that the operation of the beach is subject to the 14th Amendment and that Negroes should be admitted in line with recent Supreme Court rulings in similar cases.

The suit now goes to the U. S. District Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

FSU Balks At Price Or Negro?

Herald P. 8-A Miami, Fla. March 3

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. —(AP)— The Harvard Glee Club has canceled a scheduled appearance at Florida State University, but reports from the North and South differ as to the reason.

An FSU spokesman said the cancellation was made by mutual consent because the Southern college was unable to meet Howard's requirement that a Negro singer be afforded all the

Racial Ills Blamed on Do-Gooders

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Tues. 3-27-56

WASHINGTON, March 26 (AP) — Sen. Stennis (D-Miss) said tonight that "carpet baggers and do-gooders" are causing rapid deterioriation of relations between whites and Negroes in the South.

"I have never heard any responsible leader of the colored or white race in the South say that the ultimate goal of their social relations or their race relations was to have integration educationally, socially or otherwise," he said.

COURT OPENED WAY

Stennis said the impact of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools opened the way for "outsiders and do-gooders" to try to convert the South to their way of thinking. He added:

"They will see the futility of their effort and then the leaders of the white and colored races will return to the scene of their labors and start building again from those smouldering ruins, and they will rebuild."

Stennis, interviewed on a radio program (Mutual — Reporter's Roundup), said, "we insist that the only pattern that can be suc-

cessful is a pattern that we have a part in making."

MUCH INTERESTED

"The colored people are very much interested in a continuation of their greatly improved school programs, their better teachers pay, better transportation and better schools," he said.

"...they are not pressing for this so-called recognition or the technical right to go in the other schools."

THE REV. MR. HAWKINS also reported that he has reason to believe that illegal methods are being used to take land which Negroes own from them by certain individuals who either hold office or are prominent in the community."

"Because of the conditions above, I am requesting that you, as Governor, take immediate steps to protect those persons who have registered and who are being intimidated and to insure that any Negro of Liberty County or any other county in Florida shall receive the same treatment as other citizens."

Flaming Crosses, Shotgun Protest Voters

Courier Sat. 2-18-56 P. 3

Ask Florida Governor End Reign of Terror

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By ALBERT J. DUNMORE

BRISTOL, Fla.—Governor LeRoy Collins and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have been asked to immediately launch a probe of the reign of terror begun here last week, following the registration of ten Negroes on Jan. 28.

There has been a report of the burning of several crosses, and the home of the Rev. Dee Hawkins, an AME minister, reputed leader of a group of the Negroes who led the registration campaign, was fired on with a shot gun.

The NAACP urged Governor Collins to immediately launch an investigation and information concerning the situation has reportedly been forwarded to Washington and the Department of Justice.

In a letter to the Governor, mailed on Friday, last, Robert Saunders, writes as follows:

"The following information is sumbitted to bring you up to date on a condition which warrants your immediate attention:

"On Jan. 28, it was reported to my office that ten Negro citizens of Liberty County and residing in Bristol, did register to vote. On the following morning Negroes went to register and were refused permission. On Feb. 3, a cross was burned in the colored section of Bristol and, on Feb. 4, another cross was ignited on the premises of the Rev. Dee Hawkins, a leader in the registration movement.

"According to reliable information, several shots were fire into the home of the Rev. Mr. Hawkins. At present, he and other persons who have registered in Bristol have feared reprisals by hostile persons opposed to the exercising of Constitutional rights by Negroes.

Segregation Dispute Overshadows Politics As Florida Awaits Presidential Primary

Times P. 60
Sun. 3-25-56
New York, N.Y.

Special to The New York Times.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., March 24—Segregation is still the No. 1 issue in Florida. Estes Kefauver's upset victory in Minnesota's Presidential primary apparently has not done much to generate interest in the primary here May 29.

In fact Mr. Kefauver's triumph in Minnesota occurred the same day that a meeting was held by Florida's top officials to map a campaign against the Supreme Court's ruling ordering the University of Florida to admit immediately a Negro law student.

The meeting resulted in a unanimous vote to ask President Eisenhower to call a conference of Southern Governors to discuss the touchy segregation issue.

Gov. Leroy Collins also is contemplating a special legislative session this summer to deal with a constitutional amendment aimed at stalling integration.

Surveys indicate that Floridians are too much concerned with the segregation problem and local politics—including a torrid six-man Gubernatorial race—to worry seriously about the Presidential primary.

Both Mr. Kefauver and Adlai E. Stevenson have full slates of delegates on the Florida ballot but even short tours through the state by the candidates did little to stir interest.

None of Florida's top officials has done any active campaigning for either of the Democratic hopefuls. Governor Collins says, however, that the Democrats generally will be better organized this year than four years ago, when the state swung over to the Republican side for the first time since 1928.

Mr. Collins was noncommital about the primaries and he conceded that President Eisenhower would probably carry the state again if the election were held today. But Mr. Collins said that the Democrats were better financed and not split by internal strife as they were in 1952.

Four years ago Floridians stood fairly solidly behind Senator Richard Russell from neighboring Georgia in the primary. This year no such "Southern gentleman" is in the race to create interest.

Reported opposition to General Eisenhower over his farm policies is not too pronounced in Florida because of its limited agricultural production. Florida also lacks a formidable organized labor force to become aroused about labor legislation.

example of how well democracy can work and "giving everyone an even break."

To do this, he says, there must be reactivation of the principles of the New Deal; the Administration's encouragement of monopoly and corporate power against "small business" and labor must be reversed with appropriate legislation; farm problems must be solved by helping the farmer; poverty should be alleviated by extending Social Security and distributing stored farm surpluses with food stamps; the nation's standard of existence could be elevated by achieving international stability which would permit diverting a lot of our 35-billion-dollar-a-year defense outlay into more constructive channels.

New Twist to Old Ideas

None of the ideas is very new. But Senator Kefauver is giving them a new twist in presentation.

Instead of tediously exploring their ramifications and thrashing out pros and cons, he speaks generally off the cuff. He wraps up each point in a sentence, or at most in a paragraph, fitting them all into a handy pocket-size package of reassurance. Although he has been described as a radical purveyor of promises, his "promises" here have been largely implicit, inferential and amorphous. They have revolved mostly around giving everyone "an even break."

His brevity and calmness do not tend to encourage argument, contradictions, or undue contemplation. The opinion that "he didn't have much to offer" — occasionally heard among his departing listeners—appears to be a minority one. People can't help liking him.

Collins Hits Injection of Race Issue

Herald Fla.
Miami, Fla.
Wed. 2-8-56

TAMPA—(AP)—Gov. LeRoy Collins Tuesday criticized candidates who wave the flag of racial issues. Sumter L. Lowry, campaigning for governor on a segregation platform, retorted that "it is high time he (Collins) quits pleading the cause of the NAACP."

Collins, saying Florida cannot afford to get mixed up in turmoil over racial issues, denounced any office seeker who campaigns by "inflammatory statements calculated to arouse fear and hatred."

Using perhaps his strongest words on the racial problem, Gov. Collins told a gathering of several hundred Tampa businessmen at a Florida State Fair luncheon:

"Believe me when I say Florida cannot afford an orgy of race conflict and discord."

He said segregation can be preserved without furor.

Lowry replied in a statement that "it is not the southern people who have brought on race conflict and discord. The peoples of the southern states have only asked to be let alone, to live and work in their homeland, according to their laws and customs."

The Tampa businessman and retired National Guard lieutenant general said wherever conflict has been caused it has been by "those who wish to uproot the basic laws and way of life of the southern people, and the other radical race-mixers are the troublemakers and Mr. Collins does the people a disservice when he seeks to hide this fact."

Lowry repeated an earlier appeal to Collins to give the state leadership against integration, adding the "Collins 'wait and see' policy means defeat by degrees."

No Fla. Law Found For Hotel Bias

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 3-3-56

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. --(INS)-- Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin, in an opinion requested by state hotel commissioner Richard Edgerton, says there is no law under which hotels can be prevented from accepting Negro guests.

"After searching the Florida statutes pertaining to segregation and the mixing of races," Ervin said, "I can find no law which prohibits a hotel or restaurant from serving guests who are desirable in the opinion of the management."

Democratic Gubernatorial Candidate Sumter Lowry--who has based his campaign solely on a pledge to preserve segregation--has taken Gov. Leroy Collins to task because a group of Negroes attending a church convention in Miami are being housed at Miami Beach hotels.

Lowry charged Thursday night that Collins has the legal authority to keep Negroes out of the hotels but was failing to use it because it "would alienate the colored vote."

Fla. Boycotters

Officials turn down all requests

Afro-American Sat. 7-7-56 Baltimore, Md.

(Special to AFRO)

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Buses of the Cities Transit Inc., ceased to roll here at midnight Saturday.

That was the consequence of the refusal of city officials to grant the demands of boycotting colored riders for nonsegregated seating and courteous treatment.

C. L. Carter, manager of the bus company, had admitted a 60 per cent drop in revenue since colored riders began walking five weeks ago.

* * *

The protest was begun when two Florida A. and M. University coeds were arrested for refusing to surrender their seats to white men.

"We had rather walk with dignity, than ride with humiliation," the Rev. K. C. Steele, president of the Inter-civic Council, explained to the AFRO.

"The city commission refused to meet us half way," the Rev. Mr. Steele added.

* * *

THE REV. K. S. DUPONT, addressing 500 boycotters at the "deadline" mass meeting Friday night, admonished his hearers: "Walk and God will walk with you."

Later the audience voted unanimously to reject the terms offered by the city and bus company for settlement of the boycott.

The vote was significant in that it occurred only 24 hours before the deadline set by the company for settlement of the controversy.

Two weeks ago company officials announced that if agreement was not reached by midnight June 30 bus operations would be suspended.

* * *

OFFICERS OF the Council met June 25 with city commissioners and bus company officials. However no agreement was reached as both sides failed to come to terms on seating arrangements.

The council offered to compromise on seating arrangements on all bus lines except the two which transverse colored communities. On these two lines approximately 95 per cent of the riders are colored.

A "First come first served" arrangement was requested.

Following rejection of this proposal the council then asked he appointment of an interracial council to mediate the differences.

However, this proposal also was rejected.

* * *

AS A RESULT, at Friday night's meeting the Rev. Mr. Steele told the audience:

"We have done all we can. We have nothing to work on. The only thing left for us now is to devise a plan of transportation for our own people."

He also made reference to the full-page advertisement which the group placed in the local daily paper, the Tallahassee Democrat on June 22.

The advertisement appeared under the caption: "An appeal to the people of Tallahassee for moral gestures."

* * *

THE ADVERTISEMENT set forth the position of the council, which represents the city's 16,000 colored citizens as follows:

All citizens regardless of race should be treated as Americans. They should receive equality of treatment and full use of all facilities and conveniences provided for all riders on any and all buses.

It pointed out that the boycott was not designed to destroy the business of the bus company, "but there is no law that makes a man trade with another man who mistreats and humiliates him."

It stated that the incident which started the boycott never would have happened if all passengers had been treated like American citizens."

* * *

THIS REFERENCE was to the arrest on May 26 of two coeds of Florida A and M. University, Misses Wilhelmina Jakes, 26, and Carrie Patterson, 20, both of Lakeland, Florida for refusing to give up a seat when the bus driver refused to return their fares.

The incident was described in the advertisement as "the overflowing cup of humiliation which caused individual bus riders to seek other means of transportation."

Further the segregated seating arrangement was callel arbitrary and a "cancerous sore."

The appeal appeared over the names of members of the Council's Executive Committee.

FAMU PHARMACY SCHOOL RECEIVES ACCREDITATION

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — President George W. Gore Jr. of Florida A. and M. University last week said the university's school of pharmacy has been accredited by the American Council of Pharmaceutical Education.

Montgomery bus line lays off 24, cuts back service

News Fri. 6-29-56 Birmingham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 29—(AP)—Hard hit by the six-month-old Negro boycott, Montgomery City Lines announced the layoff of 21 more bus drivers and three other employes today and made arrangements to take more buses out of service.

Manager J. H. Bagley said the cutback is necessary because of loss of business from the mass refusal of Negroes to ride the segregated buses.

Bagley said the cut leaves the company with 37 drivers, five office workers and maintenance personnel.

City Lines had some 54 regular buses in service before the Negro protest began. Bagley said only about 20 are being used now in the city of 150,000 population.

At one time buses carried an estimated 30,000 to 40,000 Negro riders daily. Company officials said recently that figure had dropped to about 500.

Bagley also anounced that two of the bus routes which have been retained during the boycott will be combined into one starting Monday.

Negroes at Tallahassee Ignore New Bus Service

Evening Star P. 10-C Washington, D. C.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 12 (AP).—Tallahassee Negroes last night publicly ignored an announcement that bus service will be resumed here and reaffirmed their determination to hold out for fully integrated seating.

Thurs. 7-12-56

No mention was made at a mass meeting of the Negro Inter-civic Council of plans announced by the Cities Transit Co. to reinstate the service, which was suspended July 1. The company halted operations in the wake of financial losses caused by the Negro boycott. The boycott is a protest against segregated seating.

Instead, council members said they would continue to provide their own transportation by means of car pools. They took up a collection toward purchase of station wagons to serve the Negro community.

The transit company announced yesterday it would resume service over routes to be determined by a survey of potential riders. If Negroes are not willing to ride, the routes will serve white neighborhoods only, Cities Transit Manager Charles L. Carter, said.

The bus company acted in response to a request from the Tallahassee Chamber of Commerce, which plans to sponsor a ride-the-bus campaign. This city of 40,000 has been without public transportation except for taxicabs for nearly two weeks.

On Sunday Negroes rejected a City Commission compromise under which one three-passenger seat would be set aside for white persons but any other seat would be available to Negroes.

There was no suggestion last night that Sunday's action would be reconsidered.

Montgomery joins state of Alabama in bus line appeal

News P. 2 Sat. 6-30-56 Birmingham, Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 30—(AP)—City attorneys Friday joined hands with the state in appealing a Federal Court decision banning segregation on city buses.

They filed notice of appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, as did the state attorneys a day earlier in the name of the Alabama Public Service Commission.

In the appeal the city questioned jurisdiction of the three-judge federal panel which issued the decision earlier this month holding city and state segregation laws unconstitutional.

Store boycott threatened in Tallahassee

News P. 34 Mon. 7-2-56 Birmingham, Ala.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 2—(AP)—The leader of the Negro boycott that caused suspension of segregated city buses threatened today to extend it to downtown white merchants unless he called "police intimidation" is stopped.

The Rev. C. K. Steele, president of the Negro Inter Civic Council, told a mass meeting of about 500 council members last night:

"It really appears that our city policemen have decided to run us out of town—that is off of Monroe and Adams streets (the main business streets).

"It seems they don't recognize that we are in town not to break laws, but to pay bills and to give business and patronage to stores that are friendly to us there.

"If they continue their police intimidation it will finally become necessary for us to stay out of town and make other arrangements."

STEELE told newsmen later that police appear to have opened a campaign of harrassment and intimidation of Negroes in the downtown area.

Chief Frank Stoutamire denied any intimidation of Negroes by city police.

"I've never seen any third degree," he said. "I've never seen any mistreatment. I wouldn't stand for it."

Stoutamore said police are cracking down more vigorously on traffic violators but he said this is a general crackdown aimed at all law breakers, white and Negro.

A CHECK of police records showed four fewer Negroes were arrested on traffic charges from June 12 to June 29 than during the same previous period in May.

The boycott, in protest against segregated seating, resulted in suspension of service Saturday by Cities Transit Co., which had operated the city bus franchise since 1940.

Two-thirds of the line's business came from Tallahassee's 14,000 Negroes. About 1000 Negroes rode the bus daily compared to about 500 from Tallahassee's white community of 26,000.

8 Point Appeal For Relief Is Outlined To PS

Weekly Sat. 6-30-56 New Orleans, La.

An eight-point "undesirable conditions" report was issued to the New Orleans Public Service, Inc. last week by the Ninth Ward Civic and Improvement League, appealing for relief for Negro patrons using the Caffin and Tennessee bus lines.

In issuing the list of suggestions, the league urged that corrections be made as soon as possible.

Noting that the Caffin and Tennessee bus line is now well established, the League called attention to:

*Larger buses be put in operation. The present ones are small, inconvenient and out-moded.

*That a shelter be built at the Forstall and St. Claude Avenue bus stop. Large numbers of passengers board the buses at this point; the shelter that was originally there was moved to Lizardi and St. Claude and is hardly used other than by loiterers, and serves only the very few passengers riding the Barracks bus; the need for more accommodations is greater for the passengers riding the St. Claude and the Caffin-Tennessee buses.

*That the bus landing at the Forstall and St. Claude be asphalt paved, and that the drain at this landing that has been stopped up for years be opened. During inclement weather when the buses approach the stop the passengers are often splashed—soiling their clothing and other valuables.

½ Asphalt bus landings along Florida Avenue which are now overrun with weeds on one side and overflowing with water and mud on the other.

*Foot bridges and asphalt landings are needed at the Caffin bus

landings because of the same reasons, plus the large ditches. This condition exists on Caffin and Florida to North Carolina.

*There is a definite need for additional buses during carnival parade season.

*More courteous operators. There are too many who are unaccommodating, discourteous, and unsafe in the operation of the buses.

Representing the League were Mrs. L. G. Luke, Mrs. Martha Joseph and Wilfred S. Aubert, Jr., chairman. Those representing NOPSI were A. L. Naisine, vice-president, and H. E. Palmer.

MSR, CITY ANSWER SUIT FILED BY NEGRO

Constitutionality Of Statutes Is Big Issue In Bus Case —Three Judges Asked

By ROY JENNINGS

The City Commission and other defendants yesterday challenged a Negro postal employe's claim that state segregtion laws on public transportation are unconstitutional.

Answering the Federal Court suit brought by O. Z. Evers of 671 Lipford, the briefs said constitutionality of the statutes in question was upheld by the Tennessee Supreme Court.

Unconstitutionality Charged

Evers, a distribution clerk for the Postal Transportation Service here, charged in his suit filed three weeks ago that the segregation statutes are in conflict with the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution. He asked the state laws be declared "null and void."

The suit, sanctioned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, also requested a three-judge court to decide the constitutionality question and to enter an injunction forbidding enforcement of the segregation laws.

Defendants are the City Commission as individuals; Memphis Street Railway Co.; its operator, Warren G. Alexander; Police Chief J. C. Macdonald, and two patrolmen, J. A. Renfrow and B. L. Rogers.

The defendants also challenged the jurisdiction of Judge Marion S. Boyd's court to hear and determine the case on any ground set out in the complaint.

Compliance Assured

There will be no need for an injunction, the briefs said, if the state statutes are declared unconstitutional by the proper court. The defendants assured they will comply with the court mandate.

The defendants also asked the court to deny Evers' request for a temporary injunction, pending a United States Supreme Court ruling.

"Previous decisions of the Federal Supreme Court have upheld the validity of such laws by which the practices and habits of the people dwelling within the territorial jurisdiction of this court have been molded during a period of more than 50 years," the City Commission brief contended.

The commissioners' answer, filed by City Atty. Frank Gianotti Jr. and two assistants, Charles Crump and Frierson Graves Jr., also questioned Evers' claim for a three-judge court.

Memphis Street Railway suggested the court enter a judgment determining the constitutionality of the laws.

The transit firm's answer contended all other matters charged in Evers' petition stemmed from the contention the laws were unconstitutional and were dependent upon such a ruling.

The patrolmen denied they were the officers who gave Evers the choice of moving to the rear of a MSR coach last April 26, getting off or facing arrest.

The officers said the incident on McLemore near Wellington apparently occurred about noon and they didn't go on duty until 3 p.m.

Evers said in his complaint he boarded the coach at Bellevue and Lamar and took a seat immediately behind the operator. When he refused to move to the Negro section in the rear, the operator called police.

Patrolmen Renfrow and Rogers asked the court to dismiss the suit against them.

TALLAHASSEE WALKS

Service Is Suspended as Result of Boycott by Negroes

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 1 (AP)—Tallahassee's 40,000 residents were without bus service today.

The Cities Transit Company suspended its routes at midnight as a result of a month-long boycott by Negro patrons. Negroes normally supplied 70 per cent of the company's revenue.

Stetson Coleman, president of the company, announced ten days ago that bus service would end July 1 unless some solution were found to get the city's 14,000 Negroes back on the buses.

The last hope for a compromise ended Friday night when the Negro Inter Civic Council refused to retreat on its demands for an end to segregated seating on the buses and for employment of Negro drivers.

The boycott was touched off by the arrest of two Florida A. & M. University women students who refused to move to the rear of a bus. Fellow students at the Negro university started the boycott May 28. It spread to the entire Negro community within five days. Charges against the two students were dropped, but the boycott continued.

Tallahassee Bus Compromise Fails

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 9 (AP).—Tallahhassee Negroes last night again rejected a compromise proposal for ending the bus boycott and reaffirmed their determination to do without public transportation until they get integrated seating.

The Tallahassee City Commission renewed an offer to permit Negroes to sit where they wish on buses, except for one 3-passenger seat reserved for white patrons.

The Rev. David Brooks, a lader of the Negro Inter-Civil Council, reported the commission offer which was unanimously rejected. He said he understood Negroes would not be required to stand while the white seat remained empty and that if it were occupied by Negroes before whites boarded the bus, the white passenger would have to stand.

Mr. Brooks also told some 500 Negroes attending the mass meeting the proposal was presented as a temporary solution.

There were cries that it was the same proposal already rejected by the Negroes several times since their boycott started in May as a protest against segregated seating. The boycott since has resulted in suspension of bus service here.

2 Negro Aids Win Erie Bias Battle

Special to World-Telegram and Sun.

NEWARK, June 18.—In its first decision after a public hearing in the 11 years of its existence, the Division Against Discrimination of the State Department of Education today ordered the Erie Railroad to "cease and desist from discriminating against any and all employees because of their race or color."

The decision was rendered in the case of two Negro waiters-in-charge of the railroad's dining car service, Benjamin A. Thompson and Edward Williams. They charged that they had not been upgraded to the rank of steward because they were Negroes.

The complaint was originally filed in 1951, and subsequently the railroad abolished the position of steward and raised the two complainants from waiters to waiters in charge. Today's opinion ordered counsel for the railroad and the two men to try to determine the difference in salary due the pair for the years they were rated as waiters-in-charge instead of stewards.

Bus appeal to be noted

COLUMBIA, S.C. — An appeal from a recent Federal court's second dismissal of the civil rights suit of Mrs. Sarah Mae Flemming Brown may be filed by July 15, the last date for appealing.

Philip Wittenberg, attorney, told the AFRO Thursday he was studying the record of the dismissal hearing and had found "probable grounds" for appealing to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Mrs. Brown, then Miss Flemming, sued the S.C. Electric and Gas Co. for $25,000 in 1954 after a bus driver for the company allegedly struck her in the stomach on a city bus.

JUDGE GEORGE BELL Timmerman Sr., dismissed her case on the grounds that it did not qualify under the 1954 ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court School decision.

In July, 1955, however, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the high court's school cases ruling also applied to intrastate transportation and demanded the case for disposal on its damages angle.

Last month, in a surprise action, Timmerman again dismissed the case, holding that the bus driver's action occurred before the Circuit Court's ruling and was, therefore, beyond the pale of retroactive judgment.

He also held that the plaintiff had failed to show that the offense charged had been committed under the 14th Amendment. The driver, Timmerman ruled, had acted under color of state law, then valid.

THE BUS INCIDENT took place June 22, 1954, about 36 days after the 1954 school rulings May 17.

Mr. Wittenberg did not specify what exceptions to the Timmerman findings would be noted. The court had dismissed it before it came before a jury.

Fred Gray Given Pre-Draft Exam

Negro attorney Fred D. Gray, legal spokesman for Montgomery Negroes participating in the bus boycott, yesterday underwent a pre-induction physical examination at the H&R Point here.

Gray, whose draft status was recently changed to 1-A, previously held a 4-D classification which exempted him from the draft on the grounds he was a practicing minister.

Selective service officials said the 25-year-old attorney will not be inducted until his status has been cleared by U.S. Selective Service headquarters.

Fla. boycotters irked by police

Afro-American P.1

Sat. 7-14-56

(Special to the AFRO)

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — "We would rather walk with sore and heavy feet than ride with sore and aching hearts."

Thus the Rev. C. K. Steele, president of the Inter-Civic Association which is spearheading the six-week-old bus boycott here, described the attitude of who have caused the local bus 15,000 colored Tallahaseeans company to go out of business because of their refusal to submit to jim-crow transit conditions any longer.

The Rev. Mr. Steele was speaking at a mass meeting held in Bethel Baptist Church Monday attended by more than 500 persons. The meetings are held weekly in order that the leaders of the bus protest may report to their followers on developments.

* * *

THE REV. King Soloman DuPont, this week, is directing the strategy of the Inter-Civic Association, which is fighting for equal rghts in this state capital.

The pastor fo Fountain Chapel AME Church and vice president of the association told the AFRO Friday that while no agreement had been reached between the city commission and the association during a special meeting on July 3, he felt that a better spirit had been engendered and that a solution to the transportation problem would be worked out.

On the preceding Saturday, the Cities Transit Company, which had a franchise to operate the buses in this city, ceased operations, because of the 100 per cent effective boycott against riding segregated buses by colored people for one month had deprived the concern of more than 60 to 75 per cent of its income.

* * *

THE BUS LINE normally collected 1,500 fares daily, about 1,000 from colored riders and 500 from whites.

The Rev. Mr. DuPont denied that the association planned to enlarge its boycott to include downtown white stores in reprisal for what had been pointed to by some observers as intimidation by police of drivers in the car pool which is keeping colored Tallahasseeans from going where they want to go in this city of 40,000 people.

The Rev. Mr. Steele was quoted in some newspapers as having threatened Sunday nights to boycott white merchants because police were intimidating colored drivers in the car pool which is furnishing transportation to the bus strikers.

* * *

HE WAS REPORTED to have said:

"It seems that they (white merchants) don't recognize that we are in town not to break laws, but to pay bills and give business and patronage to stores that are friendly to us.

"If they continue their police intimidation it will finally become necessary for us to stay out of town and make other arrangements.

"We may even have to form excursions to other cities to spend what little mney we have to spend."

The Rev. Mr. DuPont said that he and other officials of the Inter-Civic Association are trailing their car pool operators into the downtown areas to check on whether or not they are being unduly harassed by city policemen.

* * *

THE STREETS upon which they have been ticketed most frequently during the past two weeks have been Monument and Adams, where the majority of the department stores and other business places are located.

At each mass meeting held by the association since the inception of the bus strike, May 28, leaders of the group have advised their followers to "stay away from downtown unless you have business there that you must attend to personally."

This advice was given to lessen the chance of incidents which might lead to violence, the Rev. Mr. Steele told the AFRO.

Bus boycotters were also urged not to go into "white" areas at night.

* * *

TALLAHASSEE'S 15,000 colored people are as one in their determination not to continue to pay "to be humiliated" on any public transit system which may be made available in the city, the Rev. Mr. DuPont said.

More than 70 automobiles, several station wagons and one bus make up the motor pool which transports persons to work and calls and gets them for other urgent errands.

Daniel Speed, director of the car pool, urged all persons to "walk wherever you have to go, ride taxicabs if you have the money and call us only when you must."

The pool is financed by donations made to the ICA by the people of Tallahassee and by their supporters from other towns and cities in Florida, Georgia and elsewhere.

* * *

DRIVERS EXACT NO fares from passengers and receive only gasoline for their participation in the struggle for full citizenship in the sphere of public transportation.

The Rev. Mr. DuPont chuckled when he mentioned the plight of the white riders left stranded when their bus line ended its operations.

"I guess they're walking," he said. "I don't know of any car pool or anything else they have."

The AFRO, which has sent two of its editors, Arthur Randall and Samuel Hoskins, to Tallahassee from Baltimore to cover the strike, came in for praise by the Rev. Mr. DuPont.

"I hadn't been reading your paper until the trouble started," he said, "but now, I guess I'm the best customer you have."

* * *

HE CRITICIZED the Tallahassee Democrat daily newspaper for being "biased" and said that its news stories and editorials on the bus situation seem to be "slanted."

"They don't seem to realize that we are dignified people," he complained, pointing out that the bus protest was a non-violent, community - wide expression of disgust at mistreatment.

The Rev. Mr. Steele was out of town and unavailable for comment, Friday. However, the next mass meeting called for Sunday is to be held at Bethel Baptist Church of which he is pastor.

It was disclosed this week that the Cities Transit Company had already sold five of the buses it operated in Tallahassee to a purchaser in Cuba.

* * *

AT THE MEETING with the City commission Thursday, Police Chief Stoutamire denied that the boycotters were being intimidated by police.

"We're cracking down on traffic violators, black and white," the chief said.

"I've never seen anyone mistreated as long as I've been chief. I won't stand for it. We're not picking on anybody; we're just trying to do a job."

When Stan Wayman, who said he was a free lance photographer representing Life magazine, snapped photos of the meeting by poking his camera through a rear window of the commission room, he was seized by two of the commissioners and made to surrender his film

"I don't want my picture in that damn magazine," Commissioner John Humphress asserted.

* * *

MEANWHILE, Gov. LeRoy Collins said that he considers the bus boycott a "miscarriage of ambition."

"Efforts made here by the NAACP which have resulted in the discontinuance of bus service in this community, I regard as a miscarriage of ambition." (The governor apparently was unaware that the NAACP has no connection with the protest).

The governor's statement came after the Cities Transit Company was forced to suspend service.

Collins said:

"If this organization (NAACP) is interested in advancing the welfare of our colored citizens, it should concern itself with other conditions of far more importance than where people sit on buses.

"I frankly think that these people had some grievances," Collins said, "but it is clear to me that the city authorities indicated in good faith a willingness to adjust these grievances."

Tallahassee Negroes again reject plan to end bus boycott

News p.3

Mon. 7-9-56

Birm. Ala.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 9—(AP)—Tallahassee Negroes last night again rejected a compromise proposal for ending the bus boycott and reaffirmed their determination to do without public transportation until they get integrated seating.

The Tallahassee City Commission renewed an offer to permit Negroes to sit where they wish on buses except for one three-passenger seat reserved for white patrons.

The Rev. David Brooks, a leader of the Negro Inter-Civic Council, reported the commission offer which was unanimously rejected. He said he understood Negroes would not be required to stand while the white seat remained empty and that if it were occupied by Negroes before whites boarded the bus, the white passengers would have to stand.

BROOKS ALSO TOLD some 500 Negroes attending the mass meeting the proposal was presented as a temporary solution.

There were cries that it was the same proposal already rejected by the Negroes several times since their boycott started in May as a protest against segregated seating. The boycott since has resulted in suspension of bus service here.

At present, private automobiles are ebing used in a car pool to provide transportation for Negroes normally dependent on the buses.

In addition to rejecting the seating plan, the Negrose turned down a proposal for formation of an inter-racial council composed of six white and six Negro members.

Tallahassee buses to roll again

Wed. 7-11-56

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 11—(AP)—The Chamber of Commerce announced today that the Cities Transit Co., had agreed to resume city bus operations in Tallahassee.

Thomas Brownless, C of C secretary, said the buses would start rolling just as soon as revised routes can be worked out on the basis of a survey of requirements.

Tallahassee has been without bus service since July 1. Service was suspended because a boycott of Negro riders made operations unprofitable, the transit concern said.

The boycott was called two months ago in a move by Tallahassee Negroes to gain integrated seating. The City Commission has refused to approve full integration, saying this was prohibited by state laws.

MONTH OLD BUS BOYCOTT HALTS SERVICE IN FLA. CITY

Butler County Americon

Hamilton, Oho

Negroes Refuse To Retreat In Demand For Ouster Of Jim Crow

Sat. 7-7-56

Tallahassee, Fla. - It was call a cab or walk Saturday for those among Tallahassee's 26,000 white residents who depend upon public transit facilities.

Cities Transit company suspended service on its bus routes last midnight as a result of a month long boycott by Negro patrons. The Negroes normally supplied 70 per cent of the bus company's revenue. Stetson Coleman, president of the company, announced 10 days ago

bus service would end July 1 unless some solution was found to get the city's 14,000 Negroes back on the buses.

The last hope for a compromise ended Friday night when the Negro Inter Civic Council refused to retreat on its demands for an end to segregated seating on the buses and immediate employment of Negro drivers.

The city had agreed to amend the bus franchise to permit open seating on the predominantly Negro lines except for one three-passenger lateral seat at the front which would have been reserved for whites and to allow employment of Negro drivers at the discretion of the company.

Tallahassee Drops Efforts To Settle Negro Bus Boycott

Advertiser Fri. 7-13-56 Montgomery

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 12 (AP) —All efforts to settle the Negro bus boycott were dropped by the Tallahassee City Commission today. P. 7A Ala.

"It's been proved to me that all they want is integration and they'll never get it as long as I'm on the City Commission," said H. C. Summitt in a statement endorsed by a commission majority.

Tallahassee Bus Outlook Called 'Fairly Hopeless'

Post & Times Herald P. 3 Wash. D.C. Tues. 7-10-56

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 9 (AP)—City Commissioner W. T. Mayo today said rejection by Tallahassee Negroes of a compromise proposal for ending the bus boycott made the situation "fairly hopeless."

At a mass meeting last night the Negro Intercivic Council reaffirmed its determination to do without public transportation until Negroes get integrated seating.

The group voted down a renewed offer by the City Commission to permit Negroes to sit where they wish on buses except for one 3-passenger seat reserved for white patrons.

Mayo said "the people of Tallahassee do not want integration and they are not going to have it." He added:

"If they (the Negroes) are not willing to accept the situation as it exists in Tallahassee and accept something less than full integration the situation is fairly hopeless, because the City Commission is not willing to change the franchise to include full integration."

No new meetings between the City Commission and representatives of the Intercivic Council have been arranged. An estimated 500 Negroes attended last night's meeting.

The Rev. David Brooks, a leader of the Negro Intercivic Council, reported the Commission offer, which was unanimously rejected. He said he understood Negroes would not be required to stand while the white seat remained empty and that if it were occupied by Negroes before whites boarded the bus, the white passengers would have to stand.

An offering taken up to meet transportation costs produced $412 to add to $2198 reported already in the treasury. Private automobiles are being used in a car pool to provide transportation for Negroes normally dependent on the buses.

ON ALTERED ROUTES

Tallahassee To Resume Segregated Bus Lines

Advertiser Thurs. 7-12-56 P. 1 Montgomery Ala.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 11 (AP)—Cities Transit Co., announced today it soon would resume bus operations in Tallahassee on a segregated seating basis, but over altered routes.

Charles L. Carter, manager of the transit firm, said the company was acting in response to requests from the city's Chamber of Commerce which had pledged its efforts to increase patronage in a ride-the-bus campagin.

Carter said the new routes would be tailored to fit demands of the riding public.

Buses which serve the Florida capital ceased operating July 1 because of financial losses resulting from a boycott by Negro riders. This city of some 40,000 population has been without a public transport system, except taxicabs, since.

While plans went forward for getting the buses rolling again, the Negro Inter-Civic Council called a mass meeting for tonight to reconsider a compromise seating proposal advanced by a majority of the City Commission.

A spokesman for the Council, Dan Speed, said, "I think there is a very good chance that the proposal will be reconsidered and approved."

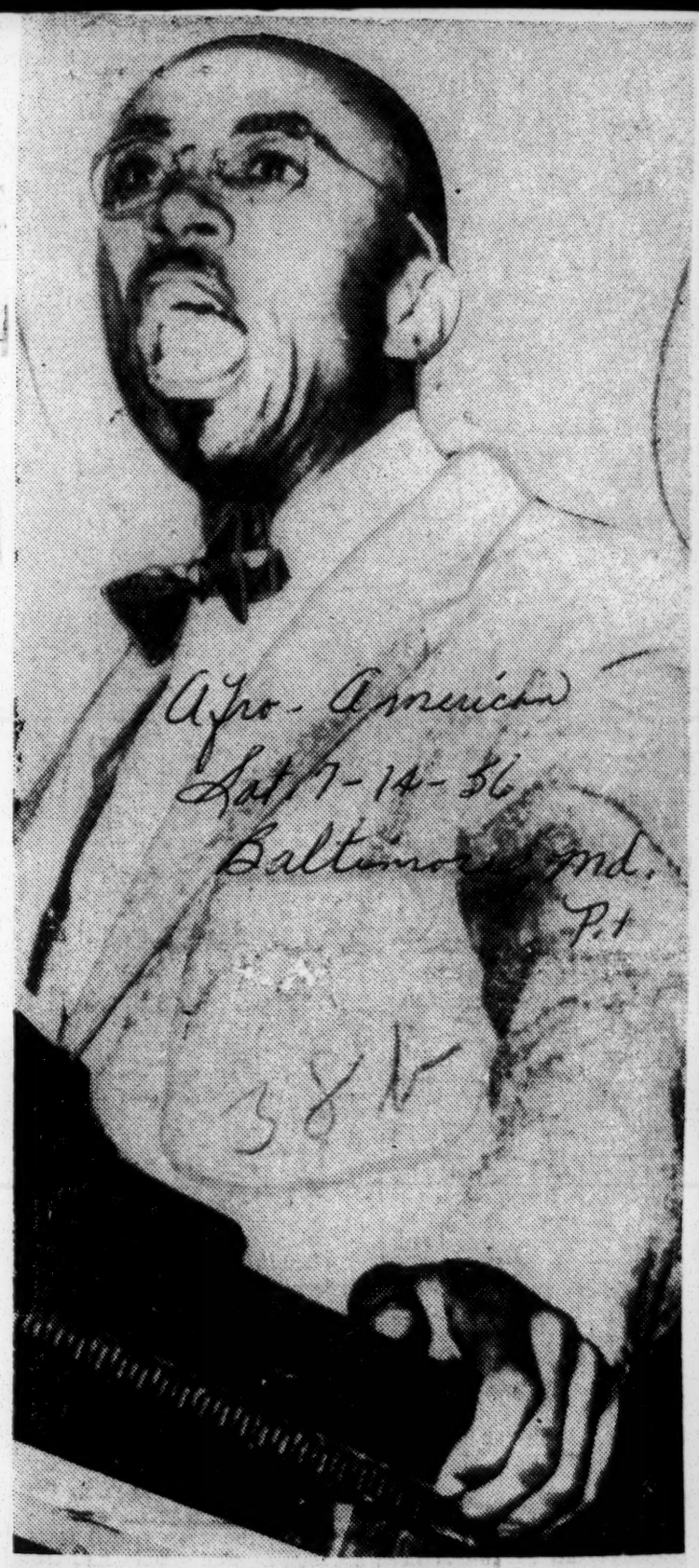
Speed said it was felt that many of the 500 Negroes who attended a mass meeting Sunday night which rejected the compromise didn't fully understand it.

Under the plan Negroes would be permitted to sit where they wish on the buses serving Negro routes except for one three-passenger seat reserved for white patrons.

In rejecting the plan Sunday, members of the Council served notice they would accept no plan short of complete integration.

In addition to voting down the seating plan, the Negroes turned down a proposal for formation of an inter-racial council composed of six whites and six Negro members.

The boycott was called almost two months ago in support of demands for integrated seating. The City Commission refused to approve full integration, saying it was prohibited from doing so by state segregation laws.



Afro-American Sat. 7-14-56 Baltimore, Md. P. 1

REV. C. K. STEELE

"We would rather walk with sore and heavy feet than to ride with sore and aching hearts."

The Whole Town's Walking

'In middle,' bus driver tells AFRO

Afro-American Sat. 11-10-56 Baltimore Md.

By ELIZABETH M. OLIVER

TALLAHASEE, Fla. — "I live eight miles from my job. I'd like to catch a ride, but if I don't I'll just walk it."

That's what Mrs. Minnie Minor said Monday in Tallahassee, and that is exactly what all the people are doing in protest of segregated bus seating here.

If they can not ride with a neighbor or a friend, the working people, those who want to go to town, the FAMU students are all walking wherever they want to go.

* * *

"THERE WERE a few who have been riding all the time, but that total number is not more than five or six. Now, since the ICC and the car pool drivers have received a verdict of guilty, even those people have stopped."

That was a bus driver talking with the AFRO.

He stated that because he is a driver, and in Talahassee a bus driver is in a peculiar position between both sides of the controversy — he preferred to remain anonymous.

"I should like to see the question settled," he added "and I'd like to keep my job. Right now, I'm put on the spot by both white and colored people.

"But, I don't think the people are going to get back on the buses and sit in the back. They've been walking all this time.

"The students say that their folks at home told them to stick with their race, so they aren't riding either."

* * *

THE CAR POOL has been abandoned although the City of Tallahassee did not prove that a single person who rode in the automobiles furnished by the Inter Civic Council paid one cent of money for the rides.

The ICC furnished the gas for the car pool, instructed the drivers to pick up anyone who wanted a ride. They received their money for the gas and maintenance of the cars from donations from sympathetic people all over the United States.

"I've been instructing everybody to give a walking friend a ride," said the Rev. C. K. Steele, the dynamic Baptist minister and leader of "the walking people."

* * *

"WE WILL GET this thing straight with the help of God but, until then, we're still walking."

And so, in Tallahassee, the buses go wobbling along their routes with empty seats.

Sometimes from boredom the driver leans over the steering wheel, rests his chin upon his hands and keeps driving at hardly more than five miles an hour.

Since no one is there at the bus stops to take up his time in getting on the bus, his schedule is thrown off. In order to make it come out right somehow, he just rattles along, looking at the scenery, yawning or talking to himself to ease the monotony of driving all day with no one to talk with.

* * *

I PASSED A BUS with one "passenger" sitting up next to the driver. That was on the A and M - Frenchtown route which is used by students and colored workers.

"She's the driver's wife," I was told. "Sometimes the driver's kids get on and ride, just ride anywhere. Other tots will get on, too, but they are riding free.

"No one is riding for pay," the driver continued. "I don't see how the bus company can keep up expenses. It costs a lot of money just to drive the bus around the route, let alone service it and keep up the terminal."

The court testimony of the city's witness. Charles L. Carter, vice-president of the City Transist Lines, revealed that before the boycott began last May the daily intake on the "A and M - Frenchtown" route was $180.

* *

SINCE STUDENTS and citizens generally have refused to ride this or any other line, company records show that for the period from May to September 1956 the intake has averaged barely $18 per day.

Mr. Carter stated that in an effort to overcome the loss sustained by the boycott (monthly income used to average $15,500 but is now barely $4,000) the company upped the fare from 10 cents to 15 cents.

If the City of Tallahassee had hoped to befriend the owners of the bus company by their prosecution of the boycotters, the ICC and those in sympathy, it has been disappointed so far.

* * *

"WE'D RATHER WALK in dignity," say the people, "than ride in the rear."

"It's deeper than just the segregated buses," said Dr. M. C. Williams, executive secretary of the ICC.

"All of us are interested in throwing off the yoke of suppression which robs us of our rights as American citizens. We'll just keep on walking and working toward freedom."

Referring to the people's "walk for freedom" protest, the defense attorney, Francisco Rodriquez, stated: "We don't want to wear golden shoes in heaven, we just want to wear Florsheims here on earth."

* * *

"THEY CUT OFF our car pool," said the Rev. M. Steele, "now we'll get buggies and bicycles and our friends will ride us in their cars.

"If they cut off our buggies and bicycles, we'll just walk. "If they cut off our legs, we'll crawl."

Dr. J. R. E. Lee Jr., FAMU business manager, and lifelong resident of Tallahassee, states "The boycott is an expression of resentment against riding the buses and justifiably so. It has served a wonderful purpose."

* * *

THEODORE R. BOWERS of Bascom, a student, said: "As far as the students are concerned, we'll go along. We are are inspired by the attitude of all uneducated people who are walking."

The City's special prosecuor, Mark Hawes, who was hired at a fee of $4,000 to handle the case against the boycotters, said before the count.

"We warned them. That didn't stop them and they tell me they are still walking. Your Honor, if you don't stop them, the ICC will take over the whole city of Tallahassee."

* * *

THE NEXT DAY after the car pool was abandoned by order of the court and the 21 defendants were fined a total of $11,000, it poured rain. The downpour came in sheets with driving winds.

The empty buses jogged along the route, their dim headlights bouncing crazily up and down in the near darkness.

But the highways and byways were dotted with people, their umbrellas raised high as southern people do, and they were walking, walking in dignity.

For Fort Lauderdale

Federal Court Orders Golf Integration Trial

Herald P. 4-C Miami, Fla. Tues. 10-30-56

A suit for integration of the Fort Lauderdale Municipal Golf Course must go to trial in federal court in Miami.

Judge Joseph P. Lieb refused summary judgment Monday because he found an issue still existed. Attorneys for the city and the petitioning Negroes did not agree on some facts.

It means full trial in court with witnesses and testimony. No date of trial was set.

Through summary judgment, Lieb could have ruled in favor of the Negroes. They asked that the rights of all concerned be outlined, and that segregation of the course be found in violation of the Constitution.

Still at issue, Lieb found, was whether the four Negro petitioners had ever applied in person at the course, and whether a city commission resolution denying Negroes use of the course was effective.

City Attorney Julian Ross said that under Fort Lauderdale's city manager form of government, only the city manager can tell city employes what to do. He raised the question of the legal effect of the commission's resolution.

Judge Lieb told C. E. Graves, attorney for the Negroes, to study his petition and see if a favorable ruling will give them the relief they want.

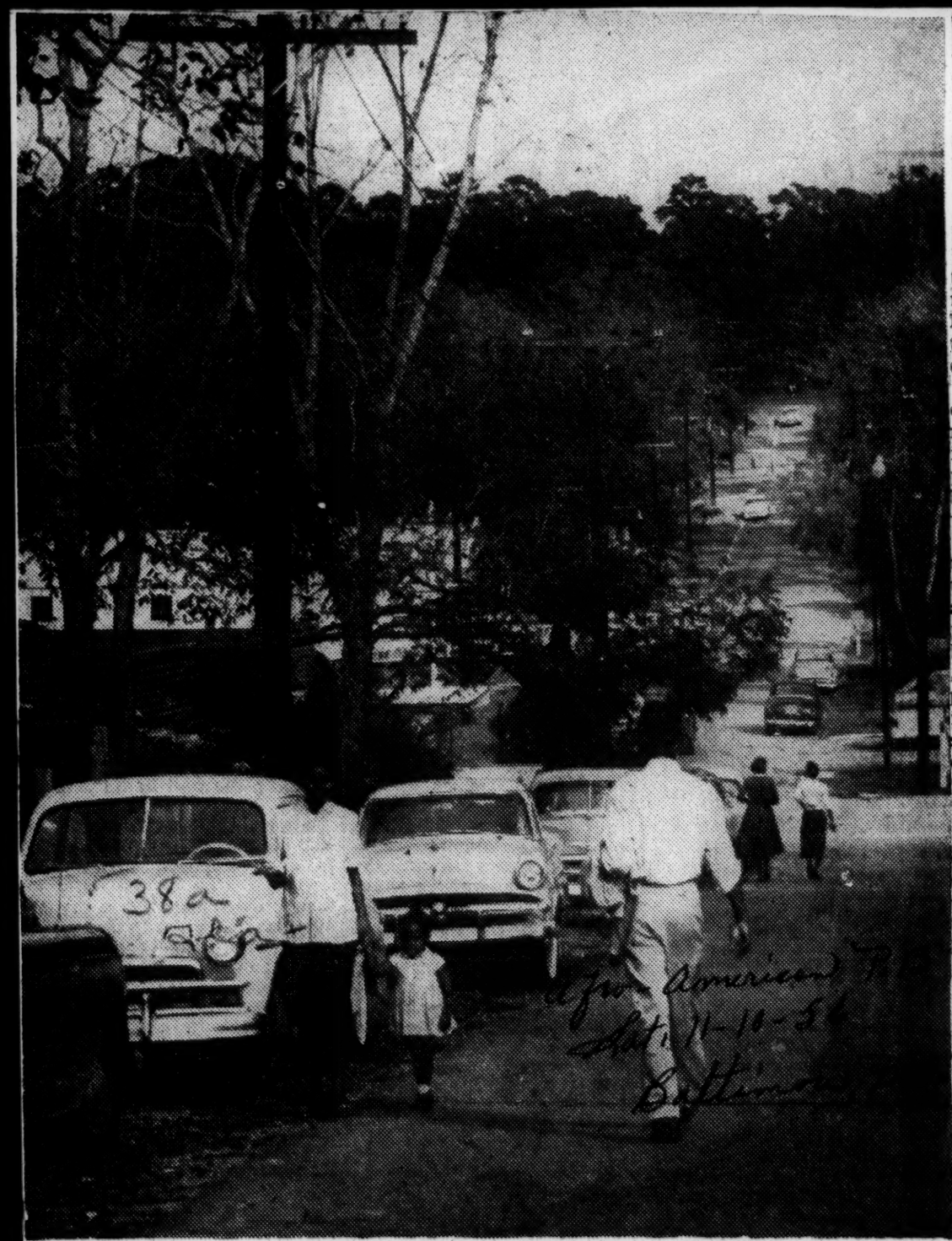
"When it comes to the objective of your suit, I want you to decide if you've done it the right way," Lieb said.

Ross noted the commission's resolution barring Negroes cannot be enforced. Only city ordinances can be enforced with arrests and fines, he noted.

Ross also denied that the petitioning Negroes ever applied at the course, but admitted the Northwest Golf Assn. did. However, he said, it was not shown the four peititioners were members of that group.

But a few hours later, five golfers, including members of the all-Negro Northwest Golf Assn. claimed in Fort Lauderdale that they were turned down when they asked permission to play Monday at the Fort Lauderdale Golf and Country Club, a municipally owned facility.

They said Assistant City Manager Joseph J. Balcer had instructed Clubhouse manager Al Souckar not to admit their group because "the matter is still in litigation and the city's policy is to maintain status quo until the courts rule otherwise."



EVERYBODY'S WALKING—Students and citizens still walk in Tallahassee, Florida in protest against segregated but seating. This is a morning scene on the street where the "A. and M.-Frenchtown" bus line runs.

NEGROES' RIGHTS TO POOL UPHELD

Times-Picayune

Appeals Court Decides St. Petersburg Case

Thurs. 12-20-56

The right of Negroes to use the municipal beach and swimming pool in St. Petersburg, Fla., was upheld Wednesday by the United States fifth circuit court of appeals.

New Orleans La.

P. 5

An injunction restraining the city of St. Petersburg and its director of recreation from refusing to allow Negroes to use the pool and beach on the same basis as whites was affirmed by the appeals court.

The appeals court pointed out that the city's attorneys claimed that the city operates the pool and beach in its proprietary capacity and has not only the right, but the duty to operate the pool and beach as a business enterprise for the best interest of the inhabitants of the city who are stockholders, so to speak, of the enterprise.

Loss of Patronage

It is also pointed out that the city claimed that if Negroes were allowed to use the facilities white patronage would cease and that the city would be forced to close the pool as it would not have sufficient funds to continue its operation.

The St. Petersburg attorneys used the argument of proprietary operation to distinguish the case from facilities operated by cities in governmental capacity.

In the opinion, the appeals court held that to accept the argument of the city's attorneys the constitution would operate with different effect in various states.

Cannot Be Justified

"It is no answer to say that the beach and pool cannot be operated at a profit on a non-segregated basis, and that the city will be forced to close the pool. Of course, financial loss cannot justify illegal operation, and, unfortuate as closing the pool may be, that furnishes no ground for abridging the rights of the appellees to its use without discrimination on the grounds of race so long as it is operated," the opinion holds.

The opinion was written by Judge Richard Rives and concurring were Judges Elbert Tuttle and Warren L. Jones.

The Dismissal Of Dr. Coggins

Defender P. 9

The firing of Dr. Deborah Coggins, a 32-year-old Florida county Health officer because of an infraction of Southern race etiquette, is one more evidence of immaturity and irresponsibility of the Southern states.

Sat. 10-13-56 38a

Dr. Coggins, Florida's only woman county health officer, ate lunch with a Negro nurse who is employed by the state board of health as a midwife consultant. The nurse thought that the matter which troubled her was of sufficient urgency for her to seek Dr. Coggins' medical advice. The lunch over which the matter was discussed was in the exclusive recess of a private d i n i n g room, in deference, no doubt, to Florida's tradition of inordinate racial bias.

However, this concession to prejudice did not suit the emotional mood and primitive temper of those natives who have little respect for law and none for decency. Yielding to the evil design of an ignorant, jeering crowd, a three-county commission summarily dismissed both the health officer and her luncheon guest.

Dear reader, we regret the necessity for commenting week after week on such unpleasant happenings. But, we MUST, lest our silence be interpreted as condoning the convulsive practices that injure our status as human beings and our positions as citizens. These ugly circumstances force themselves upon us. And, we would be derelict in our duty to our public were we not to accept the challenge.

We would rather write about the conquest of nature by modern science in an atomic age, or discuss the comparative I.Q. of the Eskimo or paint a word-picture of the flowers that bloom in autumn or write learnedly of the reasons why the grass is not green in winter.

But it would be an unpardonable waste of precious space were we to do so in the face of daily violations of our citizenship rights and elementary privileges. You cannot cure a malady by ignoring it. Race prejudice is a disease that must be attacked wherever it occurs.

Florida's firing of both Dr. Coggins and the Negro nurse must be censured as a disgrace to white civilization.

Group Reveals New 'Dallas Plan'

Informer Houston, Tex.

Sat. 11-17-56

BEAUMONT — Reverend Carey Daniel, pastor of a West Dallas Baptist church and first cousin of Governor-Elect Price Daniel, urged a group of some 1,000 segregationists who attended a meeting of the Beaumont Citizens Council last Thursday to "resist, overcome, and defeat" the Supreme Court decision on Integration.

P. 1

Former Jefferson County Judge Charles Howell presided at the meeting. He declared: "It's not the will of the people that our race shall be mongrelized."

Adding his views to the race-hating throng, Rev Mr Daniel said mixing of the races "is unchristian and foreign to God's way." He added, "when God created man, He segregated the races"

Judge Howell charged that the Supreme Court took over the work of Congress when it handed down its now famous anti-segregation decision in May 1954.

He charged that the court also "took over" the school system and usurped states's right.

"The court has done something that no dictator has ever dared to do- it has proposed amalgamation of the races," declared Judge Howell.

He said much blame for the integration move in this country can be laid to the United Nations and its "one world" philosophy. But he said there is no place in this country for hatred of the Negro.

A plan of Dallas segregationists to open at least three of their churches as exclusive w h i t e s c h o o l s if public schools there are integrated was revealed.

White Church Stoned During Mixed Meet

Informer Houston, Tex.

Sat. 11-17-56

BEAUMONT — St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, the site of an integrated youth rally, was stoned and large sanctuary windows were broken Sunday by an unknown number of white men who protested the meeting of Negro and white youngsters in the white church.

P. 1

The rally of the Brazos Presbytery, District No 5-- which ended Sunday, attracted some 115 young Presbyterians from the Beaumont-Orange-Port Athur area. Eleven of the delegates were Negroes, Dr H E Pickhard, pastor of the stoned church, said.

It was during the concluding sermon of the rally, which was delivered by Rev W J Henning Jr of Beaumont's Westminister Presbyterian Church, when the barrage of stones began to crash through the windows. Shattered glass covered the sanctuary floor, police officials revealed.

Several people arriving at the church for another meeting saw several white men running into a wooded area nearby, police said.

Informer

Some of the church members had received calls during the week protesting the intetgrated meeting and at least one call was made to police by a woman who asked what could be done about the Negro youths attending the white church police added.

Only one clue, a large cloth sack half filled with bricks and stones, was found, Detective B L Vanderwater said.

P. 10

Dr Pickard said the youth rallies always had been attended by the Negro representatives of District 5 Presbyterian churches, and there had never been a protest.

Sat. 11-17-56

Police and detectives said they have been unable to obtain a description or the definite number of persons seen leaving the church after the brick barrage.

Nabbed For Viewing Anti-Negro Display

Informer Houston, Tex

Sat. 12-1-56

BEAUMONT — Two young Negro ministers were jailed last week, after a white woman had taken the license number of a car driven by one of them when she saw him looking at an anti-integration display the White Citizens Council had placed in a show-window.

P. 1

The Reverends Ozark Range, 28, pastor of the Forrest Street Christian church and H L Bethune, 29, pastor of the Graham Congregational church were picked up by officers a day after the Rev Pange and a third local pastor had looked at the Anti-Negro display. Rev Range said when they returned to his car after viewing the voluminious display of leaflets, tracts, cards and posters, a white woman following them, took the license number of the car.

The next day, the Rev Range was curbed by police officers and made to place his hands on his car while they frisked him, he said. He continued that the officer told him that they had a report that two men, riding in his car the day before, had thrown stones in a white person's house at Franklin and Avenue C. The officers put him in the Scout car and drove around to Trinity street where t h e y saw the Rev Bethune standing in the office of the Golden State insurance company, talking to one of the office personnel, he said. He said that the officers arrested the Rev Bethune despite the fact that he told them a group of Boy Scouts was waiting for him. He said he, himself had numerous letters and other papers of identification but that the officers paid no attention to them.

Informer

P. 10

Sat. 12-1-56

Both ministers said they were detained in jail all night and denied the privilege of calling their wives. The next morning they said they were released without explanation. They were scheduled to appear before the City Council Tuesday and t e l l their stories.

Clement Picketed At Texas Hotel

Defender Sat. 10-13-56

Chicago Ill.

HOUSTON, Texas — (INS) —Orderly pickets who said they were sympathetic to the anti-integration program of the White Citizens Council marched outside a Houston hotel last week as Tennessee Gov. Frank Clement spoke at a testimonial dinner.

P. 10

About 25 persons marched in front of the hotel carrying placards reading "Tennessee Tanks Won't Work in Texas", "See You Later, Integrator" and "Where's The Storm Troops?"

The pickets said they were demonstrating to protest Clement's recent action in ordering out national guard troops during school integration disorders in Tennessee.

Before speaking at a dinner honoring Dr. Marcus Levinson of Houston, Clement said he had acted in his duty to maintain law and order and not to support either integration of segregation of public schools.

He added:

"It is obvious that those who would picket my speech as a result of my action at Clinton, either misunderstood the facts or are against law and order."

38a 1956

Ousted Florida Doctor Calls County Heads 'Fools Cowards'

Post & Times Herald Washington, D.C.

MADISON, Fla., Oct. 3 (AP) Dr. Deborah Coggins called Madison County Commissioners fools and cowards today while members sat virtually in silence.

Dr. Coggins, who has been dismissed as health officer of a tri-county area apparently for having a business lunch with a Negro nurse, stormed out of the Commission meeting with the parting words:

"You're all fools, fools. And I'm going to be in Madison and you're going to have to look at me for a long time."

The Commissioners voted after her departure to stand by the minutes of their previous meeting.

Asks Action in Her Presence

She had asked them to act in her presence and demanded: "Why are you such cowards? You must be afraid you're not doing the right thing."

At a previous meeting the Commissioners voted to request the State Board of Health "to relieve Dr. Deborah Coggins of her duties as Madison County Health Officer."

Dr. Wilson T. Sowder, State Health Officer, said he cannot dismiss her unless a cause is given.

The minutes make no mention of the controversial lunch that she said was held because a crowded schedule allowed no other time for the conference.

Dr. Coggins tried to have the Commissioners specify a reason for their action, but only silence greeted her efforts.

Officer Defies Board

Robert H. Browning, County Health Information Officer, appearing on behalf of Dr. Coggins, told the Commissioners he is "unafraid of you individually or collectively.

"Dr. Coggins has been severely persecuted," he said. "Dr. Coggins has been tormented. The health programs i nthree counties have collapsed.

"I say 'Is it worth it'? What do you have to prove? To acquiese at a time like this would be to sacrifice principle.

"I cannot and I will not sac-

Thurs. 10-4-56

United Press

In a stormy session yesterday, Dr. Deborah Coggins faced the Jefferson County, Fla., commissioners and challenged their right to fire her for lunching in public with a Negro nurse.

rifice my own integrity and self-respect on the altor of economic security. What Dr. Coggins did had no more to do with spreading integration than drinking a cup of Russian tea has to do with spreading communism.

"If there is one Christian among you, one American, let me hear a motion to rescind this action. Let me hear it now."

There was no response from the Commissioners.

Editor Makes Defense

Next to defend Dr. Coggins was T. C. Merchant Jr., editor of the Madison weekly Enterprise-Recorder. He declared Dr. Coggins has been "subjected to the most vicious assortment of lies, misrepresentations and slander that I have had occasion to witness in this community.

"A physician greater than Deborah Coggins was once criticized for eating with tax collectors and sinners. Now, I am ont attempting to make any irreverent comparisons, but I sincerely believe that if you fire this girl today for the reason you have in mind you will be doing an evil and unjust act."

Calling each Commissioner by his first name, Merchant asked them to "show the world what Southern white men are like."

No one spoke advocating her dismissal, although the small basement meeting room was crowded wit hspectators.

Dr. Coggins, 32, who has received offers of jobs from two other states since the controversial luncheon drew Nationwide attention, already has been discharged by the Jefferso nand Taylor County Commissions. She served as health officer for the tri-county area at a $675 a month salary.

Effigy Hangs In Place of The U. S. Flag

DELRAY BEACH, Fla.—Students attending Seacrest High School here were shocked to find an effigy of a Negro dangling from the flagpole as they arrived for classes here Thursday.

An investigation has been launched to discover who placed the stuffed dummy on the 50-foot flagpole. The dummy's black face was smeared with red and a placard on it read:

"This was the first black one. Who is next? By the A.N.A."

Delray Beach had been the center of controversy following the attempt of Negroes to use the public beaches. City officials finally agreed to provide a bathing beach and pool for Negroes.

FLORIDA

Governor deplores mixed lunch firing

Afro American p.3

38a

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — The firing of an attractive blonde woman health officer for eating at the same table with a colored nurse "cannot be squared with right and justice and conscience."

"And I am sick about it," Gov. Leroy Collins commented Friday, adding: "If I did not speak up and say so I feel that I would, by my silence, condone an evil act."

The woman, Dr. Deborah Coggins, 32, the state's only woman health officer, said her only error was "in evaluating this community" which condemned her for having lunch with a colored woman consultant.

SHE HAD been under fire since Aug. 22 when she had a business conference with Miss Ethel Kirkland, a registered nurse, in a private dining room of a Madison restaurant.

The two women met to discuss a class for midwives being conducted by Miss Kirkland.

The dismissal was agreed upon in a joint conference of the Jefferson, Madison and Taylor County commissions in the courthouse at Monticello as a crowd of prosegregationists outside shouted "fire her."

While her actual firing awaits individual action by Madison, Jefferson and Taylor Counties, Dr. Coggins says she'll not resign. "They'll have to fire me," she declared.

* * *

APPARENTLY neither Governor Collins nor Dr. Wilson T. Sowder, state health officer, both of whom sympathize with Dr. Goggins, have authority to overrule the decision of the county commissions which pay her $675 a month salary.

Calling the firing a "by-product of the passion aroused by efforts to coerce integration of the races against the will of the people," Governor Collins said "This would never have occurred two years ago."

In explaining how the dispute arose, the doctor said:

"We were working on our midwife program. Another white consultant and myself were meeting with the colored nurse in charge of the program.

"TIME WAS important and we wanted to get on with our work while eating, too. So I went to the manager of a restaurant and asked him if we could eat in his private dining room.

"All three of us entered and left from the rear door. No one seemed displeased about the whole thing except maybe the waitress. I don't know what happened after that but probably she told somebody about it.

"But, anyway, a gossip campaign got started and the commissioners asked that I be fired for lunching with a colored person.

"THE STORY was put out that I was working for some integration organization. That's silly, of course, and absolutely untrue.

"But in a small community like this, they believe such things. You see, colored people form 50 per cent of the population in Madison County and probably 70 per cent in Jefferson. And they're all so terribly afraid.

"I like my work and I was only trying to do my job when all this came up."

Dr. Coggins, a native of Tampa, had held the job since April 9. Her husband, Dr. Wilmer J. Coggins, is a native of Madison where he has a practice.

ficer of these three rural north Florida counties since May 1.

Dr. Coggins said she arranged a luncheon conference with Ethel Kirkland, a Negro registered nurse who is midwife consultant for the State Board of Health, when she found the nurse's morning and afternoon schedules were full. The nurse had opened a class here for Negro midwives at Dr. Coggins' request.

Associated Press

DR. DEBORAH COGGINS
. . . Job Threatened

Lunch With Negro May Cost Doctor Job

Post & Times Herald 9-25

MADISON, Fla., Sept. 19 (AP)—The Madison County Board of County Commissioners has asked that its health officer, Dr. Deborah Coggins, a white physician, be fired as an aftermath of her having lunch with a Negro nurse in a restaurant.

A letter signed by Dale M. Leslie, clerk of the Board, to Dr. George A. Dame, director of the bureau of local health services of the State Board of Health, said only:

"The Board of County Commissioners of Madison County at a regular meeting Sept. 5 voted to request the State Board of Health to relieve Dr. Deborah Goggins of her duties as county health officers for Madison ounty."

State Board officials said they knew of no regulation that could be used to discharge the health officer.

The Commission notified Dr. Coggins yesterday it will meet with her Oct. 3, at her request, to hear "a discussion of your situation."

Dr. Coggins, 32, a native of Tampa and wife of a Madison physician, has been health of-

Doctor Defies Ouster For Lunch With Negro

Post and Times Herald p.21

MADISON, Fla., Sept. 28 (AP) Dr .Deborah Coggins, who incurred the wrath of local interests because she lunched with a Negro nurse, today said she will not quit her office as public health officer of three counties until she is forced out.

That formality is expected to be concluded next week, after which she said she will join her husband, Dr. Wilmer Coggins, in private practice.

At a stormy session last night the Commissioners of Jefferson and Taylor Counties voted to affirm the ouster action taken earlier by the Madison County Board.

Doctor Not Present

The controversial doctor was not present at the meeting. Two women present asked that Dr. Ciggins be forgiven for the "indiscretion" of eating with a Negro. But they were drowned out by cries from spectators of "fire her."

The Jefferson Commission voted to give the health officer a chance to resign. Dr. Coggins said she was notified by the county clery today to appear before the commission in Monticello Saturday.

"I plan to go, but I will not resign," she said. She does not plan any legal action to keep her job.

"I grew up in the South," she said. "I am not a crusader, I have no soapbox and I am not an integrationist. I think it would be disasterous to try to integrate these three counties at this time. I have no ax to grind. I was simply trying to do my job."

'Error of Judgment'

Dr. Coggins said that when she scheduled the business lunch with a Negro nurse "I realized it was a little against social custom, but I felt that a doctor had a little professional immunity in order to carry out his work." Then she added:

" I made an error of judgment, but my error was in evaluating this community.

"Two weeks ago, I was stunned that such a thing could happen.

"But one thing I am sure of. I have committed no crime."

Dr. Coggins said she has received letters from all over the country supporting her "and they have helped me to think this out."

"There are democratic and Christian principles involved here."

Dr. Coggins said her three children, aged 7, 3 and 2, have suffered no unpleasantness as a result of the furor "and our friends have been very understanding." She said her husband's practice so far has not suffered as a result of the publicity.

THE SOUTH

"Fire Her! Fire Her!"

For four months, blonde, Tampa-born Dr. Deborah Coggins, 32, served as the first woman health officer of Florida's Madison, Taylor and Jefferson counties. One day last August, she was consulting with Ethel Kirkland, who is in charge of the Florida State Board of Health's midwife training program. Dr. Coggins suggested that they carry on business over their lunch. Because Ethel Kirkland is a Negro, Dr. Coggins carefully asked the manager of the Madison Hotel (all-white) restaurant if they could use a private room; the manager did not object, and neither did anybody else except—as Dr. Coggins thought about it later—"maybe the waitress."

Last week in a public meeting, the three county commissions heeded a growing public uproar, in effect kicked Dr. Coggins out of her job. She had had no hearing; the protests of state officials and a couple of local residents that her "indiscretion" be "forgiven" were overruled. "Fire her! Fire her!" cried Jesse Lott of Monticello from the audience. "When we give one inch, we are going to give the whole thing. It is time to stand up and be white men, not jellybacks." When one of Dr. Coggins' friends asked a county commissioner if he had not eaten with Negroes on hunting trips, he replied: "They eat after we're through." Florida's Governor LeRoy Collins angrily denounced the firing. "I am sick about it . . . an evil act," but Collins had no power to intervene.

Amid all the tumult Dr. Coggins painstakingly sidestepped a martyr's role. "I should have known better," she explained to a reporter. "But I wasn't sponsoring integration; I was just doing my job. Look, this is a small community." Then she added: "I guess saying that, I sound like I've been brainwashed. Well, maybe I have. I don't know."

Board Yields To Shouting Crowd

Defender P.1 Chicago

Sat. 10-6-56

MONTICELLO, Fla. — (INS) — Dr. Deborah Coggins, 32-year-old Florida county health officer, will be fired because she ate lunch with a Negro nurse while discussing business.

A three-county commission in North Florida, amid shouts from the audience to "fire her," agreed at a joint open meeting to dismiss the blonde mother of three children from her job.

The commission of Jefferson, Taylor and Madison counties also ruled out a plea that final action on the case be deferred until after a meeting of the Madison board next week.

LITTLE SUPPORT

Dr. Coggins did not attend the meeting in Monticello and received support from only two white women in the entire audience.

The state's only woman county health officer ate lunch in a private dining room in Madison, Fla., on Aug. 22 with Ethel Kirkland, midwife consultant for the state board of health.

ASKED FOR MEETING

Miss Kirkland had opened a class for midwives two days previously and asked for the meeting to discuss problems she had come across.

The Jefferson commission voted unanimously to fire the nurse and the Taylor commission agreed to follow suit. However, it said it would take no action until after its regular meeting next Monday.

The Madison commission began the ouster move by writing the state board of health on Sept. 5, telling of the luncheon meeting Dr. Coggins had with the Negro nurse.

Dr. Coggins is the wife of a Madison physician and receives a salary of $673 a month.

BALKS AT OFFER:

Teacher Who Aided Dr. Coggins Is Asked to Resign from Post

Montgomery Ala.

Alabama Journal Fri 10-12-56

MONTICELLO, Fla. (AP) —A schoolteacher who came to the defense of Dr. Deborah Coggins and says she has been asked to resign as a result, plans to continue to teach her fifth-grade class.

Mrs. Flo Way, 33-year-old Monticello elementary schoolteacher, said she "exercised her right of free speech in defending Dr. Coggins, fired this month as health officer of three North Florida counties for having a business lunch with a Negro nurse.

WON'T QUIT

"At the present moment, I do not intend to resign," Mrs. Way said.

Ala. Journal

Chairman L. G. Morris of the Jefferson County School Board said he does not anticipate further action against Mrs. Way, who has a "continuing contract" and can only be discharged for causes listed in the state school law.

"She certainly is under no legal compulsion to resign," said State School Supt. Thomas D. Bailey at Tallahassee.

Mrs. Way spoke in behalf of Dr. Coggins at a meeting here Sept. 27 of commissioners of three counties the physician served as health officer. The teacher, a native of Florida, said she favors segregation but opposed the action against Dr. Coggins.

At Madison, Dr. Coggins — who had served Madison, Jefferson and Taylor counties as health officer — said she regrets "very much that the Jefferson County School Board feels it necessary to subject Mrs. Way to this treatment."

Kantor's Race Issue Threat Unanswered

Post + Times Herald Fri. 9-28-56

Washington, D.C.

SARASOTA, Fla., Sept. 27 (AP)—County Commissioners declined comment today on the threat of Pulitzer prize-winning novelist MacKinlay Kantor to expose a bathing beach segregation controversy here.

Kantor sent the commissioners yesterday a telegram demanding that they either provide Negroes with a beach or face the consequences of having the Nation read about how "Sarasota cheats black children." He offered them a third choice of resigning.

Gustin M. Nelson, chairman of the all-Republican Board of County Commissioners and a GOP candidate for Congress, refused to comment and other commissioners remained silent.

Kantor, one of America's best-known writers, wired Nelson that unless the Board corrects the "grave injustice" to the Negro population the situation would be revealed for "millions of Americans to read."

"If this be blackmail, then make the most of it," the novelist told the Commission. "I assure you I was never more serious about anything in my life."

Kantor's telegram was promped by the Board's refusal Monday to accept a proposal by a committee it had named to set up plans for the Negro beach on Siesta Key.

Sarasota Negroes, who have no Gulf beach, have been trying unsuccessfully for two years to get a swimming site.

Senate OKs Racial Bills In Florida

Advertiser Montgomery Ala. Aug. 7-24-56

House Reluctant To Limit Program For Segregation

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 23 (AP)—The Florida Senate sped to unanimous passage today four bills recommended by Gov. LeRoy Collins at a special legislative session to block integration of the races in the public schools and parks.

But the program moved more slowly on the House side, where some legislators have indicated they would ignore Collins' plea to restrict the segregation field to the program he outlined.

The House committee on education and internal affairs gave 19-2 approval to the key bill in the governor's program—the revised pupil assignment measure—but sent the companion teacher assignment bill to a subcommittee.

INTEGRATION 'STEP'

One member of the House committee, Rep. Bart Knight of Calhoun County, criticized the pupil assignment proposal as a "stepping stone to integration" because he said some Negro pupils had "a higher I.Q. than some white pupils."

The Senate steam rollered through, within 2½ hours of the convening of a special legislative session, four bills recommended by a special committee of constitutional law authorities. The group was appointed by Collins and Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin to study means of lawful avoiddance of desegregation.

The bills provide for giving county school boards authority to assign pupils to schools on the basis of intellectual ability and scholastic ability and sociological factors; giving county school boards authority to assign teachers to the schools for which they are best fitted and increase the governor's powers to deal with disorders and use of public facilities.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Gov. Collins had included the recommendations of the special legal committee in his call for the special session and today appealed to the Legislature not to introduce legislation or proposed constitutional amendments in the segregation field outside the scope of the program offered.

The four bills recommended by the committee and the governor were introduced in the House.

No bills outside the governor's recommendations were introduced.

Rep. Prentice Pruitt of Jefferson County has announced he will offer several measures, including a proposed emergency amendment to the constitution which would permit local option to abolish public schools if necessary to prevent integration.

OTHER MEASURES

But Pruitt said he would not offer his measures until the attorney general had ruled whether bills outside the governor's specific recommendations will require a two-thirds vote of each house for consideration.

In addition to the four segregation measures, bills were offered:

1. To provide funds for additions, including a psychiatric floor, to the new teaching hospital at the University of Florida medical school.

2. A measure appropriating $292,235 for beginning operations of the South Florida Mental Hospital in Broward County on March 1.

3. A bill setting up admission procedures for the Broward County mental institution.

4. A measure appropriating five million dollars for the Mediterranean fruit fly eradication and control program.

5. A bill appropriating $900,000 to permit employment of 100 additional Florida highway patrolmen next year.

6. A bill increasing the authorized strength of the patrol from 300 to 500 men.

SEGREGATION SESSION

Times 7-23-56

Florida Legislature to Meet Monday to Map Program

New York

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 18 (AP)—Gov. Leroy Collins announced today that a spcial session of the Florida Legislature would convene Monday to deal with segregation.

The segregation program, Governor Collins said, would effectively prevent mixing of races and meet all legal tests.

The major point in the program provides for a strengthened pupil assignment law. It would give county school boards authority to assign pupils to schools for which they were best fitted.

Times 7-19-56

The board would be required to take into consideration sociological, psychological and other social scientific factors, and would set up appeal procedures to the state board of education and state courts.

The program also calls for a somewhat similar teacher assignment law.

INTEGRATION BAN VOTED IN FLORIDA

Times 7-23-56

New York

Special Legislative Session Takes Five Days to Pass Bills Governor Favors

Aug. 7-29-56

Special to The New York Times.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 28—A special session of the Legislature took only five days to pass a group of Administration-sponsored bills aimed at maintaining segregation. Even more drastic measures are up for consideration Monday.

Both House and Senate passed and sent to Gov. Leroy Collins a series of bills drawn up by a special committee. He had asked the Legislature to stop at that point but some members are insisting on getting to the floor with bills of their own.

The most controversial proposal is an emergency constitutional amendment that would allow any school district threatened with integration to abolish its public school system and get state aid for private schools.

Governor Collins is opposed to this bill and it is expected that he will veto it if the Legislature passes it.

Before it even gets to the floor of the House it must get by the Rules Committee. That group will decide whether it comes within the scope of the Governor's special session call. If the committee decides it is not within the scope of the session it would take a two-thirds vote to get it introduced.

It takes three-fourths of the members of both houses to pass an emergency constitutional amendment.

The private school bill was offered by Representative Prentice Pruitt of Monticello. He also has other bills aimed at preserving segregation. These are awaiting committee action.

Governor Collins and his special committee assert that the Pruitt bills might weaken the position of those already passed. The Administration bills provide for teacher and pupil assignments to the schools for which they are best fitted. They also give the Governor more power and authority to settle racial disputes and handle emergency racial uprisings.

In other action during the week the Legislature appropriated more than $8,000,000 for various state functions listed as emergency. These include $5,000,000 to fight the Mediterranean fruit fly, funds for buildings at state institutions and bills to increase the strength of the state patrol.

Segregation Plan Rushed By Florida

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Times. 7-24-56

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 23 (AP) — The Florida Senate passed speedily and sent to the House today a four-point program designed to prevent integration of the races. The vote on all bills was unanimous.

The Senate steamrollered through, within 2½ hours of the convening of the special session, four bills recommended by a special committee of constitutional law authorities. The group was appointed by Gov. Leroy Collins and Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin to study means of lawful avoidance of desegregation.

The bills would give county school boards authority to assign pupils to schools on the basis of intellectual ability and scholastic ability and sociological factors; give county school boards authority to assign teachers to the schools for which they are best fitted; and increase the governor's powers to deal with disorders and use of public facilities.

A House committee gave 19-2 approval to the key bill in the governor's program — the revised pupil assignment measure — but sent the companion teacher assignment bill to a subcommittee.

1 Man Stands Alone in Vote Against Bias

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — Although pelted with threats against his family and facing the "silent treatment" from fellow-legislators, State Rep. John B. (Jack) Orr of Miami continued his one-man stand against new Florida laws which are designed to sidestep the U. S. Supreme Court's ruling against segregation.

Orr had cast the lone dissenting vote against a proposal which would set up an interim committee plus a $50,000 "kitty" to probe "subversive" groups and individuals.

Everyone in the state knows that the "subversive" target is the NAACP.

Sat. 8-4-56

ORR EXPLAINED his stand by pointing to his belief that segregation is "morally wrong."

He told silent fellow-lawmakers during the special sessions being held in the capitol, "I believe, moreover, that had we devoted as much energy, time and talent to discovering means to live under the law, instead of defiance of it, we could have discovered a way."

The legislator told newsman later, "The big trouble with the NAACP is that they have been right. They seek action in the courts. They do not burn crosses."

At least one solon evinced admiration for Orr's stand. Rep. W. W. Herrell of Miami said, "I only wish I will have similar courage when called upon to make a decision on a matter of importance to me."

SHE WON'T QUIT

Constitution

Doctor Fired For Dining With Negro

Sat. 9-29-56 Atlanta Ga.

MADISON, Fla., Sept. 28 (AP)—An attractive woman health officer heard today she was being fired for having lunch with a Negro. She said her only error was "in evaluating this community."

Blonde Dr. Deborah Coggins said, however, "I have no intention of resigning. They'll have to fire me."

The three counties which employ Dr. Coggins, Florida's only woman health officer, voted unanimously after a stormy session last night to cut off her $675 monthly salary. Her actual firing awaits individual action by Madison, Jefferson and Taylor counties.

RIGID CUSTOMS

All three counties lie in extreme north Florida where rigid customs of segregation are closely akin to those in nearby Georgia and where, in some areas, Negroes outnumber the whites.

Dr. Coggins said she realized it was a "little against social custom" to hold a business conference over lunch in a private dining room at Madison with Ettel Kirkland, Negro midwife consultant for the State Board of Health. That was two weeks ago.

Angry reaction was immediate on the Madison County Commission and "I was stunned that such a thing could happen," Dr. Coggins said. "But now I am sort of reconciled that it does happen.

NO SOAP BOXES

"I have committed no crime. I made an error of judgment, but my error was in evaluating this community."

But at the same time, the woman doctor emphasized she was no crusader, "I have no soap boxes and I am not an integrationist.

"In fact," she said, "I think it would be disastrous to try to integrate the three counties."

Dr. Coggins, a native of Tampa, is the wife of Dr. Wilmer Coggins, who grew up in Madison and practices here.

Though Ervin Favors Interposition, He's No Extremist

By JOHN B. McDERMOTT
Herald Political Writer

Florida Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin has been linked with extremists in the segregation fight because he advocated use of interposition in opposing the U.S. Supreme Court integration ruling.

Ervin, who until a few months ago was hailed as a leader of the South's moderate forces, says his recent position has been misconstrued and misinterpreted.

Why has this happened? Does a man who speaks out for interposition automatically become an extremist?

Here is the explanation, developed from an interview with the soft-spoken, almost shy official who directs Florida's legal department.

Ervin feels:

INTEGRATION should not be forced . .. the people of the South should be given a chance to adjust themselves through an extended period of gradualism.

INTERPOSITION, although probably it would be turned down by the Supreme Court, "represents, until tested, the only legal means to formally raise the question of usurpation of state sovereignty by the U.S. Supreme Court."

LEGAL TOOLS, such as interposition, are necessary for the attorney general's office to wage a court fight against the integration order. Calling the court names, denouncing it, has no legal weight.

Ervin said Florida was "moving along fine" on a program of gradualism until the high court ordered that Virgil Hawkins, a 48-year-old Negro from Daytona Beach, be admitted to the University of Florida Law School without further delay.

By that action, Ervin said, the federal court made it clear that gradualism was out — that no consideration would be given to the feelings, customs and traditions of the South, nor to the South's efforts to abide by the 1954 ruling through a moderate approach spread over a period of years.

The Hawkins case, incidentally, will be heard by the Florida Supreme Court Sept. 4. Hawkins hopes to gain admission this fall.

Ervin said that the U.S. Supreme Court's action in the Hawkins case had put the justices in the category of extremists because "they are no longer moderate. You do not decide cases on a basis of preference."

He said the federal tribunal apparently "went wild and has tried to over-simplify the problem."

Ervin said that from a legal standpoint schools are a local problem and should not fall under the Fourteenth Amendment. There is no provision in the amendment requiring absolute equality in schools, he said.

The key section to that controversial amendment—it is controversial because the Southern states were compelled to accept it after the Civil War — say this:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens . . . No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person . . . the equal protection of the laws."

In stressing the need for a gradual approach to integration, Ervin said that it must have public acceptance.

He said that when he went on the campaign trails last spring, he become acutely aware that a big majority of Floridians are bitterly opposed to integration. He believes the will of the people should be of the utmost consideration.

As for interposition, the attorney general said ". . . if North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia and other states can adopt it as a legal weapon, then why can't we?"

He declared that Florida's school assignment law — which, in effect, is an effort to circumvent integration — was borrowed from North Carolina. Yet, North Carolina has seen fit to pass an interposition ruling.

"I am not an extremist," Ervin said flatly. "But how can I run to preserve segregation if we don't mean what we say— if we don't get legislation which will do what we say?"

He said he doubted the U.S. Supreme Court would recognize interposition pleas — "but it is our only hope."

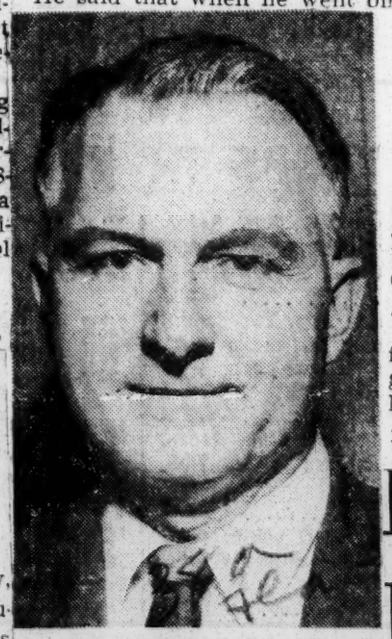
"I'm not one to suggest defiance," he continued. "If the court refuses to see our viewpoint, then we must abide by the law."

Ervin said that he is opposed, and would hate to see, abolition of the public school system in Florida. However, because of public sentiment, he feels the people should be allowed to decide that for themselves on a local, county referendum basis.

The special session of the Legislature, which finished this past week, turned down bids which would permit county option referendums on abolishing the public schools.

The Legislature also failed to pass an interposition resolution, although it did adopt a series of bills advocated by Gov. LeRoy Collins to prevent or delay integration.

What will happen next in the fight over integration is anybody's guess. Feelings are running too high now in many Southern communities to make an accurate forecast.



RICHARD ERVIN
. . . still a moderate

Last Fight Lost By Dr. Coggins

See Picture on Page 5-C

MADISON, Fla. — (UP) — Dr. Deborah Coggins went down swinging Wednesday in her third and last fight to block her dismissal as county health officer because she lunched with a Negro nurse.

The blonde physician asked the Madison County commissioners repeatedly for a list of charges against her. But, except for whispered conversations with their counselor, Turner Davis, state Senate president, the commissioners remained silent.

"You are all a bunch of cowards," she cried, pointing her finger at the five commissioners. "You're fools. All of you. Fools."

After her outburst the commission turned to other county business, thus ending the final phase of the dismissal of Dr. Coggins as public health officer in a three-county area of this "Deep-South" section of Florida.

The racial incident started Aug. 22 when Dr. Coggins scheduled a business conference over lunch with Ethel Kirkland, a midwife consultant for the State Health Department. A waitress in the restaurant here reported Dr. Coggins to the county commissioners.

On Sept. 5 the commissioners voted to ask State Health Officer Wilson T. Sonder to fire the state's only woman health officer on grounds she was trying to break down the segregation traditions of the county. The commissioners made their decision while seated in an automobile parked near the Four Freedoms monument, a memorial for their hometown hero and also the country's first World War II hero — Colin Kelly.

Later the other two counties served by Dr. Coggins, Jefferson and Taylor, voted to dismiss her also. The Jefferson county commissioners said "by eating with a darky" she had destroyed her usefulness and effectiveness as a public health officer.

But Dr. Coggins replied that "health knows no color boundaries, not even in the South."

The Madison County commissioners opened the hearing Wednesday morning by asking if anyone had anything to say in the case. Two persons spoke up in Dr. Coggins' behalf, none against.

Robert H. Browning, health educator in the tri-county area, urged the commissioners to rescind their action and keep the 32-year-old health officer.

"This is a chance to practice the kind of Christianity you profess," he said. "We need her leadership. With one sweep of the hand you have removed the last vestige of permanent public health leadership for 40,000 people.

"What Dr. Coggins did had no more to do with integration than drinking a cup of Russian tea had to do with spreading communism."

T. C. Merchant, editor of The Madison Enterprise-Recorder, charged the commission "invaded Dr. Coggins' right of privacy" by their action. He said the private dining room of the restaurant in which Dr. Coggins and the Negro ate was the "equivalent to a room in her home."

Dr. Coggins got in the last word. After her outburst in which she called the commissioners "cowards" and "fools" she commented: "I'm going to stay in Madison and you are going to have to look at me a long time."

Blasts Board as Cowards

Noted Author Aids Fight for Negro Beach

By the United Press

SAROSOTA, Fla., Sept. 27.— MacKinlay Kantor, Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist, has threatened to expose a segregation controversy here unless Negroes are provided with a bathing beach.

He sent the county commissioners a telegram yesterday demanding they either provide Negroes with a beach or face the consequences of having the nation read about how "Sarasota cheats black children."

He offered them a third choice of resigning.

Gustin M. Nelson, chairman of the all-Republican Board of County Commissioners and a GOP candidate for Congress, refused to comment and other commissioners remained silent.

Mr. Kantor wired Mr. Nelson tthat unless th board corrects the "grave injustice" the situation would be revealed for "millions of Americans to read" in a magazine article.

"If this be blackmail, then make the most of it," the author of "Andersonville" told the commission. "I assure you I was never more serious about anything in my life."

Sarasota Negroes, who have no gulf beach, have been trying unsuccessfully for two years to get a swimming site.

New Demands Being Made

Courier P. 3

Florida Governor Warns Against Violence in State

Sat. 9-15-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.

38a

By AL DUNMORE

MIAMI, Fla.—In Tallahassee, with one eye on racial outbreaks in other areas, Gov. Leroy Collins warned that seething racial tension could thwart Florida's booming industrial expansion.

Collins issued his warning after a meeting of the three-man biracial advisory committee which includes J. R. E. Lee Jr., business manager of Florida A. and M. University.

While schools throughout Florida opened without incident, Negroes in several cities sought admission to white schools and began action to test Florida's new "Pupil Assignment" law.

■

IN MIAMI, Atty. G. E. Graves, representing Theodore Gibson Jr., son of Father Theodore Gibson Sr., Episcopalian rector and president of the Miami branch, NAACP, and John O. Brown Jr., son of Dr. J. O. Brown Sr., eye specialist, said that he would challenge the Dade County Board of Education's decision that these youths could not be assigned to new schools as they had requested.

Hearings on the matter were set for Thursday, Sept. 13. Both the boys involved are parties to a suit now in Federal Court against the school board but the new action is to test the state's Pupil Assignment laws.

Graves said that if the board refused to admit the two boys to the white schools to which they requested transfer, he would comply with the new law and file an appeal to the State Department of Education.

If that fails, he will carry the appeal to the Circuit Court in Leon County, also in compliance with the law.

Similar action has been initiated in other sections of the state.

IN THE Tallahassee bus strike, hearings on arrests of Negro car pool drivers have been rescheduled for Sept. 20. The national office of the NAACP has assigned Attorney Rodriguez of Tampa to aid in the defense of the 11 persons arrested for violation of the state "Vehicle for Hire" act.

One white youth wrote the Tallahassee daily newspaper and named white persons who were serving in car pools in the county for other reasons than the boycott. The newspaper editor explained that the action did not apply to them.

Again in Miami, Atty. John B. Orr, state legislator who voted against anti-integration legislation passed by the recent special session and who stated that segregation was "morally wrong" told a group "Negroes should be tolerant of their white brothers while they had an opportunity to learn the true meaning of the word brotherhood."

■

IN JACKSONVILLE, Bishop D. Ward Nichols of the AME Church called upon his pastors to organize "human relations councils" in their communities to serve as clearing houses for racial problems.

Governor Collins announced that he felt race relations throughout the state can be accomplished through cooperation of members of both the white and Negro races on the local level.

The placement tests designed to prevent Negroes from qualifying for admission to the white state-supported colleges and universities backfired when three outstanding white football players failed to pass the tests at Florida State University.

The Florida State Supreme Court heard arguments on the admission of Virgil Hawkins to the University of Florida Graduate Law School but failed to render a decision. The court indicated that it was considering an order which would eliminate race alone as a factor but leave other "administrative decisions" to the State Board of Control.

Fire Teacher In Florida Nurse Row

Defender P. 1

Sat. 10-20-56 Chicago, Ill.

MONTICELLO, Fla. — (INS) — A Monticello, Fla., elementary school teacher said last week the Jefferson county school board has asked her to resign because she defended Dr. Deborah Coggins, state health officer who was fired for eating lunch with a Negro nurse.

Mrs. Flo Way, a fifth grade teacher for five years, said the request came from the school board because of statements she made to members of the Jefferson, Madison and Taylor county commissions at a meeting Sept 7. Mrs. Way defended Dr. Coggins at the meeting but commissioners voted to fire the health officer.

The teacher said County School Superintendent Desmond Bishop told her he would "fire me outright if I did not have a continuing contract."

A continuing contract is given teachers with more than three years experience. Such teachers cannot be fired unless the school board can show "good and sufficient cause."

L. G. Morris, school board chairman, said the request for Mrs. Ways' resignation could be summed up as an attempt to "cool down" the racial situation in North Florida.

Dr. Coggins was fired by the tri-county commission for having lunch with Ethel Kirkland, a Negro nurse who has been with the state for 25 years.

Mrs. Way said the school board asked her to keep quiet about the meeting, which took place Wednesday. She said, however, "I feel I have the right to free speech and I exercise my right." The teacher said she has a "southern background and I think integration in this area would be disasterous." She added she had no thought of resigning.

21 Negroes Fined Over Bus Boycott

Herald P. 1-a

Sun. 10-21-56 Miami, Fla.

TALLAHASSEE —(UP)— City Judge John Rudd, calling on Divine Guidance, fined 21 Negroes $500 each and gave them suspended 60-day jail sentences Saturday for operating a car pool in a racial boycott of city buses.

"I have never called for Divine Guidance so much and so often," Rudd said in handing down the sentence at the close of a four-day trial. "I hope each of you will be Christian enough to abide by the law."

The Negroes, including the local NAACP president, the Rev. C. K. Steele, were convicted of running an illegal public transportation system without a city permit for a state "for hire" license.

The car pool was set up five months ago when Tallahassee's 15,000 Negroes launched a boycott of Cities Transit, Inc., to protest segregated seating.

Both the boycott and car pool are still operating, but Police Chief Frank Stoutamire did not comment on what effect the court ruling will have. Attorney Francisco Rodriguez, representing the defendants and the Negro Inter Civic Council, said he will file a motion for a new trial.

Rudd also imposed a 60-day jail sentence for those failing to pay the fine and a 60-day suspended sentence with one year's probation for all. But he stayed execution until the motion for a new trial is decided.

'Why are you such cowards?' fired doctor asks Fla. board

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Oct. 10-13-56

MADISON, Fla. — "I think it's pleasant to know that I could work somewhere else."

So stated Dr. Deborah Coggins, health officer for three Florida counties who was fired for having lunch with a colored nurse, as she reported receiving job offers from California and Pennsylvania.

* * *

ACCORDING TO Dr. Coggins, she has been offered a position as Shasta County, Calif., health director at a salary of $8,940 a year. She was paid $8,100 as health officer in Taylor, Madison and Jefferson Counties here.

The other offer came from the Alleghany County Health Department in Pittsburgh, she said.

In spite of these offers, however, she is reported planning to remain here.

"This is our home," Dr. Coggins, mother of three children, said. Her husband, a Madison native and physician, practices here.

* * *

"YOU'RE ALL FOOLS, fools and I'm going to be in Madison and you're going to have to look at me for a long time," Dr. Coggins told the Madison board just before it became the third of the three counties to fire her.

She asked the board to fire her then in her presence and demanded "Why are you such cowards? You must be afraid you're not doing the right thing." But the board waited until she had departed.

Dr. Coggins pleaded with the commissioners to give her a reason for their action in dismissing her from her job, but they sat mute in her presence and failed to list a cause for the action in the minutes of the meeting.

* * *

BECAUSE THE minutes fail to mention the controversial lunch, reporters asked the commissioners whether their action meant that Dr. Coggins was fired. All they would say was that the minutes speak for themselves.

The minutes show only that the board had previously voted to request the state board of health to "relieve Dr. Coggins of her duties as Madison County health officer," but Dr. Wilson T. Sowder, state health officer, said he could not fire her.

Robert H. Browning, county health information officer, who appeared on behalf of Dr. Coggins, told the commissioners he was "unafraid of you individually or collectively."

He added:

"DR. COGGINS has been severely persecuted. Dr. Coggins has been tormented. The health programs in three counties have collapsed.

"I say 'Is it worth it?' What do you have to prove? To acquiesce at a time like this would be to sacrifice principle.

"I cannot and will not sacrifice my own integrity and self respect on the altar of economic security. What Dr. Coggins did had no more to do with spreading integration than drinking a cup of Russian tea has to do with spreading communism.

"If there is one Christian among you, one American, let me hear a motion to rescind this action. Let me hear it now." The room remained as quiet as the tomb.

AMONG OTHERS to defend Dr. Coggins was T. C. Merchant Jr., editor of the Madison Weekly Enterprise-Recorder.

He declared that Dr. Coggins "has been subjected to the most vicious assortment of lies, misrepresentations and slander that I have had occasion to witness in this community.

"A physician greater than Deborah Coggins was once criticized for eating with tax collectors and sinners.

"Now I am not attempting to make any irreverent comparisons, but I sincerely believe that if you fire this girl today for the reason you have in mind you will be doing an evil and unjust act."

* * *

CALLING EACH of the commissioners by his first name, Mr. Merchant asked them to "show the world what southern white men are like."

No one spoke in favor of or against the dismissal of the health officer, although the small basement room in which the hearing was held was crowded with spectators.

Commissioners of both of the other two counties that fired Dr. Coggins—Jefferson and Taylor—have praised her medical services but contended that "public opinion" forced them to dismiss her.

Woman Fired In Racial Case Calls Officials Fools, Cowards

Madison, Fla., Oct. 3 (U.P.)—A woman doctor called the five Madison County commissioners "a bunch of cowards" today when she went before them to hear herself fired for the third time in a week because she had lunch with a Negro.

Attractive, blond Dr. Deborah Coggins repeatedly asked the commission for a list of charges against her. But, after whispered conversations with their attorney, the commissioners gave her no explanation.

"You are all a bunch of cowards," she cried, pointing her finger at the five commissioners. "You're fools. All of you. Fools."

Turn to Other Business

After her outburst the commission turned to other County business, ending the final phase of the dismissal of Dr. Coggins as public-health officer in a three-county area of this "Deep South" section of Florida.

The controversy started August 22 when Dr. Coggins held a business conference at lunch with Ethel Kirkland, a midwife consultant for the State Health Department. A waitress in the restaurant here reported Dr. Coggins to the County commissioners.

Other Counties Fire Her

September 5 the commissioners voted to fire the State's only woman health officer on the ground that she was trying to break down segregation traditions.

Later the other two counties served by Dr. Coggins—Jefferson and Taylor—voted to dismiss her also.

Robert H. Browning, health educator in the tricounty area, urged the Madison commissioners to rescind their action and keep the 32-year-old health officer.

"This is a chance to practice the kind of Christianity you profess," he said. "We need her leadership. . . .

Defended by Editor

"What Dr. Coggins did had no more to do with integration than drinking a cup of Russian tea has to do with spreading communism."

T. C. Merchant, editor of The Madison Enterprise-Recorder, said the commission "invaded Dr. Coggins' right of privacy" by their action. He said the private dining room of the restaurant in which Dr. Coggins and the Negro ate was the "equivalent to a room in her home."

Dr. Coggins got in the last word. "I'm going to stay in Madison and you are going to have to look at me a long time," she said.

Florida Teacher Asked To Quit For Defending Health Officer

Courier Montgomery, Ala.

Tues. 10-12-56

MONTICELLO, Fla., Oct. 11 (AP) —Mrs. Flo Way, 44-year-old white school teacher who came to the defense of Dr. Deborah Coggins, said today the Jefferson County School Board has asked her to resign.

Mrs. Way spoke at a Sept. 27 meeting of the commissioners of the three counties Dr. Coggins served as health officer in opposition to the firing of the physician for having a business lunch with a Negro nurse.

Mrs. Way, who has taught the fifth grade in Jefferson County for five years, said she was summoned to a meeting of the school board yesterday and asked for her resignation because of her support of Dr. Coggins.

The teacher said she has not made up her mind about whether to resign. She taught her class today as usual.

KEEP QUIET

She declared, however: "I have no reason to resign. I exercised my right of free speech."

Mrs. Way said Jefferson County School Supt. Desmond Bishop told her "he would fire me outright if I did not have a continuing contract." She added the school board asked her to "keep quiet" about yesterday's meeting but that spectators were coming in and out during the proceedings and she didn't see how the matter could be kept secret.

Mrs. Way, a native Floridian, said she is in favor of segregation and believes "integration in this area would be disastrous."

SERVED 3 COUNTIES

She said in the statement to the county commissioners which led to the request for her resignation that the Coggins incident was not important enough for a disturbance to be created over it.

Dr. Coggins served Jefferson, Madison and Taylor counties as health officer before she was discharged.

Chairman L. G. Morris of the Jefferson School Board said action against Mrs. Way was taken at the suggestion of Supt. Bishop whom he quoted as saying "it might be to the best interests of the school system."

At Tallahassee, State School Supt. Thomas D. Bailey said Mrs. Way "certainly is under no legal compulsion to resign." Bailey would make no further comment.

Mrs. Way is the wife of Bob Way, a seascape artist. They live nine miles west of here. They have no children.

Teacher Told To Resign for Opposing Dr. Coggins' Firing

Constitution

MONTICELLO, Fla., Oct. 11 (AP)—Mrs. Flo Way, 44-year-old white school teacher who came to the defense of Dr. Deborah Coggins, said today the Jefferson County School Board has asked her to resign.

Atlanta, Ga.

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Atl. 10-12-56

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Florida Race May Turn On Civil Rights Issue

Evening Star

38a

By GOULD LINCOLN
Star Staff Correspondent

MIAMI, Oct. 26.—The civil rights issue, while it does not appear on the surface, could be a deciding factor in the race between President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson for Florida's 10 electoral votes.

Wash. 10-26-56

On this issue, neither the Republican nor the Democratic presidential candidate is satisfactory to the great mass of voters in this State. They don't want desegregation—especially in their schools. They intend to fight it as long as they can.

Washington, D.C.

There has been no integration in the schools, and when I asked the stiuation, a leading Democrat replied: "And there won't be any for a long time to come."

B-7

Returns to Democratic Party

Since the Democrats feel there is no choice, on this issue, between Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Stevenson, some of them who supported the President in 1952 are now saying they are going back to vote Democratic. They contend they can best make their fight against desegregation in the Democratic Party.

If there are enough 1952 pro-Eisenhower Democrats following this course, they should make a Stevenson victory in Florida a certainty.

No one seems to be able to answer that question. Many of the voters have remained close-mouthed. Democratic leaders with whom I have talked frankly admit they think the presidential race is close—so close that they are only figuring on carrying the State for Mr. Stevenson with a lead of 30,000 to 45,000. This is mighty slim in an election when upwards of a million votes probably will be cast. In the 1952 election the total Florida presidential vote was 988,986, and Mr. Eisenhower's margin of victory was 99,086.

Not Worried Over Andrews

Neither side in the race is worrying about T. Coleman Andrews and his States Rights and Constitution Party. Due to the strong feeling in the State—directed against both major parties and their candidates for President on the civil rights issue—the Andrews ticket might have been expected to catch on here. It hasn't. ●

Efforts made by Andrews supporters to get a sufficient number of signatures to place Mr. Andraws' name on the ballot were unsuccessful. The efforts came late. They failed in more than half the 64 counties of the State. The ballots for the election now are being printed, and it is impossible to get Mr. Andrews' name on them.

Under the election laws of Florida, a write-in vote for Mr. Andrews is possible, and a campaign for write-ins may be undertaken. The names of presidential and vice presidential candidates only appear on the ballot—not the names of the presidential electors. So it will be comparatively easy for Mr. Andrews' followers to write his name on their ballots.

It is not expected that the number of such write-in votes will be material, but the number will be watched with interest on election day. Andrews could take votes from either Mr. Stevenson's followers or those of Mr. Eisenhower.

Negroes Look Democratic

As for the Negro voters, the general belief is that they will for the most part stay in the Democratic Party where they have been for a number of years—since the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt. There will be some Republican gains among them. But it is expected the bulk will vote for Mr. Stevenson.

The number of registered Negro voters in the State is approximately 125,000. Not all of them vote. If there was a decided swing among them to Mr. Eisenhower, it could be of material effect on the election outcome.

The Democrats have no really strong, centralized State organization in Florida. Each prominent Democratic leader or office-holder has his own personal organization and following. But this year, most of these party leaders have thrown in with Mr. Stevenson, including both Senators, the Governor and all seven of the Democratic Congressmen.

The Stevenson campaign directors, therefore, have been greatly encouraged.

The Republicans, for their part, are counting heavily on their Citizens-for-Eisenhower organization. This organization is heavily weighted with Democrats—one of its leaders said he believed about 94 per cent of them were Democrats "who like Ike." The organization has 12,000 volunteer workers, scattered throughout the State—and only three paid workers. The figures indicate the real enthusiasm which Mr. Eisenhower engenders.

Veterans Back Eisenhower

A large number of veterans are supporting the President. As one Democrat told me, "Two hundred and fifty thousand Florida boys served under Eisenhower in World War II."

The Eisenhower campaign is being aided by Gen. James A. Van Fleet, commander in Korea during the war there. Gen. Van Fleet was a classmate of the President—at West Point. He is speaking frequently for the President, and probably will introduce him when Mr. Eisenhower speaks here next Monday or in Jacksonville. Gen. Van Fleet is honorary chairman of the Florida Citizens for Eisenhower.

Incidently, the general was head football coach at the University of Florida in the late 1920s, and has influence in Florida.

For a time, some Republicans were worried because of the statement of Representative Powell of New York when the Negro Congressman announced his support of the President. In that statement Mr. Powell quoted the President as having told him he, Mr. Eisenhower, thought that persons who resisted court orders for school integration would be put in jail—if they stood out. Mr. Powell has since withdrawn that part of his quotation of the President. However, the Democrats may bring the Powell statement into the campaign before it is over.

G. O. P. Leader Paul Helliwell, who heads the Citizens for Eisenhower here, has great hopes that the new voters, who number some 35,000, he says, will in the majority cast their votes for Mr. Eisenhower.

This big new vote, caused by the large influx of population in the last four years, and from the Floridians who have reached voting age in those four years, is a puzzle over which the Republicans and the Democrats both worry. Mr. Helliwell pointed out that Republican registration in the State in the last six months has gone up from 116,000 to 210,000.

Seek Jewish Vote

The Republican leaders believe opposition to the Republican national ticket among the Jews—of whom there are a large number in the Miami area—has been softened and that they will get some of the votes of that group.

An effort was made to show that Vice-President Nixon is anti-Semitic because he visited at a hotel with an anti-Jewish policy when he was down here. However, Nixon left the hotel as soon as he learned it was segregated.

Also a White House representative came here and talked confidentially with a group of Rabbis, giving them a detailed exposition of the administration's efforts to aid the Israeli.

The Democrats hope to carry Dade County (Miami). They have 11 party headquarters scattered through the city and are working hard. Four years ago, the county gave Mr. Eisenhower a 27,000 vote lead over Mr. Stevenson. The battle for votes here could determine the election.

Senator George Smathers, Democrat, against whom the Republicans have entered no candidate and who will be re-elected, is campaigning for Mr. Stevenson, and so is his old opponent, former Senator Claude Pepper. The latter has been making a number of telling speeches.

While the Republican leaders predict no figure by which they expect to carry the State, and admit that it is unlikely they can give Mr. Eisenhower as large a margin as he had in 1952, they speak with considerable confidence of victory. To an outsider it looks like a horse race, with the odds slightly favoring Mr. Stevenson.

INTEGRATION BACKED

Times 11-15-C

90% at Miami Educational Parley Express Support

New York

MIAMI, Fla., Nov. 21 (UP)—Ninety per cent of 600 participants in Dade County's "Little White House" conference on education have expressed "general agreement with the general principle of integration," it was announced today.

Herald 11-22-56

The conference, studying the local educational picture and representing every major civic organization in this area, also recommended that a bi-racial citizens committee be appointed to study race relations and integration.

Some 540 delegates, representing fifty-four of the conference committees at the session here, voted yesterday in favor of integration.

The remaining sixty participants were divided into thirteen other committees. Nine committees declined to take a stand on integration but expressed their "willingness to abide by the law of the state when it is finally determined."

Four other conference committees refused to take action on the subject.

The "Little White House" conference here is based on the President's educational conference in Washington.

School Head Under Fire After Plea for Negro Swim Pool!

Courier p. 2
Pittsburgh Pa.
Sat. 12-8-56
38a

(Special to The Courier)

MOUNT DORA, Fla. — A local school official has been accused by a white Northerner of condemning every principle being fought for by Negroes when he asked for financial aid in the building of an all-Negro swimming pool in the "East Town" community of this city.

The accusation was made by H. H. Barrett, a "white Northerner," who wrote the Courier that " . . . Some of your leaders are hindering you from making the progress that you should be making. I attended a Lion's Club meeting and heard one of your leaders, a high school principal, Prof. C. O. Lott of Mt. Dora School, make an appeal for funds to build a swimming pool in East-town, a Negro section.

"He condemned every principle for which you people are fighting . . . He even condemned the Supreme Court for passing the decision on segregation, which he knows and every white man knows was the correct thing to do.

■

"A man like Prof. C. O. Lott should be discarded as a leader of your people. No swimming pool is worth talking against your people.

"Professor Lott said all of this, I am sure, to beg funds for the swimming pool his people need, I am sure, but no swimming pool is worth it. The things that he said were what the Southern white man wanted to hear, but they hurt your people.

"I had planned giving $100 toward the swimming pool, but after that speech I am not contributing anything."

■

THE ORLANDO Sentinel, which described Lott as "supervising principal of the Milner-Rosenwald Academy in Mt. Dora," reported the principal spoke before a meeting of Rotarians at a weekly luncheon at which he:

" . . . Stressed that he felt the Supreme Court decision had come at an inopportune moment, at a time when Florida was really beginning to put into effect the former edict of separate but equal facilities.

"He pointed out that the children in his area had needed a place to swim for 10 years, but added that so long as he was in a position of authority, there would be no requests for admission to Mt. Dora's white swimming pool. He stressed the effort being made by his own people, exemplified by a yard man giving as much as $100, but their need is $15,000. Following the meeting, Philip Lindsay suggested that perhaps the club could organize a fund-raising project to help with the pool."

Seek Ouster Of Fla. Bias Fighter

Courier p. 1
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 11-24-56

MONTICELLO, Fla. — (INS) — The Florida State Board of Health has been asked to oust a health educator who defiantly denounced Jefferson county commissioners when they fired a white woman doctor for having lunch with a Negro nurse.

Defender p. 1

The county commission said it was requesting that Robert H. Browning be relieved of his duties because it "does not feel that Jefferson county needs a health educator at this time."

Chicago, Ill.

The commission, in a case that attracted national attention, fired Dr. Deborah Coggins as health officer in September because she was seen having lunch with a Negro nurse with whom she worked.

When Browning appeared before the commission in defense of Dr. Coggins, he defiantly told members: "I am not afraid of you individually or collectively."

Browning is health educator for Jefferson, Madison and Taylor counties, the same counties over which Dr. Coggins presided.

Mrs. Flo Way, a fifth grade teacher in Jefferson county who also stood up for Dr. Coggins, was asked to resign several weeks ago, but refused.

Pay Negro morticians less than white to bury paupers

Courier p. 1
Miami
Sat. 11-24-56

MIAMI — Negro undertakers who bury the pauper dead, are even discriminated against, they charged before the Dade County Commissioners last week.

The commission wants Negro mortuaries to pick up adults for $15, children for $7.50, while whites get $100 for adults, $65 for children and $35 for infants.

Los Angeles

All Negro funeral associations are united in boycotting the local coroner until their demands are met.

Negro Ambulance Service Halted

Herald Sat. 12-1-56 p. 12a
Miami Fla.

Dade County's 10 Negro funeral homes discontinued all ambulance service at midnight Friday.

Emergency service is still available, however, from one ambulance company which reportedly does not practice racial segregation and two Miami police accident squad cars.

"When it's a case of life or death, we're going to get the man to a hospital. I don't care what color he is," a spokesman for Eastern Ambulance Service said.

Miami police have converted two accident squad station wagons into emergency ambulances.

38a

They are completely equipped with oxygen and all other apparatus found in ambulances, Lt. Glenn Baron, of the accident prevention bureau, said. Each car will carry two men trained in first aid.

Fla.

B. Solomon, president of the Dade County Negro Funeral and Ambulance Assn., said discourtesy and discrimination had destroyed members' interest in continuing to provide their exclusively Negro service.

Meanwhile, Negro funeral directors continued their strike against pauper burials for the county. The county commission pays only $15 for Negro pauper burials, but white funeral directors get $100 for burying paupers.

The county's 10 Negro funeral directors — Albert, Allen, Bain, Francis, Peek, Range, Richardson, Senior Solomon and Williams—have refused to bury paupers for the county for the past month.

County commissioners have threatened to file suit against the Negro funeral homes to enforce a contract signed four years ago. The county claims the contract doesn't expire for another three months.

Solomon commented, "They say they're going to file suit. Well, let them file. That contract was signed four years ago. Anybody knows the county can't sign more than a two-year contract. So let's see what happens when their suit gets to court."

Delray OKs Negro Beach Extension

p. 2 A
Herald
Wed. 11-21-56

By MIRIAM COHEN
Herald Correspondent

DELRAY BEACH — A much disputed proposal by the City Commission to purchase 200 additional feet of property for the Negro beach at a cost of $165,000 was approved in an election here Tuesday.

Miami Fla.

The vote was 653 in favor of the proposal, 557 against.

The city's first husband-wife political team came out on top in the city commission election and will be in the Dec. 4 run-off election.

Robert J. Holland was high man with 970 votes. His wife, Martha, received 635.

38a

Incumbents Howard Cromer and Michael Yargates received 576 and 575 votes, respectively. Cromer failed to receive a single Negro vote in the precinct in which Negro voters are registered.

Eliminated from the run-off election for one-year commission terms was Al diCampli who received 322 votes.

Candidates who qualified to run for two 2-year terms on the commission were George Warren, 795, A. J. Michael, 532, J. L. Croft, 526, Col. Dugal Campbell, 487. Eliminated were Joe Rose Jr., 334, R. O. Priest, 243, and George Courtney, 197.

A total of 1648 or 57 per cent of the city's registered voters cast ballots.

Florida Assembly Set to Act On Anti-Integration Program

Journal + Constitution P.3-E

Sun. 7-22-56

Some Say Plan Doesn't Go Far Enough; Collins Disagrees

Atlanta, Ga.

38a

By CHARLES HESSER
Staff Writer, The Miami Daily News
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 21—The Florida Legislature will convene in special session here Monday to take up a program designed to slow down integration or halt it altogether.

But, it doesn't go as far as some lawmakers and state officials believe necessary, and if it fails to do the job, additional legislation is likely to be considered at the 1957 regular session, beginning next April.

Program Outlined

The program, which was proposed by a committee of legal experts composed of retired judges and attorneys, calls for legislation which would:

1. Direct the Florida Legislature to initiate a move to amend Article 10 of the federal constitution so as to spell out the fields in which the state and federal governments could operate.

2. Authorize county school boards to assign pupils to schools for which they are best suited.

3. Regulate the assignment of teachers. White teachers would be assigned to teach white pupils and Negro teachers assigned to teach Negro pupils.

4. Broaden the governor's police powers in emergencies, authorizing him to use forces of the state to prevent or suppress disorder.

5. Give the governor authority to make rules and regulations for use of public facilities.

State leaders, however, disagree as to the possible effectiveness of the program.

Gov. LeRoy Collins called the committee plan "the best program any state has adopted in this field. In my opinion, it will prevent integration."

He said it was "not designed in specific terms to apply to race, but it will be utilized as an effective means of maintaining segregation. This is not a program of gradual integration nor is it a subterfuge to evade the U.S. Supreme Court. Rather, it is an action of avoidance by legal means."

Mitigating Effect

The committee, however, indicated its purpose was to slow down integration, pending possible amendment of the federal constitution.

Retired Circuit Judge L. L. Fabisinski of Pensacola, chairman of the legal committee, warned the people not to expect too much.

He said that as the situation now stands desegregation "is the law of the land and we are going to have to live with it whether we like it or not. Our work was directed at mitigating the effect of the U.S. Supreme Court decision."

Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin said "the committee's plan is fine as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough." The suggested laws, he said, "would delay integration, but would not

FLORIDA

halt it. In the final analysis, the only solution, if the people wish to go that far, is abolishment of the public school system."

Ervin had urged enactment of a proposed state constitutional amendment permitting individual counties to abolish their public schools as a "last resort."

State educational leaders frowned upon this proposal. Thomas D. Bailey, state superintendent of education, said he didn't think "anything could happen that should cause us to destroy our public school system."

Ervin originally had planned to offer his local option amendment to the special session, but after opposition from educators, Collins and the legal committee, he said he wouldn't consider pushing the proposal until the 1957 regular meeting.

Of the committee's recommendations, Bailey had this to say:

"While this may not be a final solution, I am convinced it is the best the committee could do and still stay within the law. I am convinced if the Legislature passes these laws we will have machinery for dealing with the problem for two or three years."

Teacher Backing

But, he frankly admitted, "I don't know what will happen after that."

E. H. Henderson, executive secretary of the Florida Education Association, which numbers more than 22,000 school teachers among its membership, said that "Under the circumstances, the committee came up with the soundest program so far proposed by the state. It may provide a means of alleviating a great many of the apprehensions. We believe the committee has proposed a program which the educators of the state can support."

In its report and recommendations, the legal committee denounced the U.S. Supreme Court for allegedly embarking upon a course of action "designed to destroy the system of dual sovereignty."

It said recent decisions of the high court, affecting not only schools but other fields of activity which should be left to the states, "impel the conclusion that the U.S. Supreme Court has assumed the power, by judicial decree, to change the meaning of the Constitution of the United States and thus to amend the fundamental law of the land by the act of nine men, or a majority of them, rather than by the orderly process set forth in the Constitution."

The committee concluded that "in view of the gravity of the situation the question of segregation or desegregation in public schools actually becomes one of secondary importance."

Committee Member Cody Fowler of Tampa, former president of the American Bar Assn., said many Northern states are "alarmed" at recent decisions by the court which he said invade the rights of the states.

Philosophy, Not Law

The committee said that the Supreme Court based its desegregation decree on social philosophy rather than law and declared this same philosophy could be used by Florida to defeat the court ruling.

Committee members warned against any attempt to go farther at this time than the proposals embodied in their recommendations. They said any hint of outright discrimination could be enough to have all segregation laws declared unconstitutional by the courts.

J. Lewis Hall of Tallahassee, another committee member, said the major item in their recommendations was the school assignment law. In addition to its assignment features, the proposal provides that the State Board of Education may hear appeals from such assignments before they go to the courts.

"This is the law all the Southern states are going to come to sooner or later," Hall said. "It is constitutional and the courts cannot knock it down. There is not a single word, line or paragraph with the implication of race, creed or color."

Florida Legislature May Be Called

Post + Times Herald P.24

West. 7-18-56

Washington, D. C.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 17 (AP)—Gov. Leroy Collins indicated today he would summon the Florida Legislature into special session tomorrow for July 23 to adopt a four-point segregation program and other emergency proposals.

The Governor is expected to restrict the segregation phase of his call to the program proposed by a committee of legal experts. The program also provides for initiating a move to clarify states' rights by amendment of the U. S. Constitution.

FLORIDA'S SENATE VOTES BIAS BILLS

Times P.12-C

Sun. 7-24-56

Passes 4-Point Program to Prevent Integration—North Carolina Legislators Meet

New York

Special to The New York Times.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., July 23—A four-point program designed to prevent integration of the races in Florida was unanimously passed today by the State Senate. It acted three hours after the State Legislature had convened in special session.

The House did not act on the same bills introduced in that chamber. However, there were indications they would be speedily passed. Committees went to work on the bills.

In fact about the only controversy likely is whether individual legislators can introduce bills of their own relating to the segregation issue.

In a special session, the legislature is limited by the Governor's call to what it can take up, unless there is a two-third majority voting for it. However, some legislators are of the opinion that they can introduce bills if they relate to the same subject even if they were not specified by the Governor. An opinion from the State Attorney General on the subject is expected tomorrow.

The Governor's four-point program was recommended by a special committee of well-known Florida lawyers. In main, the bills provide for assignment of pupils to schools on the basis of ability and sociolological factors, give school boards authority to assigne teachers to schools for which they are best fitted, and increase the Governor's power to deal with disorders and use of public facilities.

Governor Leroy Collins called on the legislators to pass his program. He said it would "give us the legal tools we need to best serve our state's general welfare." The lawmakers also were urged not to resort to legislation of constitutional reform outside the scope of the program offered because it "might weaken it legally."

Governor Collins said, "I pledge to you, through you, to the people of Florida, that if this program is enacted, I shall, as Governor, use the full measure of my abilities to see that it is administered to preserve the sovereignty of our state. To maintain our public school system and to assure peace and order so that our people of all races and creeds can live and progress in peace and harmony."

The legislature also went to work on a number of other matters requested by the governor. They include a $5,000,000 appropriation to fight the Mediterranean fruit fly, measures to provide new facilities at state institutions, a bill to build a highway patrol building and increase the strength of the patrol.

Representative Prentice Pruitt is expected to bring before the House tomorrow some bills of his own, including a proposed emergency amendment to the Constitution that would permit local option to abolish public schools if necessary to prevent integration.

Rather Walk With Dignity Say Leaders

Herald Tribune

Sun. 7-22-56

Tallahassee, Fla. (Special).—The effect of a united bus boycott drive by local Negro citizens became apparent Sunday when operators of the Cities Transit company suspended services.

Faced with the loss of 70 percent of its patrons during the month-long boycott, the company obviously thought it economically wise to halt all bus routes until a settlement has been reached.

It was believed that a near compromise was in sight Friday. However, the Negro Inter-Civic Council refused to back down on its demands for an end to segregated seating on the buses and immediate employment of Negro drivers.

Stetson Coleman, president of the bus company, had announced earlier last month that if no settlement was reached soon the company

would suspend operations July 1.

The boycott was launched shortly after the arrest of two Florida A. & M coeds for refusing to move to the rear of the bus after occupying vacant seats in the front. Although charges were dropped, the movement spread to the entire Negro community, estimated around 14,000.

The city indicated that it had little intention of reaching a democratic solution by only agreeing to amend the bus franchise to permit open seating on the predominantly Negro lines except for one three-passenger lateral seat at the front which would have been reserved for whites and to allow employment of Negro drivers at the discretion of the company.

A mass meeting was scheduled by the Inter-Civic Council to discuss possible plans for a transportation system of its own. However, it is believed that stiff opposition may halt any such attempt since a franchise would have to be obtained from the city. And Coleman has said that he will oppose any efforts to set up another transportation service.

World-wide attention continues to be focused on the Southland as the new Negro seeks to bring about decency and fair play, absent for many years in this section of the United States.

The Rev. K. C. Steele, president of the Inter-Civic Council, said that there had been reports that certain leaders influenced the Negro community to stay off the buses, but that it was a spontaneous action by the entire community.

Said the Rev. Steele: "We had rather walk with dignity than ride with humiliation."

Meanwhile, prior to the opening of the 47th annual NAACP convention at San Francisco last week the Rev. Martin L. King, a leader of the Montgomery, Ala. bus boycott, said that "Negro action" like the six-month-old boycott in his state might become the pattern of many areas in the South.

Emphasizing that "a willingness to go to jail for right or righteousness" is an essential part of his program, he urged the convention to advocate wider use of passive resistance.

He went on to suggest that Negroes should boycott segregated Southern schools to force compliance of the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling, if necessary. The minister added that he "had not thought the idea through fully and was not making it as a formal proposal."

Star, 7-7-56

Rep. Land Picked as Racial Probe Chief in Bitter Sectional Debate

Herald 7-20-56

JACKSONVILLE — (AP) — A bitter split over who will boss the legislative investigation of the NAACP — and possibly of the Ku Klux Klan — developed at the joint Senate-House committee's organization meeting Tuesday.

Wed. 9-12-56

Rep. Henry Land of Orange County won the chairmanship over Sen. Dewey Johnson of Quincy in a vote decided by the fact that House members outnumber senators on the committee four to three.

Miami, Fla.

The difference obviously went deeper than jealousy between the two chambers, however.

The three senators—Johnson, John Rawls of Marianna and Charley Johns of Starke—are from north Florida sections where segregation sentiment is strongest.

House members Land, Cliff Herrell of Dade County, Jack said that there would be repercussions from the senate as a whole. He said he based his strong feeling on the tradition that a committee chairman comes from the chamber which originates the bill.

House speaker Ted David who sat in on part of the meeting, told newsmen later this tradition has been broken several times; that the more general rule is that the chairmanship of a committee goes to the chamber which has the most members on it.

Sen. Rawls also said he had been told that two House members would refuse to serve if a senator became chairman. House members quickly denied this.

After the dispute was resolved by the election of Land as chairman, the atmosphere calmed and Johnson was unanimously named vice chairman.

Members agreed that Land should consult Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin on rules and procedures the committee can follow and ask if an assistant attorney general can be assigned as committee counsel.

A permanent headquarters was voted for Tallahassee and David said Mrs. Lamar Bledsoe is available as temporary secretary.

Johnson said the committee has no intention of conducting a "witch hunt" but will investigate any organizations or persons who oppose provisions of the constitution and laws, including those decreeing the preservation of segregated schools.

The legislature's intent plainly prescribed an investigation of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Johnson said the committee also can investigate the Ku Klux Klan and is not aimed at only one organization.

DR. S. OLIVER Roberts of Fisk University, one of the members who surveyed Miami Beach, said that for the convention to go there would be to ignore the fact that conditions existing there today were "by no means as good as that in Washington in 1952."

It was at the Washington meeting that the group adopted its resolution banning meetings in places where public facilities were not open to members of race or religion.

Psychological body snubs Fla. as convention site

Afro-American Sat. 9-15-56

Baltimore, Md.

CHICAGO — The State of Florida will not be host to the American Psychological Association convention in 1957 because of its (the state's) segregation policies.

In a third session on whether to meet in Miami Beach or not, the voting body of the group first rescinded its earlier decision not to go. It then took an even more decisive stand not to go.

The association has twice adopted resolutions that it not meet in places where some members might be discriminated against.

* * *

THE CONCLUSION not to meet in Miami Beach was reached after the voting body of the group pondered a whole week over these two questions:

(1) Should the association abide by its two previous resolutions that it not meet in places where some of its members might be discriminated against?

(2) Or would the cause of desegregation best be served by holding a non-segregated meeting in an area where some discriminating might occur, but which has evidenced a desire to change its ways?

* **

THOSE WHO favored meeting in Miami argued that the Miami Beach hotels, with which agreement was being reached, had pledged that full facilities would be available to all members.

Those against the seaside meeting place objected that colored members of the association might be subject to indignities both in the area surrounding Miami Beach, from which no pledge was forthcoming, and in traveling through the South to the meeting.

Fla. Racial Picture Is Said Good

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. 9-7-56

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. —(INS) — Florida Gov. Leroy Collins said Thursday he thinks the state's general racial situation is good compared with other Southern states but added "I just hope and pray we do not let the extremists on both sides thwart our progress."

Collins made the statement at a press conference in Tallahassee following his first meeting with the three-man bi-racial committee he appointed last week.

Members of the committee are Dr. Doak S. Campbell, president of Florida State University; J. R. E. Lee, Jr., business manager at all-Negro Florida A and M College; and retired Circuit Judge L. L. Fabisinski, of Pensacola.

Also attending the meeting were state adjutant Gen. Mark W. Lance, Florida Highway Patrol Director H. R. Kirk and Ross Anderson, director of the Florida Sheriff's Bureau.

The law enforcement officers were on hand to advise in respect to law enforcement procedures which are available in the event of racial strife. Collins declared: "We don't antiipate having to resort to any extreme means in enforcing law and order in the state as far as segregation is concerned but want to be prepared in the event an emergency should arise."

Tampa Daily Times

The chief executive said he thinks segregation bills passed at the recent special session of the legislature "should give Florida the best legal tools of any state to cope with our problem."

Tampa 9-6

He said the state needs the help of "all citizens of all races to make the kind of progress I am anxious to see Florida make. I am extremely hopeful that we can stop the growing tension and the handicaps to the proper development of racial relations which tension of this type produces."

dent of Florida A and M University for Negroes, both at Tallahassee.

The committee will serve as members of the Governor's staff, not as an independent agency.

The Governor is hopeful that the group can help improve race relations throughout the state. All Florida joins in that hope.

All Florida hopes, too that "extremists on both sides" will never be able to stir up such deplorable incidents as the country has witnessed in Tennessee and Kentucky the last few days.

For The Lessening Of Racial Tensions

Herald Tampa Sat. 9-8-56

GOVERNOR COLLINS factually and calmly warns that the state's booming industrial expansion could be impaired if racial tensions should develop in Florida.

Miami, Fla.

"I feel," said the Governor, "that the situation in Florida generally is good when compared with that of sister states. I think this is substantiated by the quiet and stable manner which marked the opening of our schools."

The tensions agitated in the integration of Negro pupils in high schools at Clinton, Tennessee, and Sturgis, Kentucky are significantly strange. These are small towns. Their populations are inadequate to build "separate but equal" high school facilities for both races, even if the U.S. Supreme Court had not declared that method unconstitutional.

One wonders why villages of their size were picked for the demonstrations which necessitated the presence of the National Guard to keep the situation in hand.

Floridians should carefully weigh the developments and their causes in Clinton and Sturgis.

The Governor holds with his warning of last March that "good will between the races is deteriorating at an alarming rate. Relations once were excellent."

To forestall, and if necessary control a possible "trouble spot," the Governor will rely on the quick collection of facts and timely recommendations of his Bi-Racial Advisory Committee.

This group includes Circuit Judge L. L. Fabinski of Pensacola; Doak S. Campbell, president of Florida State University, and J. R. E. Lee Jr., presi-

But, White Official Fights Back

Eats With Negro, Fired!

Health Officer in Florida Is Calm in Negro Incident

MONTICELLO, Fla. (ANP) —Dr. Deborah Coggins, who was fired from her job as county health officer because she lunched with a Negro nurse, stated that she will fight to hold the job.

The dismissal was agreed upon at a joint conference of the Jefferson, Taylor and Madison commissions in the courthouse of this rural Florida town,, where the three commissions debated Dr. Croggins' fate while a crowd of pro-segregationist shouted, "fire her."

Dr. Coggins, an attractive blond, was the state's only woman health officer.

She has been under fire since Aug. 22 when she had a business conference with Miss Ethel Kirkland, a Negro registered nurse, in a private dining room of a Madison restaurant.

The two women met to discuss a class for Negro midwives being conducted by Miss Kirkland.

Dr. Coggins, a native of Tampa, had held the job since April 9. Her husband, Dr. Wilmer J. Coggins, is a native of nearby Madison where he has a practice.

MADISON, Fla., Oct. 4 (AP).—You never would think to look at blond, youthful Dr. Deborah Coggins that she is the center of a racial controversy which has rocked this area of rural North Florida to its conservative foundations.

The 32-year-old mother of three children seems much more like a trim, attractive suburban housewife than a county health officer who had a storm break about her after she had a business luncheon with a Negro nurse.

Editor T. C. Merchant, jr., of the weekly Enterprise-Recorder here, a staunch supporter of Dr. Coggins, has said she has been subjected to "the most vicious assortment of lies, misrepresentation and slander that I have had occasion to witness in this community."

Air of Detachment

The young physician, however, preserved such an air of serene detachment that it almost seemed as if someone else were involved.

It was unexpected when she blazed up at the Madison County Commission yesterday, calling its members "fools" and "cowards" for refusing to tell her whether she was being fired because of the luncheon with the Negro.

Only a short while later, she was her composed self again—able to discuss with a sort of rueful amusement the multiple firings she has experienced since the August 22 lunch.

Being fired has been almost a part of Dr. Coggins' daily routine of late. Since she served the three North Florida counties of Madison, Jefferson and Taylor as health officer, separate action was required from each.

The first move came from Madison County when it asked the State Board of Health to relieve her of her job. She counts that as her first "firing."

Hears Self Dismissed

Then commissioners of all three counties got together and decided to dismiss her if she didn't resign. Separate actions followed in each county. She went to each county seat to hear herself dismissed.

In Jefferson and Taylor Counties she sat quietly, addressing the commissioners respectfully and not forgetting the "sir" which springs automatically to the lips of a Southerner when speaking to men in authority.

But Dr. Coggins, a native of Tampa, used no respectful title when addressing the members of the commission of her home county of Madison.

When they refused to explain the reason for asking the Board of Health to relieve her, she demanded in a rush of words: "Why are you such cowards? You must be afraid you're not doing the right thing. You're all fools, fools!"

She has no intention of leaving Madison, though. It's the birthplace of her husband and "it's our home."

Job Offered

Home and her children are important to her. She could have taken another job with the Board of Health, offered after the controversy arose. But it would have entailed being away from Madison a good part of the time and she didn't even consider it.

Nor has she considered other job offers which have reached her from Pennsylvania and California, though she is warm in her appreciation for the support implied in the bids for her services.

There is nothing of the crusader or rabble-rouser about Dr. Coggins. She says she had no idea of breaching Southern social custom when she arranged the luncheon conference with Mrs. Ethel Kirkland, Negro midwife consultant for the Board of Health. She says she did it only because a crowded schedule made it impossible to see the nurse at any other time.

But she insists with calmness and conviction that "health knows no color boundaries."

Refuses to "Apologize"

She refused, when questioned at one of her several "firings," to apologize for her action. And both she and her physician husband, soft-spoken Dr. Wilber J. Coggins, have declared the actions against her infringe on her personal freedom as a citizen.

Dr. Coggins, a graduate of the University of Florida and of the Duke University Medical School, plan now to go into private practice here, working in the same office with her husband. She has no fear that they will lack for patients despite bitter feelings voiced against her by some residents of the community.

Ousted Doctor Is Offered Job

REDDING, Calif., Oct. (AP) Shasta County has offered the job of health director to Dr. Deborah Coggins, 32, of Monticello, Fla., fired last week by the County Commissioners in her district for having lunch with a Negro nurse in a restaurant in Monticello.

William G. Minton, Shasta County executive officer, today said he telegraphed Dr. Coggins that the $894 job here is open here and that county officials would like to consider her application. The telegram, Minton said, was authorized by the county board of supervisors.

Negroes Need Aid --Collins

Governor Urges Broad Outlook

(See picture Page 2-A)

By JOHN BOYLES
Herald Staff Writer

Gov. LeRoy Collins urged Floridians Friday not to be so blinded by their desire to preserve segregation that the welfare of the Negro citizens be ignored.

The governor outlined a 12-point program in stressing Florida's needs in keeping with her fast growth in a speech before a crowd of 850 at the Hialeah-Miami Springs Chamber of Commerce banquet at Miami Springs Villas.

"Too many (Negroes) are still living in crime and disease-producing slums," he said. "Too many do not receive adequate medical care. Too many do not receive adequate educational opportunities."

He said the welfare of Florida's Negro population "must be improved."

The governor went on to say, "We must not let our desire to maintain our traditions of segregation blind us to our responsibility to aid the Negro's improvement and advancement."

Other points stressed by Gov. Collins included a new and modern constitution which will allow fair representation in the legislature; traffic safety, and means for aiding the settlement of labor disputes.

"Disputes are certain to arise between labor and management as we continue to industrialize," he said.

New officers installed by the chamber of commerce were: Joseph A. Boyd Jr., president, succeeding Dr. Carl J. Slade; Everett Clay, first vice president; Newt Bollinger, second vice president; Vivan Hoffman, for a fifth term as treasurer, and Verne Barnes, secretary-manager.

The crowd included a galaxy of political dignitaries and business and industrial leaders from the entire Greater Miami area.

It heard a forecast that Hialeah-Miami Springs will have a population of 108,000 in 1976 compared to 60,000 today and an increase from 622 industries to 1,200 in the 10-year period.

INTEGRATED LUNCH FIGURE

MADISON, FLA.—Dr. Deborah Coggins, health officer of three Florida counties, continues her office routine despite a request by the Madison County Commission that the State Board of Health discharge her. She lunched with a Negro nurse in a restaurant's private dining room to discuss business with her.—AP Wirephoto.

CALM AFTER STORM—Dr. Deborah Coggins, fired as health officer for tri-county Florida area for lunching with a Negro nurse, relaxes in her husband's office in Madison, Fla., after stormy session with Madison County Commission. Her husband, Dr. Wilber J. Coggins, also a physician, stands beside her.—AP Wirephoto.

Fla. Doctor Who Ate Lunch With Negro Is Under Fire

News & Observer, Raleigh, N.C.

MADISON, Fla., Sept. 19 (AP)—The State Board of Health has been asked to fire Florida's only woman county health officer, apparently because she ate lunch with a Negro nurse during a business discussion.

Herald Thurs. 9-20-56

The Madison County Commission made the request to the state board on Sept. 5. It wants the board to discharge Dr. Deborah Coggins, 32, white mother of three children.

Dr. Coggins, 32, is the wife of Dr. Wilmer J. Coggins, a Madison physician.

The board said it could discharge a health official only for cause and that no reason for discharge was given in the Comission's letter.

Dr. Coggins says she was sent a copy of the letter but never formally advised of any reason she should be ousted. She said she would not resign the $675-a-month job she has held in the tri-county health area of Jefferson, Madison and Taylor since April 9. The three counties pay her salary.

Dr. Wilson T. Sowder, state health officer, said Madison officials had the power to discharge her. He said he offered to discuss the matter with the commission. "a normal procedure. We haven't heard anything further."

The Commission notified Dr. Coggins it would discuss the situation with her Oct. 3 as she had requested.

She gave this account of the matter:

On Aug. 20 Ethel Kirland, a Negro registered nurse who is midwife consultant for the state board, opened a class here for Negro midwives at Dr. Coggins' request.

Two days later Dr. Coggins found it necessary to discuss the class with the nurse. Since Dr. Coggins' morning and afternoon schedules were too full to permit discussions, a luncheon conference was arranged in a private dining room of a Madison restaurant. Three restaurant employes agreed to the luncheon. Ethel Crosley, a white board nurse observing the course, also was present.

Then, on Sept. 5, the Madison Commission voted to send a letter to the board saying it had "voted to request the State Board of Health to relieve Dr. Coggins of her duties."

Dr. Coggins was graduated from the University of Florida in 1947. She obtained her M.D. from Duke University.

Lowry Raps Integration By Bayonet

Herald P. 8-b Thurs. 9-6-56 Miami, Fla.

TAMPA — (AP) — Sumter L. Lowry, unsuccessful candidate for governor on a segregation platform, said Wednesday Gov. LeRoy Collins should say whether he would use guard troops if public protests should develop over Negroes applying for admission to Florida schools.

Lowry, a retired commander of a National Guard division, said:

"The showdown is here! Are the governors of the Southern states going to side with their people or are they going to side with the U.S. Supreme Court and its unconstitutional decrees?

"If a governor has to use tanks and troops with bayonets to force people to recognize the Supreme Court decision, certainly this is proof that this decision is unacceptable to the people, and that it must be reversed and made of no effect."

Lowry referred to a picture made at Clinton, Tenn., of a national guardsman holding a bayonet on a White man. He said this is a "photographic record of integration of the races being rammed down the throats of an unwilling people at the point of a bayonet."

He said he didn't believe in mob rule, but declared "whenever and wherever integration is forced then we will have violence and disorder, and all the troops in North America won't stop it."

Health Office Under Fire

Herald Miami, Fla.

Lunch With Negro Imperils Her Job

Thurs. 9-20-56 P. 24-A

See Picture

MADISON —(AP)— Florida's only woman county health officer is under fire apparently because she had a business lunch with a Negro nurse.

The Madison County Commission on Sept. 5 asked the State Board of Health to discharge Dr. Deborah Coggins, 32, mother of three children, native of Tampa and wife of Dr. Wilmer J. Coggins, physician here since last year.

The board said it could discharge a health official only for cause and that no reason for any discharge was given in the commission's letter.

Dr. Coggins says she was sent a copy of the letter but never formally advised of any reason she should be ousted. She said she would not resign the $675 a month job she has held in the tri-county health area of Jefferson, Madison and Taylor since April 9. The three counties pay the salary.

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Herald Miami, Fla.

Associated Press Wirephoto

UNDER FIRE—because she had a business lunch with a Negro nurse is Dr. Deborah Coggins, only woman county health officer in Florida. The Madison County Commission has asked the State Board of Health to relieve her. See story, Page 14-A.

Thurs. 9-20-56

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Dr. Coggins was graduated from the University of Florida in 1947 and then obtained her M.D. from Duke University.

To Be Fired For Lunch With Negro

Daily World Thurs. 9-20-56 Atlanta, Ga.

MADISON, Fla. — (INS) — A 32-year-old white nurse will go before the Madison County Commission on Oct. 5 to show cause why she should not be fired for eating lunch with a Negro nurse in a private restaurant last month.

Dr. Deborah Coggins, 32, Health Officer for the District of Madison, Jefferson and Taylor Counties in North Florida requested the meeting "to discuss the situation." Mrs. Coggins, wife of Madison physician Wilmer J. Coggins, has served at her present post since May 1.

She said she arranged the luncheon meeting with Negro nurse Ethel Kirkland on Aug. 20 to discuss a class for Negro midwives which the two were planning. The Kirkland woman has been with the State Health Department for 25 years and is currently serving as State Midwife Consultant.

Dr. Coggins said the two were joined at lunch by another white nurse. She said that on Sept. 5 the Madison County Commission sent a letter to the State Board of Health asking that she be relieved of her duties at once after several townspeople complained.

Dr. Wilson T. Sowder, Florida State Health Officer, said he is "giving the matter very earnest consideration." He added he would "be glad" to confer with the County Commission on the matter.

Sowder pointed out that health officers are employed by the County Commissions with the approval of the State Board of Health and "the same procedure should be required in firing one."

Mrs. Coggins, a native of Tampa, Fla., and the mother of three children, said she has no intention of resigning her position and added she would fight the move to fire her through her attorney, Raeburn C. Horne.

38a 1956

HARVARD 'INSISTS' NEGRO BE GIVEN EQUAL TREATMENT; FLORIDA CANCELS SINGING

Daily World p. 1

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — (INS) — A spokesman at Florida State University said Thursday a scheduled appearance of the Harvard University Glee Club was cancelled because Harvard "insisted" that a Negro member of the Glee Club be given equal treatment with whites.

Atlanta, Ga.

The FSU spokesman said Harvard had asked that the Negro be allowed to attend a reception for the Glee Club and that he be quartered with other members of the club at a hotel in Tallahassee.

Ent. 3-30-56

The reception was to have been held at a sorority house on the campus.

38a

The school spokesman said Harvard was told that "customs and traditions" of the state required segregation in social affairs.

The spokesman added that the school had made arrangements for the Negro to stay at Florida A&M university, a Negro college in Tallahassee, but that Harvard wanted him to stay at a local hotel.

The Club was to have performed next week, after the Easter holidays.

Sour Racial Note Cancels Concert

Defender Sat. 4-7-56

Chicago Ill. p. 1

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — (INS) — A spokesman at Florida State university said last week a scheduled appearance of the Harvard University Glee club was cancelled because Harvard "insisted" that a Negro member of the glee club be given equal treatment with whites.

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STATE REQUIREMENTS

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No Negro Delegates At Biracial Meeting

Courier Pittsburgh Pa. April 28 p. 3-A

TAMPA, Fla., April 28 (AP) — The biracial National Assn. of Federal Employes held its state convention here Saturday, but there were no Negro delegates.

FLORIDA

Florida's Collins Urges Ike Call Governors' Racial Meet

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., March 22 (AP)—Gov. Leroy Collins today called on President Eisenhower to convene a conference of Southern governors for a discussion of racial relations.

3-23-56

In his message to the President, Collins said that as a result of the Supreme Court's school integration decision and of activities of extremists on both sides "we are experiencing what well may become a serious deterioration of racial relations.

"We are fearful the progress we have made over many years may be dissipated."

The Florida governor was authorized by a conference of state government leaders and educators here yesterday to call upon the President and Atty. Gen. Brownell to meet with the Southern governors and attorneys general.

"We desire an opporunity to convey to you as our President our sincere impressions of these circumstances and conditions and feel that you and the attorney general of the United States can be helpful not only in Florida but also to all of the Southern states, if you see and understand the problems with which we are confronted," Collins said.

"This understanding we feel you can have though the United States Supreme Court has demonstrated a woeful lack of such insight."

The Florida group took its cue from a second appeal yesterday by Eisenhower for moderation in the school integration issue and a suggestion by Collins that the South go directly to the President with its problem.

Yesterday's conference was called to develop a workable plan to head off integration at the state universities by legal means.

Warren Charges Governor and Lowry Followed Integration Practices

Herald Miami Fla. Tues. 4-24-56 p. 11-A

Collins Defends Stand on Segregation: 'I Have Proved We Can Maintain It'

By The Associated Press

Fuller Warren attacked Gov. LeRoy Collins and Sumter L. Lowry on the segregation issue Monday, charging that both followed integration practices prior to the governorship campaign.

Collins also came under attack from another of his opponents, Farris Bryant, for campaign spending.

Bryant charged that Collins proposed to the legislature a plan to limit campaign spending and now leads the field in the amount of money spent during the current campaign.

Collins was occupied with state business in Tallahassee during the morning, but campaigned in Panama City and Pensacola later in the day

Collins defended his position on segregation by saying, "I have proved we can maintain segregation. I will maintain segregation. There is no evidence that the other candidates have done anything to maintain segregation or said anything about it before they became candidates."

In a speech to a pep rally of campaign chairmen from throughout the state at Miami Beach, Warren read from a notarized affidavit in which he pledged that "no Negroes will be admitted to white schools and colleges of this state, if Fuller Warren is governor."

Warren charged that Collins had started integration in the state government through his appointment of Henry Arrington, a Negro, as assistant state attorney of Dade County. Arrington subsequently was suspended from office.

Warren said that Lowry, a retired National Guard lieutenant general, had never spoken out against mixing of the races "until he turned politician and announced for governor a few months ago."

Collins said at Panama City there was a great future for West Florida and the "development commission now is working on proposals to locate new industries in the West Florida area and important announcements may come soon."

The governor bitterly criticized Lowry for for circulating a piece of literature which accused Collins of "riding the Moscow train." Collins described the literature as "filthy and scurrilous" and said "a man of integrity and character would not stoop so low."

Lowry went handshaking in the Miami area and spoke over a Miami television station Monday night.

Bryant at Orlando sought to lay a 25 per cent increase in highway fatalities at Collins' door, saying that although 100 highway patrolmen had been added the administration wasn't making proper use of them.

Warren's campaign director, Bryan Mack charged that the Collins administration as "putting pressure" on road contractors who would normally be for Warren.

And Dean Allen Rasco of the University of Miami law school told the Warren rally there was a large silent vote for Warren which wasn't being heard from now.

Herald Mon. 5-28-56 P. 1 Miami, Fla.

—Herald Photo by Hank Cohen

ASSORTMENT OF KNIVES WAS SEIZED AT ROADBLOCK
. . included are machetes, a switchblade and bale hook

Array of Weapons Seized in Delray

Herald Mon. 5-28-56 Miami, Fla. P. 1

By RUSS MARCHNER
Herald Staff Writer

DELRAY BEACH — A motley assortment of firearms and fighting tools was seized at roadblocks here Sunday as police imposed near-martial law to prevent racial disorders on the municipal beach.

The weapons were confiscated — at least temporarily — from more than 100 cars entering the mile-long beach area through four roadblocks set up and maintained by 30 law officers throughout the day.

Police Chief R. C. Croft of Delray Beach said the weapons can be claimed "after a cooling off period." He reported no trouble during or after the seizures.

Included in the arsenal were shotguns, pistols, revolvers, machete knives, hatchets, icepicks, hunting knives, switchblades and a bale hook.

Some of the weapons were loaded, police said. In all, about 30 pieces were seized and removed to police headquarters, although no arrests were made.

The roadblocks were set up promptly at 9 a.m. and removed at 5 p.m.

Police were empowered to search cars and seize weapons by the City Commission after last Sunday's tense gathering between 150 White and Negro persons on the beach.

The group was chased off the beach by police to avoid any possible violence.

In addition to Delray Beach officers, members of auxiliary police units, the Florida Highway Patrol, the Palm Beach sheriff's department and constables' offic es were at the roadblocks.

One Negro was held by police after a bolita ticket was found on him after he was frisked.

The roadblocks were maintained at the north and south end of the beach on State Road A1A, and at Atlantic Avenue and Eighth St., the only two bridges across the Intracoastal Waterway, which bisects this city.

At the south end roadblocks, local police Sgt. James Grantham said, "We stopped carloads of kids or men, white or Negro, and searched them and their cars.

"You can just about tell what cars to search."

Besides frisking, police inspected glove compartments and trunks. Many cars from Dade and Broward Counties and vehicles from out of state, Pinellas and Hillsborough Counties passed through the roadblocks.

Three cars of teenagers stopped near last Sunday's 150-foot incident area for over an hour, but dispersed when the area remained devoid of swimmers except for two White girls that appeared to sun themselves.

The municipal pool, also ruled off limits to Negroes in last week's unprecedented segregation ordinance, remained closed because of "mechanical breakdown."

Negroes' Beach Suit Settled by Accord

Tampa, Fla. Washington, D.C.

DEL RAY BEACH, Fla., May 17 (AP).—A suit to win Negroes the freedom of Del Ray Beach was dismissed in Federal Court at West Palm Beach after officials denied the city barred Negroes from the mile-long public coastal strip.

5-17-56

The dismissal by agreement was hailed by counsel for nine Negro plaintiffs as a victory in providing a precedent for segregation cases in Florida. Counsel for Del Ray Beach denied the dismissal constituted a precedent. They said the only thing settled was that the city was falsely accused of segregation. The suit was filed in 1954.

24-A

After the disavowal of a city ban on Negroes at the popular resort beach, the dismissal without prejudice was granted by Judge Emmet C. Choate. He complimented both sides on their agreement for dismissal.

'No Negro Ban' at Florida Beach

Times-Picayune New Orleans, La.

WEST PALM BEACH, Fla., May 16 (AP) — A suit demanding entree for Negroes to Del Ray Beach public bathing facilities has been dismissed by agreement of counsel after city spokesmen said the Negroes are not barred.

Times 5-17-56

Counsel for nine Negroes who filed the federal court action said the upshot was "absolutely" what he wanted. Attorney Francisco Rodriguez of Tampa told newsmen "this case sets a precedent in segregation cases in the state of Florida. The city of Del Ray Beach has lowered the barriers. . . ."

P. 21

Neal MacMillan, counsel for Del Ray Beach, said the dismissal "does not set a precedent because it didn't produce a ruling from the court. . . ." MacMillan said the case showed only that Del Ray Beach had not practiced segregation as charged by the plaintiffs.

Delray Beach Passes Law To Bar Negroes from Pool

Register Des Moines, Iowa Thurs. 5-31-56

Delray Beach, Fla. — The Delray Beach city commission adopted an ordinance May 23 to prohibit Negroes from using the municipal swimming pool or the municipal beach.

The commission called its action an "emergency ordinance to prevent interracial riots within the city."

"Racial tension has increased in this community to the point that the life of one commissioner has been threatened," the commissioners said.

Federal Suit

P. 1

The law was adopted without discussion in a public session.

It came eight days after the dismissal of a suit in federal court at Miami in which 9 Negroes sought use of the facilities.

The city previously has had no law to prevent the "intermingling of the Negro and white races," the commission noted.

This was the basis for dismissing the suit. Representatives of the city had told Judge Emett Choate that "the public beaches always have been open to all people regardless of color."

Little Tension

Little tension had been noted in this south Florida town of some 8,500 persons—including about 2,000 Negroes — before the suit was brought. Four Negro men sunbathed on one section of the beach two days after the decision without incident.

But a group of about 70 Negroes went to the beach last Sunday and met a group of whites of about equal size. They argued several minutes before policemen dispersed them.

There was no violence and no arrests were made.

Penalty for violating the law was set at up to $500 fine and up to 90 days in jail.

The commission said the city has "received a great deal of unfavorable publicity" because it had no law prohibiting racial mingling.

Desegregation As Campaign Issue

Herald P. 6-A Sun. 2-18-56 Miami, Fla.

THE SUPER-CHARGED subject is discussed by John S. Knight in his Editor's Notebook on Sunday. He gives his views on the new North - South agitations, as well as of those who refuse to acknowledge public sentiment while they promote extreme views. Knight's widely read and discussed column is a feature of the editorial page in the magazine section tomorrow of

KNIGHT

The Miami Herald

Desegregation Plans Underway in Miami

Post & Times Herald P.30
Thurs. 6-14-56

MIAMI, Fla., June 13 —Miami Negroes sought today to erase the color line in buses and schools.

Washington

The drive against segregated schools is Florida's first court case of its kind. Miami would be the largest city affected by organized efforts to desegregate buses.

N.C.

The National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People announced plans for a meeting on how to end segregation on buses. City ordinances require Negro passengers to ride in the rear.

Six Negroes filed a Federal suit to enjoin enforcement of Florida's segregation laws and to require Dade County (Miami) to speed racial integration of its schools.

Stirring interest in the bus segregation meeting was the arrest of two Negroes who defied orders to move to the rear of buses.

Rudolph Reid, 19, and Mrs. Bessie Kerbo, 50, were jailed on disorderly conduct charges for court appearances respectively on Thursday and Friday. NAACP leaders said they would explore possibilities of a boycott of buses and court action to do away with segregated seating. Negroes have boycoted buses in desegregation campaigns at Montgomery, Ala., and Tallahassee, Fla. There was some question whether the boycott technique would work in sprawling Miami.

Integration Foes Form Unit in State

Herald Miami Fla.
Sun. 6-3-56

OCALA — (UP) — Sixty delegates from all parts of the state, meeting in secret and led by a strong white supremacy advocate, Saturday organized a group pledged to "an unalterable opposition to integration of the races."

P.1-C

A spokesman said it was the first organization of its kind on a statewide basis in Florida.

Known as the Florida Federation for Constitutional Government, the group elected Prentice Pruitt of Monticello as its chairman. Pruitt, running on a segregation platform, was defeated in a race for attorney general in the May 8 election.

B. J. Driver, Clearwater attorney, was chosen vice chairman and Daniel Crisp, Jacksonville advertising executive, was named temporary secretary.

Driver said among the federation's chief aims were "repeal of all unconstitutional laws, reversal of unconstitutional court decisions and the defeat of all unconstitutional proposals which would invade the rights of the sovereign states or their people."

The vice chairman said the group planned to hold an open meeting later this summer or fall.

VOTE NEGRO BAR TO AVOID 'RIOT'

Daily Tribune
Thurs. 5-24-56

Delray Beach Acts in 'Emergency'

Chicago, Ill.
P.1

Delray Beach, Fla., May 23 (AP)—The Delray Beach city commission adopted an ordinance today to prohibit Negroes from using the municipal swimming pool or the municipal beach.

The commission called its action an "emergency ordinance to prevent interracial riots within the city."

"Racial tension has increased in this community to the point that the life of one commisisoner has been theatened," the commissioners said.

No Public Discussion

The law was adopted without discussion in a public session eight days after the dismissal of a suit in federal court at Miami in which nine Negroes sought use of the facilities.

The city previously has had no law to prevent the "intermingling of the Negro and white races," the commission noted. This was the basis for dismissing the suit brought in the United States District court before Judge Emett Choate May 10.

Representatives of the city told the judge then that "the public beaches always have been open to all people regardless of color."

Little Tension Noted

Little tension had been noted in this south Florida town of some 8,500 persons—including about 2,000 Negroes—before the suit was brought. Four Negro men sunbathed on one section of the beach two days after the decision without incident.

But a group of about 70 Negroes went to the beach last Sunday and met a group of white persons of about equal size. They argued several minutes before policemen dispersed them. There was no violence and no arrests were made.

Penalty for violating the law was set at up to $500 fine and up to 90 days in jail.

Blame Nonresidents

The commission said the city has "received a great deal of unfavorable publicity" because it had no law prohibiting racial mingling.

Daily Tribune P.4-H

"The result of the adverse publicity has been that large numbers of Negroes from other communities have come upon the municipal beach. The result of this invasion by these nonresident Negroes has been that near-riots have occurred between members of the Negro race and members of the white race."

The suit for the nine Negroes was filed by Francisco

Hits High Court's 'Absolutism'

Ervin Offers Plan To Keep Race Bars

Herald Miami, Fla. Tues. 6-19-56 P.17-A

FORT PIERCE —(UP)— Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin, hitting at the "color blind absolutism" of the U. S. Supreme Court, proposed a five-point program Monday to maintain racial segregation in Florida.

"We feel that the strait-jacket absolutism" of the court must be tempered by reason," Ervin said. "Necessity sometimes forces practical solutions even in the face of the highest judicial authority."

ERVIN

Ervin, speaking to a Rotary Club luncheon here, urged creation of a new advisory state administrative commission with broad powers to "recommend legal solutions to concrete racial problems" and make recommendations to the courts and to the Legislature.

He proposed that a special legislative session on segregation, expected to be called next month by Gov. LeRoy Collins, also consider extending the state's school assignment law, adopting an interposition resolution, giving the governor additional power to prevent "public disorder," and providing for a system whereby public schools might be abolished on a "local option" basis as a last resort.

A special committee of judges and lawyers appointed by Collins is expected to recommend extending the school assignment law which provides that local school boards assign individual pupils to schools. Ervin said this should be broadened to provide "additional administrative processes and sppeals both at grade school and college levels."

The attorney general said that "railing at the U.S. Supreme Court with manifestoes" is without value but that a resolution of interposition such as adopted by some other Southern states would "formally raise the question of usurpation of state sovereignty by action of the U.S. Supreme Court."

He said Negroes should be asked to cooperate in his program "in a realistic adjustment to immutable facts of life despite the innovation of an artificial judicial fiat."

Ervin's 'last resort' remedy of abolition of the schools on a local referendum basis is sure to draw opposition from school officials. He argued that such a move has been successful in converting golf courses, parks, beaches and recreational areas to private operation and "even some bus routes have been abondoned under the aggravation of boycotts."

He said his suggestions constitute a "positive approach" to halt a deterioration of race relations "with each new crisis fraught with racial and community disturbance."

Hooby Shop Theft

A collection of coins and stamps valued at $5,000 was reported stolen Monday from Abbot Hobbies, 211 E 1st Ave. Ray Lyles, manager of the shop, said a burglar apparently entered through a rear window during the night.

Near Delray

Herald

Negroes Banned On Private Beach

Thurs. 6-7-56 P.1
Miami, Fla.

Herald Bureau

DELRAY BEACH—A mile-long section of private beach, five miles north of here, will be posted against Negro bathers today.

The move was made by owner Phil Phillips, Ocean Ridge, after some 90 Negroes swam in the secluded area most of Wednesday.

Phillips, owner of a sea food restaurant on State Rd. A1A, said that Negroes had been using the beach without permission on weekends for some time.

He said he didn't blame them for swimming in the remote area. "They've got to have some place to swim now they've been kicked out of Delray Beach."

But he said the area was to be posted, "because it's come to the point that I can't even get on my own beach."

He said that bathers have been orderly and that he believed they would respect the signs. The area is off little used Ocean Blvd., near Ocean Ridge.

North of Phillips' beach, is a 150-foot section bought by the city of Delray Beach for use by Negroes, but which Negro leaders say is unacceptable.

A. Rodriguez, Tampa attorney and representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Newsmen were invited to the meeting to adopt the law. City Manager William Lawson read the law and the four commissioners voted on it. Mrs. Catherine Strong, a commissioner and a former mayor, was not at the meeting.

The municipal pool has been closed for repairs since last Saturday.

Segregation Snags Legislative Recess

Herald P.4-D
Miami, Fla.

By JOHN McDERMOTT
Herald Staff Writer

TALLAHASSEE — Segregation proved to be the fly in the Legislature's ointment Wednesday.

The House and Senate battled all day over technicalities of a long-term recess.

This was highlighted by a late afternoon secret session of the Senate which stayed behind closed doors, with the press and public barred, for more than 40 minutes.

Herald 6-7-56

The final outcome was adjournment until 9 a.m. today, when legislators will resume arguing the question of recessing.

Segregation, which has nothing to do with the current extraordinary session on reapportionment, got into the picture through the back door.

A stubborn House refused to go along with a Senate plan to recess until November unless given assurance by the State Supreme Court that another special session legally could be called during the recess of the present one.

Lawmakers are insistent that the governor call a special session in July to deal with the problem of preserving segregation in public schools despite a U. S. Supreme Court ruling outlawing it.

Appropriating funds to fight the Mediterranean fruit fly invasion also is expected to come up in a special session.

Gov. LeRoy Collins, who has been almost as stubborn as the legislators in evading asking the high court for an advisory opinion, assured a House committee by telephone from Miami that he is certain he has the power to call a special session during the recess of another session.

The governor said he "will accept full and complete responsibility" for such a special session. He urged the House to recede from its demand that the court give an opinion.

But the House refused to back down and reiterated its request for a high court advisory opinion.

Eighty-one members of the 95-member House signed a petition requesting that the governor call a special session for July 17 to deal with segregation.

Also during the day the appointment of Rep. W. C. (Cliff) Herrell, of Miami Springs to the important Legislative Council was announced. He succeeds Rep. George Okell, of Miami, who resigned. Okell will not be returning to the 1957 regular session.

House members were openly fearful that some technicality might develop through recessing the reapportionment session until November which would make it impossible to call the segregation session.

A majority of legislators feel that Florida must line up all possible legal moves to prevent the mixing of the races in schools.

A governor's committee studying this crisis is due to report its recommendations in early July.

The Senate's proposal to recess until November would have carried the reapportionment question over to the new legislature which takes office that month after the general election.

Some large county representatives privately express surprise that Gov. Collins had failed to play a forceful role in this week's three-day reapportionment meeting.

Observers felt, however, that even if Collins had wielded the "Big stick" which as chief executive he could, it would have been a futile gesture.

The Senate's small county majority bloc was so firmly entrenched that its members would not have budged under any circumstances.

Boycott leader's draft status is up to Appeal Board

Herald P.33
Miami, Fla
June 14-56

MONTGOMERY, Ala., July 11 —(AP)—Whether one of the leading spokesmen for bus boycotting Montgomery Negroes will be drafted depends on the Presidential Appeal Board in Washington.

Yesterday the chairman of local Selective Service Board 51 said Fred D. Gray had passed his Army pre-induction physical examination. The 25-year-old attorney took the physical Monday.

Chairman F. A. Miller said the Presidential Appeal Board, the highest authority on who gets drafted, had requested additional information on Gray's case. Miller said information on his present employment was sent to the board.

GRAY WAS long in category 4-D with a ministerial deferment. An issue was made of this registration at the time he was leading Negro efforts to overturn Montgomery bus segregation laws, efforts that ended June 5 in a federal court finding that the laws are unconstitutional.

Three or More Wounded

Herald P.1

White, Negro Youths Trade Shots in WPB

Sun. 6-17-56
Miami, Fla.

Herald Bureau

WEST PALM BEACH — Authorities Saturday night were searching the watershed area west of here for a gang of white youths in swamp buggies who wounded a Mexican, a Puerto Rican and one or more Negro teenagers with shotgun blasts. What was behind the trouble was not clear, but it seemed to stem from racial conflict.

First reports to the sheriff's office indicated that the youths in the swamp buggies first started shooting when they came on the Mexican and his wife and the Puerto Rican and his girl friend who were bathing in Lake Mangonia.

One of the possemen who returned from the area later Saturday night said one of the Negro youths then opened fire on the white youths in the swamp buggies.

The Mexican, taken to Pine Ridge Hospital here and not immediately identified, was struck in the face and neck with shotgun pellets. The Negro youths, reportedly standing nearby, were less seriously injured by the shotgun fire.

A helicopter was summoned from Palm Beach Air Force base in an effort to locate the swamp buggies, which escaped into the brush when police appeared.

Richmond, Va.

Tallahassee Firms Now Facing Boycott

Journal + Guide P.1
Sat. 7-7-56

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — (INS) Negro civic leaders, who have won their boycott of Tallahassee city buses, indicated Monday they may now stop trading with local merchants because of alleged police intimidation.

The Rev. C. K. Steele, leader of the boycott which began May 29 with the arrest of two Florida A. and M. coeds for refusing to sit in the back of a segregated bus and ended Saturday wth suspension of operations by the bus company, declared:

* * *

"I AM BEGINNING to think our city policemen are trying to run us out of town."

Rev. Mr. Steele, president of the Negro Inter-Civic Council, told a mass meeting of more than 500 persons that Negroes are being arrested "for the slightest traffic violation" and are subjected to a "third degree" at police headquarters.

* * *

STEELE SAID that if the police action did not end it might become necessary to "spend what little money we have in other nearby cities." The Negro leader said many Negroes are being arrested while operating car pools. He said that when police "can't find grounds to arrest us they just holler at us and tell us to move on."

Meanwhile, this city of 48,000 people was without bus service. Car pools were being hastily set up and a meeting of the City Commission was scheduled for Monday to discuss ways of providing emergency transportation for white.

The Negroes are planning to operate their own bus if they are allowed to do so under law. The bus is an old vehicle similar to school buses. The group is also calling for more station wagons to provide transportation for the town's estimated 14,000 Negroes.

* * *

MAYOR FRED S. Winterle said he had no idea when the city would again have bus service. But he added that "Negroes will never get a franchise to operate a line while I'm on the City Commission."

Five of the city transit company's buses were shipped to Cuba after being sold to a bus company in that country.

Negroes had made up 70 per cent of the passenger load on Tallahassee buses and accounted for 60 per cent of the bus line's revenue. Their leaders have refused a bus company offer which would place Negro drivers on predominately Negro runs and allow free seating on the bus except for three seats in the front which would be reserved for whites.

Herald + Guide P.2

Meet with Dixie leaders suggested—

Florida asks Ike to take hand in integration issue

News, P. 17
Thurs. 3-22-56

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., March 22—(AP)—A Florida segregation conference took a cue from President Eisenhower's appeal for moderation in the school integration issue and asked him to call a meeting of Southern governors on the problem.

Miami, Fla.

The Florida group, composed of state government leaders and educators proposed the Eisenhower meeting yesterday as one avenue of procedure in trying to head off immediate integration at the state universities.

Gov. Leroy Collins, who suggested that the president get together with Dixie's governors, said it would be a good chance to let him know "of the great concern we in the South have about any efforts to coerce integration."

Collins also recommended that Atty. Gen. Brownell and the attorney general of the Southern states sit in on the meeting.

THE GOVERNOR said he was greatly concerned over "a dangerous deterioration in our racial relations generally" which he said he had noted in recent weeks since the start of the current governorship campaign in which Collins is seeking reelection.

He read to the conference a news dispatch reporting that President Eisenhower had urged the nation not to regard the school integration issue as one which could separate Americans and create a nasty mess.

Florida's approach to the integration problem has been made one of the major issues in the governorship campaign.

Collins said that up to now Florida's strategy in dealing with the U. S. Supreme Court decision banning segregation in the schools has been "to resist its implementation in Florida by every lawful and peaceful means at our command, but at the same time to avoid emotional furor and the disorders which commonly result from the agitation of racial antagonism."

Collins has been charged by one of his opponents of "pussyfooting" on segregation and with being an integrationist.

COLLINS PLEDGED himself conditionally to call a special session of the Legislature if necessary to preserve segregation. But he said he wanted to be assured in advance the proposed legislation would be legal and effective and that the session would not be unduly prolonged.

The governor said a special session wouldn't be called until after the May primaries.

Yesterday's conference was called by the state cabinet to find a way of blocking by constitutional methods the entry of a Negro to the University of Florida law school.

The conference was arranged after a recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court directing that Virgil Hawkins, 48-year-old Daytona Beach Negro, be admitted without delay to the law school.

Negro assistant state attorney is suspended

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., March 22—(AP)—Florida's only Negro assistant state attorney has been suspended for making "false and untrue statements" in a radio broadcast during which he allegedly said the Dade County State Attorney's Office was completely integrated.

Gov. Leroy Collins issued the ssupension order against Henry H. Arrington whom he said "made public statements in derogation of and repugnant to the duties imposed upon him as assistant state attorney."

The governor said the "false and untrue statements have undermined and detracted from the efficiency of the said office of State Attorney and thereby have resulted in impairment to law enforcement."

Arrington allegedly said the State Attorney's Office was integrated, that white secretaries had been told they could pick up their checks" if they objected to taking dictation from him and that he was subject to assignment to cases involving white persons as well as Negroes.

Dade County State Atty. George Brautigam said the statements attributed to Arrington were untrue.

Race issue no problem in air base schools

TAMPA, Fla., March 22—(AP)—Integration is not one of the problems of federally operated schools which were established at Southern Air Force bases largely because of the segregation issue.

The issue wasn't even mentioned at the first day of a conference here on problems affecting the schools. Meeting here with Air Force officials are school principals and representatives of parent-teacher groups.

One of the main things bothering the school leaders is the difficulty in confirming salaries for next year's teachers because federal appropriations are not approved until July 1.

DELEGATES ATTENDING the conference are here from MacDill Air Force Base, Tampa; Langley (Va.) AFB; Craig (Ala.) AFB; Maxwell AFB at Montgomery, Ala.; Eglin (Fla.) AFB; Tyndal AFB at Panama City; Patrick AFB at Cocoa, and Ramey AFB at Puerto Rico.

Communistic charge denied by NAACP leader

LAKE CHARLES, La., March 22—(AP)—An NAACP official denies 53 of the organization's leaders are Communists.

Field Secretary Clarence Laws told the NAACP's Lake Charles chapter last night that the charges by Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook of Georgia were "emotionally irresponsible and fantastic."

Cook told a Citizens Council meeting in New Orleans Tuesday night that 53 officials of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People were listed in House un-American activities committee files as Communist sympathizers.

Laws said the NAACP has had the cooperation of every president since it was formed in 1909.

He also said a suit to ban the NAACP in Louisiana was filed to embarrass the group, but had brought almost a dozen contributions or life memberships from a dozen organizations. The suit is pending in a District Court at Baton Rouge.

Estes Says South Will Accept His Stand Against Segregation

Journal & Constitution P. 7-E
Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 4-8-56

Tall Tennessean Tells Floridians He Expects to Abide by Decision

By CHARLES HESSER
Staff Writer, The Miami Daily News
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MIAMI, Fla., April 7—Estes Kefauver, who had been accused of taking a stand in midair on segregation, landed when he came to Florida. He made his strongest statement to date on the controversial issue during his three-day tour of the state this week.

The Tennessee senator, questioned about the United States Supreme Court's decision banning segregation, unqualifiedly declared: "I expect to abide by it." Kefauver had been asked about a statement his opponent in Florida's May 29 presidential primary — Adlai Stevenson—had made.

Stevenson had said he didn't "Remember that Sen. Kefauver has ever made a clear-cut statement on segregation."

Questioned Closely

Kefauver was questioned closely on the boiling issue throughout his campaign swing of Florida.

The Democratic presidential aspirant, in effect, said it wasn't true what they say about Dixie—that the South will accept him, and that those who say otherwise are "spreading political propaganda."

"I frequently hear that I am not acceptable to the South," said Kefauver. "I may lose a few votes here and there (on his segregation stand), but in the long run I think I can win. I have said what I believe on the segregation issue and that is all I can do."

Kefauver recalled that when the U.S. Supreme Court issued its integration decree he called it the law of the land.

"What I said then I say now, and what I say now I say wherever I am—in Florida or California, in Minnesota or Alabama. I simply cannot and would not attempt to mislead.

FLORIDA

"Speaking as a Southerner to Southerners, I say that there is no other answer to this problem. We simply must remain a united nation.

"The Supreme Court itself recognized that this is not an easy problem with which to deal. Under the decision the local federal district judges act as referees. It is a decision which will be worked out in thousands of school districts throughout the United States by men and women of good will of both races.

"As the President, sworn to uphold the Constitution, I certainly would do all within my power to assist these men and women in their solution to this very difficult problem. I trust that having said this we can now turn to other issues which are more meaningful actually to the future history of the South."

During Kefauver's Florida drive, Sen. John Sparkman (D-Ala) took the occasion to predict from Washington that Stevenson will win a majority of this state's 28 convention votes. Sparkman, the vice presidential nominee who ran with Stevenson in 1952, is backing the former Illinois governor for the party presidential nomination.

Sparkman said he believes Stevenson "will get a lot of convention votes" from the South because of his segregation stand, and added:

"I think Stevenson will win the majority of the Florida delegates, but I imagine that Sen. Kefauver will get some, too."

Kefauver won five of Florida's 24 delegate votes in 1952 when he opposed Sen. Richard Russell, of Georgia, favorite son of the South.

The Tennessean spoke of many things other than segregation during his three-day stand.

In the rich cattle and citrus belt, he told ranchers he thought they needed federal supports on livestock and perishables, including citrus fruits, to help the small farmer.

"I think that livestock and perishables must be supported and the only way I know how to do it is through production payments," Kefauver said. His farm price support program is based on a sliding scale of parity payments which would benefit chiefly the small farmers.

What his state managers apparently neglected to tell Kefauver was the fact that a majority of Florida growers and cattlemen in the past have frowned upon government controls.

At Miami Beach, largely populated by the people of Jewish

faith, Kefauver called for a top level conference among the Arab and Israeli leaders, the United States, Britain and France in an effort to find a peaceful solution to the Middle East crisis.

Repeats Demand

Kefauver repeated an earlier demand that the United States and other Western powers sell arms to Israel to restore the military balance, destroyed, he said, when Communist Czechoslovakia shipped arms to Egypt.

The crowds Kefauver drew to rallies were satisfying to his backers. More than 3,500 attended an evening gathering at the small Florida inland college town of De Land. Almost that many attended meetings at Miami Beach and West Palm Beach.

KEFAUVER PUSHES INTEGRATION PLEA

Times P. 19-C

In Florida Speech, He Asks a 'Grass Roots Dialogue' to Solve the Problem

Wed. 4-4-56

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to The New York Times.

WEST PALM BEACH, Fla., April 3—Senator Estes Kefauver called on leaders of both races in the South tonight to start on a "grass-roots dialogue" looking to the solution of the integration problem.

New York

He warned against waiting for implementation policies or the pubulic school issue. He said a wait for policies "to be imposed from the top" would lead to "another" policy of drift, which constantly gets us into trouble, like the policy of drift has done to our foreign relations."

"I think that with peace and spiritual strength we of the South are anxoius to seek sensible solutions, free from harsh emotions," the Tennessee Democrat declared.

"Furthermore," he continued, "I believe that the hard-working, God-fearing people in this twentieth century Southland are anxious to continue the progress that has been everywhere evident in a land that was once laid prostrate by division."

Kefauver Speakes in Park

He spoke to a crowd in Flagler Park in this resort city on Florida's famous Gold Coast. The speech was the highlight of the second day of his four-day stumping campaign. He is seekink to win the support of this state's twenty-eight votes in the Democratic Presidential nominating convention.

The Tennessean took a bold tack in a speech last night in Orlando by urging his native southland to accept the principal of public school desegregation as the law of the land. He bore down even harder on the subject today with his recommendation that fellow southerners 'get together on democratic negotiations."

He again urged the south to recognize that "we would have chaos" if there was not a Supreme Court to render final and authoritative interpretation. On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court outlawed racial segregation in the public schools.

Senator Kefauver's campaign aides said that his office in Washington had received many "favorable responses" to his Orlando speech from other sections of the country. They also said that before the Senator had left Orlando this morning he had been assured by several local supporters that his views on the race relations problem were "understandable and acceptable to many."

In his speech here, Senator Kefauver said he had decided to speak out asecond time on the school segregation issue and in more detail "to show some critics that I say the same thing wherever I go and do not say different things in different sections."

This was an obvious reference to criticisms reportedly voiced by supporters of Adlai E. Stevenson, former Governor of Illinois, with whom Mr. Kefauver is contesting for the Democratic Presidential nomination. Their conflicting bids will go before the voters in Florida's Presidential primary, on May 29.

Foreign Policy Assailed

Senator Kefauver also attacked today the foreign policy program of the Eisenhower Administration.

He reiterated rectn charges that "this country has suffered some disturbing setbacks in foreign policy" because of the "ineptness" of the Administration in meeting the "Soviet Union's policy of using economic aid to pose as the champions of decreasing world tension."

He charged that the Administration's handling of the "summit conferences" at Geneva had been "so inept" that it had accelerated Communist successes throughout the world.

"The things of which I am critical," Senator Kefauver said, "are not so much the foreign policy of the Administration but the administration of our policy."

He urged that this country send its food surpluses to "hungry populations" in the Far East and "relax many of the trade restrictions that make commerce between the nations of the world so difficult."

During the day Senator Kefauver spoke to some 300 persons at a civic clubs luncheon in Fort Pierce. He also addressed an overflow crowd of about 1,500 at a reception given by the Business and Professional Women's Club in the Civic Center Building in Lake Worth, which adjoins West Palm Beach.

Hear Me on Race Issue, Prevent Trouble -- Collins

Herald Fri. 4-6-56 P. 10-C

Miami, Fla.

WASHINGTON — (AP) — Gov. LeRoy Collins of Florida Thursday asked for permission to appear before the Supreme Court to plead for reconsideration of the court's decision that state universities must admit Negroes to their graduate schools without delay.

A petition filed with the high tribunal said that the governor and Atty. Gen. Richard W. Ervin of Florida wished to appear because they want to "avert, if possible, a disruption in public affairs of statewide and even national importance."

The governor's petition said he and Ervin were prepared to present facts that indicate a strong probability of "a serious disruption" at the University of Florida if Virgil D. Hawkins, a Negro, were admitted at once to the law school of the all-white university.

The Supreme Court, in an order March 12, set aside a Florida Supreme Court ruling that Negroes could not be admitted to the law school until a study was made of "grave and serious problems" involved.

The Supreme Court's order said "there is no reason for delay" in admitting Hawkins.

Pleading for reconsideration of this order, the governor's petition said:

"It is respectfully submitted and with all due deference, that this court did not act in a moderate manner."

The petition added that the Supreme Court's action "interrupted the calm, careful, moderate and equitable approach of the Florida Supreme Court in its study of this problem."

Mentioned was the survey being made of the attitude of the students and their parents.

He said that if evidence obtained in the study were ignored, "the public safety in Florida will be endangered and the administration and operation of institutions of higher learning in Florida will be disrupted."

The petition protested that the Supreme Court's statement that "there is no reason for delay" in the Hawkins' case was an error.

"Candidly," the petition asserted, "the statement is unsupported by any evidence before the court in this or any other case under its jurisdiction.

"This court has reached a premature legal conclusion as to matters of fact, since no facts have been considered by this court and the court has denied Florida an opportunity to present evidence."

FLORIDA PROBLEM

Gov. Collins Promises To Call Legislature On Racial Matter

Herald P. 1-C

Montgomery, Ala.

Thurs. 3-22-56

TALLASSEE, Fla., March 21 (AP) — Gov. Leroy Collins announced conditionally today he would call a special session of the Florida Legislature, if necessary to preserve segregation.

Collins told a conference of government leaders and educators that he wanted to be assured in advance that the proposed legislation would be legal and effective and that legislators would pledge themselves that the session would not be unduly prolonged.

The conference, called by the State Cabinet to find a way of blocking racial integration in the state's universities, authorized Collins and Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin to appoint a commission of judges and attorneys to work out a proposal designed to prevent integration legally in classrooms.

At Collins' suggestion, the conference voted unanimously to request President Eisenhower and Atty. Gen. Brownell to call an immediate conference of Southern governors and attorneys general to discuss the South's critical situation brought about by the integration problem.

Collins said at such a conference the Southern governors could inform the President and attorney general directly "of the great concern we in the South have about any efforts to coerce integration."

The governor said he would get off wires to Washington in the next day or two.

Today's conference stemmed from a recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court directing that Virgil Hawkins, 49-year-old Negro, be admitted without delay to the University of Florida Law School.

The conference recommended that Collins appear before the U.S. Supreme Court in person if the high court grants a petition for a rehearing in the Hawkins case, and that the State Board of Education adopt regulations setting up added qualifications for admissions to state universities.

Ervin recommended that a special session of the Legislature be called in June or July.

Collins Wants To Plead Bias To High Court

Herald 4-14-56

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida told the Supreme Court Friday he wants to appear before it personally and argue against its order for the immediate admission of a Negro to his state's graduate law school.

The governor said he desires to "avert, if possible, a disruption in public affairs of statewide and even national importance." His request was transmitted to the court by Florida Attorney General Richard Ervin.

Ervin formally asked the court for a rehearing on its decision of March 12 ordering the University of Florida law school to admit 48-year-old Virgil Hawkins at once.

The court said its call for "gradual" integration of public schools did not extend to graduate schools.

In his request for a rehearing, the state attorney general complained that the high court "did not act in a moderate manner." He requested "the same latitude" in dealing with segregation on the graduate school level as he is permitted in the case of grade and high schools.

Jubilant at Victory

Herald 5-1

Collins Weighs Sessions On Segregation, Judges

Miami, Fla.

Herald 5-10-56

By JOHN B. McDERMOTT
Herald Political Writer

Gov. LeRoy Collins took under consideration Wednesday proposals for special legislative sessions on segregation and on a Dade County Grand Jury's recommendation that two Circuit judges be impeached.

It may be a week or longer before anything develops on either of these issues.

The governor, jubilant over his landslide victory in Tuesday's Democratic primary election, left Tallahassee for his seaside cottage on the Gulf, where he will rest for five days.

Nearly complete returns indicated that several prominent Old Guard politicians around the state, with a few notable exceptions, took a pasting in the voting.

No race, of course, could come close to capturing the imagination of the public as did the Collins' first primary sweep. And much of that resulted from his almost unbelievable 110,286 votes in Dade County alone.

The Collins statewide majority over the other five combined was something over 40,000 votes, with most precincts counted.

On the Dade County front, one legislative race, three County Commission seats, a Small Claims judgeship pitting Judge Sidney Segall against challenger Tom Youngblood, a Miami Beach constable contest and a Southwest-Coral Gables constable race will have to be run off in the May 29 second Democratic primary.

Veteran Rep. Bernie Papy of Key West, now in his 22nd year in the House of Representatives, won as usual despite biennial opposition claims that "this is the year."

Sen. Verle Pope of St. Augustine faces a runoff but Sen. Douglas Stenstrom of Sanford won handily. Both are strong backers of Gov. LeRoy Collins.

The biggest setbacks for the Old Guard were sustained by the defeats of Fuller Warren in the governor's race — he was a surprisingly poor fourth; Sen. Ed Baker being upset in Lake County by Rep. Tar Boyd; another Collins backer; and the defeat of Harry King; president-designate of the Senate from Winter Haven.

King, under indictment for perjury in a $10,000 bribe payoff case which also involved Rep. Boone Tillett, was swamped by the 28-year-old Scott Kelly, former mayor of Lakeland. Tillett, also in the Senate race, took an even worse beating.

Collins was jubilant over the support given him. At a press conference in Tallahassee he renewed his pledge that he would try to get the legislature to pass a "fair" reapportionment bill.

He also promised Florida four more years of progress "to build a state of which we can be even more proud."

The governor faces Republican opposition in November, but political observers see that as little more than a formality.

There is a strong possibility that the governor will call the legislature into special session on the question of maintaining segregation. He is committed to a firm policy of preserving segregation "by peaceful and lawful means."

Herald

Segregation was the only paramount issue in the campaign. All the major candidates were for it.

Miami, Fla.

Here is what some of the gubernatorial candidates had to say after the vote was in:

COLLINS — It snowed . . . "A reaffirmation of our people's determination to continue on the sound and stable progressive course we have steadfastly pursued for the past 16 months . . . I do not regard the results as a personal triumph for LeRoy Collins. Rather, it is a triumph of the case in which we have labored."

T. 2. H

LOWRY — "We lost the campaign for governor, but I am sure we have accomplished more in the long-range struggle to preserve the Constitutional liberties of the American people."

C. FARRIS BRYANT — In congratulating Collins, Bryant said he looked forward "to cooperating with you in the legislature during the remainder of my term."

FULLER WARREN — "I feel the people have the right to elect anyone they want to any office and I hope they always will have the right."

Sen. George Smathers won another six-year term in Washington without making a serious campaign effort. Reps. James Haley of Sarasota and Billy Matthews of Gainesville were renominated.

Herald 5-10-56

Justices Stephen O'Connell of Fort Lauderdale and Frank Hobson of St. Petersburg were returned to their judicial posts.

Major runoffs in Dade county include:

LEGISLATIVE, Group 1 — George Hollahan, with 49,595, against Harvie DuVal, 38,593. Johnson E. Davis, third-place winner, is expected to support Hollahan. Davis polled 17,419.

COUNTY COMMISSION, Group 1 — Commissioner Jess Yarborough, 42,941, facing an uphill fight against Faris N. Cowart, 43,045. Troy Haigler, who ran fourth with 11,263, announced that he will be urging his supporters to vote for Cowart in the runoff. Robert Rainey, third-place candidate with 20,333, has not made his position known.

Group 3 is a runoff between Commissioner I. D. MacVicar, 41,245, and John McLeod, 43,517. John Cicero, who took third with 28,295, has not indicated a preference in the runoff.

Group 4 pits Ralph Fossey, South Miami realtor with 41,655 votes, against Stacy Rowell, automobile dealer who polled 31,241 in a field of six.

The sweeping victory of former Circuit Judge Joe Eaton over veteran Rep. George Okell for the state Senate was indicative of the "throw-'em-out" sentiment which ran rampant in Dade County and was brought out in the County Commission races.

SEGREGATION BIG ISSUE IN FLORIDA

Times-Picayune

800,000 Democrats Expected to Vote Tuesday

Sun. 5-6-56

By HENDRIX CHANDLER

MIAMI, Fla., May 5 (AP)—A Florida governorship race heated by segregation talk and personality clashes winds up at the polls Tuesday in the Democratic primary election.

New Orleans

An estimated 800,000 Democrats are expected to turnout for the election, in which the battle for governor has completely overshadowed a senatorial contest, four other statewide races and three congressional tilts.

P. 23

Republicans hold a primary the same day but no statewide offices are being contested and a turnout of about 140,000 is expected. Major attractions on the GOP side are two congressional races in south Florida.

The governorship contest is a six-man affair in which incumbent Leroy Collins, 47, is in the rare role of seeking re-election.

Colorful Rivalry

Florida's constitution prohibits a governor from seeking re-election to succeed himself, but the State Supreme Court ruled that the prohibition didn't apply to a part-term governor such as Collins. Collins was elected two years ago to serve out the remainder of the four-year term of Gov. Dan McCarty, who died in office.

This year's race had been heralded as a titanic struggle between Collins, Tallahassee attorney and a tireless salesman of Florida attractions; and silver-haired Fuller Warren, colorful and controversial former governor.

It has turned into a hot four-cornered fight in which former House Speaker Farris Bryant, 41-year-old Ocala attorney, and 63-year-old Sumter L. Lowry of Tampa, also have become major contenders.

Supplies Fireworks

Lowry, plain spoken retired National Guard commander and insurance company head, has supplied some of the campaign's major fireworks by his biting attacks upon his major opponents and on the U. S. Supreme Court.

The two other candidates, Peasley Streets, Lake Park constable; and W. B. Price, Jacksonvile used car salesman, have done comparatively little campaigning.

All of the candidates except Streets have pledged their efforts to preserve segregation, but have differed in their approach.

Streets, who concedes that he has little chance for election, has come out for integration.

Lowry, making his first campaign for public office, has hammered away at the segregation theme, contending it was the only issue.

Attacks Supreme Court

In speech after speech, Lowry has charged that the U. S. Supreme Court acted without any basis in law when it ruled out segregation in the nation's public schools. He has urged that the Florida Legislature be called into special session to adopt an interposition resolution.

Collins and Warren have opposed interposition on the ground that it would be ineffective legally in the fight to preserve segregation, although it might serve as a protest.

The governor said he favored Florida opposing integration "by every lawful and peaceful means" but without emotional furore and disorders which he said would serve to tear down racial relations.

Collins has said Florida was one of three Southern states in which there had been no integration and there would be none. But his opponents repeatedly fired charges that he was "pussyfooting" on the issue.

Race-Baiters Don't Like It

Courier

AME Delegates In 31 Hotels On Miami Beach

Sat. 5-12-56 P. 2

38 a Fla.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By AL DUNMORE

MIAMI—Tensions brought on by a gubernatorial campaign which had reached fever heat over the issue of segregation marred the reception of some 15,000 delegates and visitors to the 35th General Conference of the African Methodist Church here at Dinner Key Auditorium.

While some 31 Miami Beach hotels and a number of restaurants and luncheonettes welcomed the delegates and displayed signs indicating their welcome, Sumpter Lowrie, a candidate for Florida Governor, lashed out against the "invasion of Florida's wonderful resort city by Negroes" on a 15-minute television program on Thursday night.

Lowrie had films taken of the visiting delegates frequenting the white hotels, being served by white waitresses and having white bellmen carry their bags.

■

"Florida sas spent millions of dollars to attract tourists," Lowrie told the audience, "but not this kind of tourist. Negroes were made to wait on white people and here we see white people waiting on Negroes."

Lowrie charged that Governor Collins could have prevented this type of "integration" if he desired.

When questioned by State Hotel Commissioner Richard Edgerton on the matter, Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin said there is no Florida law under which hotels can be forbidden to accommodate Negro guests.

Gov. LeRoy Collins, who found it impossible to deliver an address of welcome to the conference, attempted to explain his position by telling a group of Lions in Allapattah, a section of Miami, that "I was shocked personally by that situation. It was not of my making. As Governor, there was nothing I could do legally to prevent it."

Lowrie had charged that Collins had failed to do anything about the situation because it would "alienate the colored vote."

■

A check at the Blackstone Hotel, headquarters for the brotherhood of the AME Church, revealed that following the broadcast a number of insulting phone calls had flooded the switchboard, but there had been no overt action to show disfavor to the delegates.

On the opening days of the convention, representatives from various beach spots were on hand at Greater Bethel AME Church, where incomers were assigned to homes and hotels, urging that the delegates register in the hotel. One hotel owner's daughter was on hand to greet the guests, informed the delegates that even if they did not register in the hotel, eating facilities of the hotel were open to them.

Collins to Sit Out Adlai-Estes Fight

Herald Miami, Fla.

Thurs 5-10-56

TALLAHASSEE — (UP) — Gov. LeRoy Collins said Wednesday that he will take no active part in the Kefauver-Stevenson campaign for Florida's 28 presidential delegate votes May 29.

"I've had enough campaigning," Collins said. "I said during my campaign that I would keep hands off in this presidential preferential primary and the fact that my own nomination is settled will make no difference in this policy."

P. 1

Collins must make a token campaign between now and the November general election against former Rep. W. A. Washburne, Republican nominee for governor, but nomination in the Democratic primary is tantamount to election in Florida.

Wearing sports attire and dark circles under his eyes, Collins relaxed with newsmen at "The Grove" and discussed reapportionment, segregation and the planned Howard Hughes aircraft factory—all issues in his campaign. While 5-year-old Darby, the youngest Collins daughter, bounced around with her dolls, the governor's pretty wife, Mary Call, hovered in the background taking care of flowers and hundreds of congratulatory wires that poured in from around the state and nation.

"I am just as determined as ever," Collins said, "that we shall maintain segregation and we will fight to do this by lawful and peaceful means. We are not going to have furor, hate or disorder over the issue."

Collins said one of his first acts after returning from a four-day rest at his beach cottage 40 miles from here will be to confer with legislative leaders on both sides of the reapportionment battle which resumes here June 4.

He said he hasn't analyzed returns from legislative races sufficiently to make a specific statement as to what he might expect in the way of a change of attitude in the Senate over major reshuffle of senatorial districts.

Collins added he hasn't changed his opposition to the proposed constitutional amendment to give every county a senator which will be on the November ballot. He didn't say how vigorously he would campaign against its adoption.

Asked about the proposed Hughes aircraft factory which one campaign opponent called a "political hoax," Collins said he still doesn't know its specific location in Florida "but I know Mr. Hughes' plans are progressing satisfactorily and I am personally confident he will do just exactly what he says."

Town in Florida Bars Negroes From Beach

Evening Star Wash. D.C. Thurs. 5-24-56

Washington D.C. P. 2-A

DELRAY BEACH, Fla., May 24 (AP).—The Delray Beach City Commission adopted an ordinance yesterday to prohibit Negroes from using the municipal swimming pool or the municipal beach.

The commission called its action an "emergency ordinance to prevent interracial riots within the city."

"Racial tension has increased in this community to the point that the life of one commissioner has been threatened," the commissioners said.

W. J. Snow was identified by City Clerk R. D. Wirthing as the city commissioner threatened.

Police said the threat—mentioned in a preamble to the new ordinance—was made by telephone. Mr. Snow, asked about it by newsmen, would say nothing.

The new ordinance was adopted without discussion in a public session. It came eight days after the dismissal of a suit in Federal Court at Miami in which nine Negroes sought use of the facilities.

The city previously has had no law to prevent the "intermingling of the Negro and white races," the commission noted. This was the basis for dismissing the suit brought in the Federal Court before Judge Emett Choate May 10.

Representatives of the city told the judge then that "the public beaches always have been open to all people regardless of color."

Little tension had been noted in this South Florida town of some 8,500 persons—including about 2,000 Negroes—before the suit was brought. Four Negro men sunbathed on one section of the beach two days after the decision without incident.

But a group of about 70 Negroes went to the beach last Sunday and met a group of whites of about equal size. They argued several minutes before policemen dispersed them. There was no violence and no arrests were made.

Penalty for violating the law was set at up to $500 fine and up to 90 days in jail.

Court Dismisses Integration Suit

RALEIGH, N. C., May 24 (AP).—In the first test of North Carolina's new school pupil assignment act, the State Supreme Court yesterday dismissed a McDowell County case aimed at integration of students in the Old Fort School.

The appeal was brought by four Negroes who sought to have their children and other Negro children admitted to the white school at Old Fort. They plan to take the case to Federal Court.

The Supreme Court opinion, written by Associate Justice Emory B. Denny, said the proceeding was brought "pursuant to the provisions of our school enrollment statutes." He added "it is not based on an application for assignment relating to named individuals as contemplated by the enrollment statutes."

The court said in effect that the Negroes should have brought individual suits on behalf of the children instead of collectively.

The 1955 Legislature adopted a law empowering local school boards to assign school pupils. This duty previously had been a State matter.

38a 1956

FLORIDA

DR.J.H.G. MONANE
Daytona Beach College

Threaten Florida Teachers

Courier
Sat. 4-21-56
p. 3

White Professor Attending State Meet Quizzed by Police

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By ALBERT J. DUNMORE

PENSACOLA, Fla.—Without any apparent reason, a white professor from Bethune-Cookman College, was taken into custody and quizzed by local police officials. He was attending the Florida State Teachers Association meeting when approached by the officers.

Dr. J. H. G. Monane, social studies professor at the Daytona Beach college, was hustled away from the meeting while talking to this reporter. He was later released but advised to "stay away" from the Municipal Auditorium where the meeting was held.

Earlier in the evening extra police were stationed around the auditorium after police and city officials had received threatening phone calls concerning the meeting of the Negro state teachers' organization.

The manager of the auditorium told this reporter that one call had come to him, during which he was asked, "When will the largest number of Negroes be in the auditorium? We want to know so we can drop something in on them."

■

Four police officers came in and asked Monane to step outside. They hustled him into a waiting police car. A second car filled with plainclothes officers drove off behind the first car.

38a 1956

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Desegregation In North Is Subject Of New Study

World Fri. 5-11-56
Birm. Ala.

NEW YORK—(ANP) —A survey which seeks to establish the number of instances of de-segregation in the North during the last two years and the kinds of institutions or organizations involved, is now being made under a grant from the fund for the Republic, it was announced this week.

The organizer of the survey is David Loth, an author and information executive who served for 17 years on the staff of the New York World and The New York Times. He has been information director for several government and non-profit agents.

SIMILAR SURVEY

He described his project as an "inventory" listing all instances of racial integration in the North which he and his staff of researchers can gather. He added that it is designed to a complement a similar survey which the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta is making of the 17 Southern and Border States.

"We do not propose to comment upon or explain the examples of integration we will list," Loth said. We will include those which came about through voluntary action or court order or the work of pressure groups or even simple shifts in the population of an area. We know we cannot cite every single instance in 31 States, but we do expect to have a representative and comprehensive list of places and groups where Negroes and whites were segregated two years ago but now meet or learn or work or play or worship together.

ALL KINDS

"Our list includes integration in education on all levels, public and private employment, housing, recreation facilities, transportation and accomodations ,religious, health, facilities, official bodies such as juries or school boards and organizations of all kinds -- voluntary agencies and clubs, service groups and professional societies, civic organizations and labor unions.

"A great deal of our material is being collected by our research staff here and in Washington from the files of organizations and publications More is being provided in response to letters we sent to state and local antidiscrimination commissions, church and service organizations, unions and individuals with experience in race relations.

HUNT FOR CASES OF INTEGRATION BEGUN IN NORTH

Daily Tribune
Chicago Ill.
F.M. 4-27-56

New York, April 26 [Special]—A survey to compile a factual inventory of racial integration in the north is under way.

It is being made by a former New York newspaper man and a staff of researchers under a grant from the Fund for the Republic. The fund, set up by the Ford Foundation but now independent of it, says its purpose is to support activities aiming at the elimination of restrictions on freedom.

The organizer of the survey is David Loth, who has also been information director for various government and non-profit agencies.

Aim at Complete List

The aim of the project is to prepare a list of all instances of desegregation in the north where Negroes and whites are separated. The list will include instances resulting from court orders, official mandates, pressure by organized groups, voluntary action, or mere accidents of population shifts.

The survey, Loth said, will match a similar study of the 17 southern and border states being made by the Southern Regional council.

"Ours is strictly a reporting job," Loth said. "We are trying to assemble the bare facts of desegregation without any comment or explanation."

Search Files for Data

Researchers are collecting data from the files of publications and national organizations here and in Washing-

In addition, letters have been sent to several hundred state and local civic and anti-discrimination groups.

"It is expeeted," Loth said, "that both studies, north and south, will be published together to provide as complete a picture as possible of just what has been happening in this highly controversial area of American life."

National attention has been focused on the south and border states, Loth noted, "but segregation is no less unjust because it is practiced in the north."

SURVEY FINDS INTEGRATION EVEN IN SOUTH

Daily Tribune
Chicago Ill.
Sun. 10-30-56

No Longer Solid Front on Segregation

[Reprinted from yesterday's late editions]

New York, Oct. 28 (AP)—The Fund for the Republic said today a two year survey of integration in north and south shows that "there is no longer a solid south of segregation."

A detailed report of the findings of the study was made public by the fund. The studies of desegregation in the north and in the southern and border states were carried out separately by David Loth and Harold Fleming, respectively, under grants from the fund.

The Fund for the Republic receives funds from the Ford Foundation, but operates independently.

Both studies dealt with incidents of desegregation in education, private and public employment, housing, transportation, religion, organizations, recreation, and other public facilities.

Find 1,100 Instances

The period covered is from May, 1954 — when the United States Supreme court ruled that segregation in schools is unconstitutional — to May, 1956.

In a foreword to his report on the 12 "solid south" states and the border states of Oklahoma, Missouri, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, Fleming said:

"The common notion that 'desegregation just can't work' in the south is plainly contradicted by the findings.

"The nearly 1,100 instances of desegregation discoyered were almost evenly divided between the five 'border' states, on the one hand, and the 12 'southern' states on the other. Virtually all of them took place smoothly and harmoniously."

Fleming said the survey showed that the Supreme court decision of 1954 was "simply the most far-reaching in a long series of developments" and desegregation incidents of the last two years "were additions to a substantial list of southern precedents."

Just "Opening Wedges"

Loth, commenting on his findings, said most northern instances of integration were accomplished "without ill will or protests," but added:

"The study should not lead to complacency. Many of the instances cited are no more than opening wedges in breaking down discriminatory practices, particularly in the key fields of employment and housing."

In the field of education, Loth's report showed that four nonsouthern states which authorized segregation in schools before 1954 — Arizona, New Mexico, Kansas, and Wyoming —all had practically eliminated it during the last two years.

Fleming's study showed that more than 350 school districts in nine of the 17 southern and border states had integrated schools to some degree, while in a number of areas where schools were still segregated, school buses were carrying white and Negro children together.

He said only five states—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina — still enforce complete segregation in state supported colleges, and all of those but South Carolina had at least one private college admitting both white and Negro students.

30 Billion Dollars A Year

Afro-American Sat. 9-15

That's what racial discrimination costs the American public each and every year, according to Elmo Roper, business analyst and public opinion expert.

Baltimore Md. P.3

By JACK MOBLEY

38a

Intolerance is expensive.

Elmo Roper, nationally known analyst of business and public opinion, reached an estimate after 12 years of research that the yearly cost of discrimination to American business and industry is $30,000,000,000!

The cost of discrimination? Suppose we reimposed the racial barriers that existed in professional sports just a decade ago.

Sat. 9-15-56

What could it cost the world champion Brooklyn Dodgers? Newcombe, Campanella, Gilliam, Robinson, and Amoros, to name front-line players.

The Chicago Cubs would be barred from using Ernie Banks a man for whom they recently turned down an offer of $300,000 cash.

Willie Mays, another player whose dollar value to his team is judged in the hundreds of thousands, would be unable to play. The Chicago White Sox would lose two-thirds of their outfield.

* * *

IF DISCRIMINATION were imposed on the professional football league, a dozen of the best backs and ends would be lost and the entire league would have to be reshuffled.

Wherever discrimination exists, it is costly. A foreman, or an executive, scientist, doctor or even a good worker is not a chattel who is bought and sold and traded for a set price, as baseball players are.

The financially tiny industry of baseball found that it lost literally millions of dollars worth of manpower by practicing discrimination.

Imagine how astronomical the sum becomes when you apply the same figures to all the businesses that discriminate in employment.

Discrimination is most expensive, of course, to the member of the minority against whom the discrimination is practiced, whether he finds it in a factory hiring $1-an-hour labor or in a university which establishes religious quotas.

Some businesses hire a few colored people or members of other minority groups as a token to show they do not practice discrimination. Some set up quotas.

Some hire many members of minorities but set a ceiling above which they cannot rise.

This is about as realistic as the Baltimore Colts' hiring Buddy Young, one of the fastest ball carriers in football, and telling him he will be used for punting, and will be paid proportionately.

Companies which follow discriminatory practices in promoting workers not only lose directly by forfeiting the executive or supervisory abilities of the minority group, but they suffer in loss of production because of morale.

Discrimination scars an employee, kills his initiative, makes him resentful. It breeds ill feeling among groups of employees.

* * *

ROPER FIGURES these factors in arriving at his 30 billion figure:

— Loss of purchasing power denied min[illegible]roups by low wages.

— Loss of the contribution to society by workers who could move into high-paying vocations where there are manpower shortages, such as medicine, chemistry, engineering.

— The cost of crime, delinquency, and social maladjustment which can be traced directly to discrimination and prejudice.

— The cost of segregation which is the direct result of discriminatory practices.

* * *

THERE ARE OTHER costs, which come right out of our pockets.

The costs of government services in minority group areas of cities, such as a colored section, are 2½ times greater than in the non-minority group areas.

This figures out to between 1½ and 2 billion more in local taxes every year.

When you look over the whole problem, you find that the worst intolerance is usually, but not invariably, found where there is least contact with the minority group.

This has been proved in surveys of community groups, where the groups having no contact with Jews showed more undesirable attitudes than those which did have contact. But a psychologist who made an extensive analysis of white children's behavior toward colored people in both the North and South, concluded: "It seems that attitudes toward colored people are now chiefly determined not by contacts with colored people but by contact with the prevelant attitude toward colored people."

* * *

WHAT CAN AN individual do to combat racial and religious intolerance? Every American who sits in a grandstand and cheers for a player regardless of his skin color is helping to tear down intolerance.

We know that ignorance kept colored players out of baseball. It's safe to say that where ignorance disappears, so does intolerance.

The first step, therefore, in overcoming ignorance about people is to know people of races and religions other than one's own.

There is no better way to achieve this than to get acquainted with your fellow men. Sometimes it is easy — at the shop or office, at a club or union meeting, or in the grandstand at a ball game. Sometimes it is through a church group which takes fellowship seriously.

* * *

THERE ARE OTHER ways an individual can help.

It is important to try to eliminate prejudice at home, so that children don't grow up in an atmosphere of bigotry. Children are not born prejudiced—they have to be taught.

A man should examine himself, and determine what, if any, prejudice exists, and why.

Facts about racial problems can be learned by visiting the library, or by talking with clergymen.

Disapproval of segregation should be shown by refusal to participate in restrictive covenants.

A good citizen can help interracial organizations by letting them know about cases of discrimination in schools, hospitals, parks, or other public places.

* * *

ALL OF THE thousand things in the thousand places will come naturally after a man has discovered in his own mind that discrimination is costly and inhumane.

He may make this discovery at home or in church, at the library, while watching television —or he may find it sitting—in a grandstand shouting his head off for a colored batter on his own team to pound the ball over the fence.

Brains not limited by race, say 18

Afro-American Baltimore Md.

~~Sat. 10-20-56~~

NEW YORK — Eighteen prominent social scientists from the staffs of universities and research institutions throughout the nation Tuesday issued a joint statement attacking as "scientifically unjustified" theories that the intellectual potential of colored persons is inferior to that of whites.

P. 1

The signers, most of them members of the American Psychological Association, include: Prof. Otto Klineberg, Columbia University; Prof. Theodore Newcomb, University of Michigan; Dr. Gardner Murphy, Menninger Foundation;

Also Prof. Nevitt Sanford, Vassar College; Prof. Robin Williams Jr., Cornell University; Prof. David Krech, University of California; Prof. Jerome Bruner, Harvard University;

Also Prof. Allison Davis, University of Chicago; Prof. Daniel Katz, University of Michigan; Prof. Anne Nnastasi, Fordham University; Prof. Stuart Cook, New York University; Prof. Isidor Chein, New York University; Prof. Marie Jahoda, New York University;

Also Prof. Kenneth Clark, College of the City of New York; Prof. Bingham Dai, Duke University School of Medicine; Prof. Irving Lorge Teacher's College, Columbia University; Prof. Solomon Asch, Swarthmore College; and Dr. David Rapaport, Austen Riggs Foundation.

* * *

THE JOINT statement supported its argument by citing positions taken in the past by leading scientific organizations which have "opposed the conclusion that race was a determiner of innate psychological characteristics."

After quoting excerpts from findings of these groups, the statement declared that "we know of no new research which would reverse these conclusions."

The statement criticized the position of "a few specialists" that colored/white differences in intelligence test scores persist even when the two groups are "equated" for social and educational opportunities.

Afro-American

"**TO THIS** we would point out that such 'equation' is exceedingly difficult to achieve, since the opportunities related to test performance are by no means easy to assess in human terms."

The statement said that intelligence quotients of Southern colored children improve markedly after a period of years in unsegregated schools available to them in New York or Philadelphia.

P. 2

The joint statement also attacked the theory that differences in the intelligence quotients persists even when 'noncultural' questions are used.

Sat. 10-20-56

"We would deny the possibility of devising a 'noncultural' test in the light of our present understanding of the problem."

* * *

"NO ONE can deny that at the present time the intellectual achievement of colored children, particularly those who are from segregated schools, is lower on the average than that of white children," the statement said, but it ascribed these differences in achievement to inferior educational opportunities "which may affect both the physical and mental development of the child."

Despite educational and environmental differences, the statement declared, there is "overlapping" between the two racial groups, which means that many colored children do better than the average white child "in spite of all of the handicaps to which the former have in the past been subjected."

"The conclusion is inescapable that any decision to use differences in the average achievement of the two racial groups as a basis for classifying in advance any individual child, colored or white, is scientifically unjustified."

Survey Shows South No Longer Stands Solid For Segregation

News + Observer Sun. 9-16-56

Raleigh N.C.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15 (AP)—After turning up 1,100 examples of racial barriers dropped in all walks of life in Dixie over the past two years, a Southerner concludes: "There is no longer a solid South of segregation."

Reporting on a carefully documented survey of 17 Southern and border states where segregation has been the historic pattern, Harold C. Fleming said:

"The common notion that desegregation just can't work in the South is plainly contradicted by the findings."

The survey turned up examples, by specific location, of desegrgation in schools, housing, public health and welfare, private enterprise, government, public transportation and public accommodations.

Fleming, a native of Georgia and assistant director of the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta, said the survey was by no means complete and that the examples cited must be taken as merely representations.

The council is an interracial group devoted "to equal opportunity for all." Its membership is confined to Southerners.

Fleming's findings—all 1,100 of them—are to be published shortly in book form by the Fund for the Republic, which provided the money for the survey, along with a companion study on the removal of racial barriers in the 31 states outside the South.

The study, now in the hands of the printers, was made available in the aftermath of recent disturbances in the South over the admission of Negroes to public schools in Mansfield, Tex., Clinton, Tenn., Texarkana, Tex., and Sturgis and Clay Ky.

In assessing his state-by-state survey Fleming, a student of his region for 10 years, wrote:

"The 1,100 instances of desegregation discovered were almost evenly divided between the five 'border' states on the one hand and the 12 'Southern' states on the other. Virtually all of them took place smoothly and harmoniously.

"Obviously, a large reservoir of good will and capacity for change exists among private citizens, even in states where the official climate is harsh. There is no longer a solid South of segregation."

The survey covers the period from May 17, 1954—date of the U.S. Supreme Court decision holding school segregation unconstitutional—to May of this year.

It is the first regionwide attempt to find out what movements toward integration have taken place in the wake of the court's opinion among all segments of Southern life.

The survey did not deal with what was expected to take place but what has actually happened. More than 350 school districts in 9 of the 17 states had integrated to some degree. There were no integrated public elementary or secondary schools in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Virginia or North or South Carolina.

Negro children were attending previously all-white Catholic parochial schools in 21 Southern cities located in Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Since 1935 some 164 accredited colleges and universities in Southern and border states and the District of Columbia have opened their doors to Negroes. Of these 164 now open to Negroes, 95 have newly desegregated at some level since May 1954.

As of May this year, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina enforced complete segregation in state-supported institutions. However, all but South Carolina had at least one private college which admitted students of both races.

In the field of public service, Maryland stood at the top of the list in the number of Negroes appointed or elected in the two years inventoried. At least 11 Maryland Negroes were named, all but one for the first time, to city and state posts.

Fleming noted here that developments in this field are not a reliable measure of the extent of Negro representation. For example, he said, in 1954 Negroes already were serving on city councils in at least 11 Southern cities and held elective or appointive office in more than 20 others.

Public Housing.

In public housing, Fleming found "segregation not only deeply entrenched but virtually unchallenged in the South."

Even so, this field was not without its exceptions. Negroes were living in public housing projects occupied by whites in Taylor and Crystal City, Tex.; Baltimore; Charleston, W. Va.; St. Louis; and Rayne, La.

As for transportation, Fleming reported that "local transit systems known to have dropped segregation were found in Texas, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Arkansas.

Among religious groups 20 newly integrated ministerial associations were counted — four with elected Negro officers. Fleming noted, however, "the overwhelming majority of churches continue to serve either white or Negro congregations, although at least 10 formerly white churches accepted Negro members."

As for hotels, restaurants and theaters, Fleming observed, "desegregation in public accommodations and theaters has been confined so far mainly to cities in the border states, chiefly St. Louis and Louisville.

"Instances of new desegregated seating in motion picture theaters were found in five border states cities, and some eating places began serving both races in a like number of communities."

Why did the council undertake the survey at this time? Fleming explained in his summary: "It is universally recognized that this is a time of trouble in the South . . . In recent months dissension and conflict have dominated the news from the region. The danger is that Southerners themselves, to say nothing of people elsewhere, will be blinded to the constructive evidence and will surrender to fear and discouragement."

President Says U. S. Leaves Racial Control Up to States

Herald Tribune Thurs. 9-6-56

By Joseph R. Slevin

WASHINGTON, Sept. 5.—President Eisenhower today said the Federal government must be "very careful" not to use its police powers in school desegregation disputes until the states have shown that they can't keep order.

New York

The local authorities "have moved promptly to stop the violence" in each disturbance that has arisen since the schools began reopening for the fall term, he declared.

"Under the law, the Federal government cannot—in the ordinary normal case of keeping order and preventing rioting—cannot move into a state until the state is not able to handle the matter," Mr. Eisenhower told his news conference.

There has been no proof as yet that the states have shown "their inability or their refusal to grapple with this question properly," he said.

The President voiced his opposition to hasty Federal intervention in local conflicts when asked specifically about recent disorders in Mansfield, Tex., and more generally about "several instances of violence and near-violence."

Two racial disturbances have come to national attention during the past week: the attempts of white mobs to block the registration of Negro students at Mansfield and at Clinton, Tenn.

Mr. Eisenhower stressed, as he has before, that it will take time to carry out the two-year-old Supreme Court school desegregation ruling.

"It is difficult through law and through force, to change a man's heart," he said. "But I do believe that we must all, regardless of our calling in this world, help to bring about a change in spirit so that extremists on both sides do not defeat what we know is a reasonable, logical conclusion to this whole affair—which is recognition of equality of men.

"Now there, the South is full of people of good will, but they are not the ones we now hear. We hear the people that are adamant and are so filled with prejudice that they . . . even resort to violence; and the same way on the other side of the thing, the people who want to have the whole matter settled today.

Herald Tribune

"This is a question of leading and training and teaching people, and it takes some time, unfortunately."

Must Uphold Constitution

At that point he avoided giving a direct answer when asked whether he indorses the Supreme Court ruling or merely accepts it.

He said his attitude "makes no difference." The President must conform to the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court and do his "very best" to see that it is carried out, he said.

Democratic Presidential nominee Adlai E. Stevenson has indorsed the Supreme Court decision. He urged that an "unequivocal" indorsement be included in the 1956 Democratic platform.

A reporter asked Mr. Eisenhower whether he has talked to the Justice Department about the stand taken by Gov. Allan Shivers of Texas while restoring order in Mansfield. The reporter said Gov. Shivers had ordered the Texas Rangers to reassign Negro pupils to schools outside of Mansfield and had declared: "I defy the Federal government."

Lacks Facts on Texas

The President said he has not discussed the Texas events because he is not familiar with either the order or the Shivers statement. He added that the government has sent for a copy of a Federal District Court order that calls for integration of the Mansfield schools.

Asked whether he believes Gov. Shivers surrendered to mob rule by barring the Negro students from Mansfield, he said he does not know whether the Governor ordered the Negroes transferred permanently or "until the situation is under control."

The President said he wants to emphasize this: "Certainly, every liberal will be jealous of protecting the locality's right to execute the police power in this country. When police power is exercised habitually . . . by the Federal government, we are in a bad way."

Can't Trust South With Desegregation

Afro-American p. 5 Baltimore Md.
9-23-56

NEW YORK—Colored Southerners do not seriously expect much change in their civil rights status if white Southerners are permitted to work out the present crisis over desegregation in their own way.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, issues a plea that desegregation not be left up to the South in a copyrighted magazine article.

Writing in the New York Times Magazine, the noted sociologist declares that the most significant improvements in the southern status of southern colored people have come as a result of Federal insistence and world opinion.

DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, president of Fisk University, writes that state governments in the South are dominated by rural legislators whose overall attitude is "anti-labor, anti-capital, anti-race, anti-liberal, anti-civil rights, anti-education, anti-intellectual, anti-technology and anti-Federal Government."

"It is a tragic pity," he writes, "that while the rest of the world is giving new attention and respect to basic human rights, every device from subversion of law to violence is being employed to defeat the Constitution, and with such frantic desperation that no voice of stern national statesmanship dares defy, without apology and compromise, this organized retreat from freedom to tyranny and feudalism."

THE MIDDLE - OF - THE ROAD philosophy that seems to dominate much of the nation's thinking in matters pertaining to race is due to a confusion of the "moral imperatives," according to the article.

The arguments being advanced in defense of the "southern way of life" are "illusory" and "reckless" and completely ignore the views of southern colored people. This, Dr. Johnson states, is part of the "southern way."

He cites as an example efforts to discredit integration by "proving" that colored children are not as intellectually capable as white children. "It is a tortuous logic that would use the tragic results of inequality to establish the need of continuing it."

* * *

DR. JOHNSON OBSERVES, in this connection, that in the comprehensive intelligence tests for army recruits, colored recruits from Ohio, where better schools are available, scored higher than white recruits from every state of the South except Florida, where there has been an appreciable northern migration.

He concludes with the observation that this is not basically a struggle between white and colored, or the North and the South, or between the national and international points of view, but a struggle between those who believe in democracy and those who do not.

FISK PREXY SAYS NEGROES DON'T EXPECT MUCH RIGHTS CHANGE

California Voice San Francisco, Calif. 7 mi. 10-5-56

NEW YORK, Oct. 1.—Southern Negroes do not seriously expect much change in their civil rights status through "grass roots conversion," despite the insistence of white southerners that the region should be left to work out the present racial crisis in its own way, President Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University declares in a copyrighted article in the New York Times Magazine.

38a

State governments in the South are dominated by rural legislators, whose overall attitude, is "anti-labor, anti-capital, anti-race, anti-liberal, anti-civil rights, anti-education, anti-intellectual, anti-technology, anti-Federal Government." Most significant improvements in the southern Negro's status have come, consequently, as a result of Federal insistence and world public opinion, according to the noted sociologist.

"It is a tragic pity," he writes, "that while the rest of the world is giving new attention and respect to basic human rights, every device from subversion of law to violence is being employed to defeat the Constitution, and with such frantic desperation that no voice of stern national statesmanship dares defy, without apology and compromise, this organized retreat from freedom to tyranny and feudalism."

The middle-of-the-road philosophy that seems to dominate much of the nation's thinking in matters pertaining to race is due to a confusion of the "moral imperatives," according to the Johnson article. Transcending the future of any segment of the population is the fate of constitutional government in America. "There can be no middle-of-the-road attitude toward morality and legality, if the fabric of our society is to remain inviolate."

"When there is repudiation of the Supreme Court, our ultimate constitutional authority, on one issue, there is repudiation of the Court and the law on any and all issues."

The arguments being advanced in defense of the "southern way of life" are "illusory" and "reckless," and completely ignore the views f southern Negroes. "This," Dr. Johnson states, is part of the "southern way."

He cites as an example efforts to discredit integration by "proving" that Negro chilidren are not as capable intellectually as white children. "It is a tortuous logic that would use the tragic results of inequality to establish the need of continuing it."

Dr. Johnson observes, in this connection, that in the comprehensive intelligence tests for army recruits, Negro recruits from Ohio, where better schools are available, scored higher than white recruits from every state of the South except Florida, where there has been an appreciable northern migration.

He concludes with the observation that this is not basically a struggle between whites and Negroes, or the North and the South, or between the national and international points of view, but a struggle between those who believe in democracy and those who do not.

Don't Leave Desegregation Up to South

Am. 10-5-56
Oklahoma City Okla.

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk university, says in a copyrighted magazine article that Southern Negroes do not seriously expect much change in their civil rights status if white southerners are permitted to work out the present racial crisis in their own way.

Black Dispatch

Writing in the New York Times Magazine, the noted sociologist declares that the most significant improvements in southern Negro status have come as a result of federal insistence and world opinion.

p. 2

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"It is a tragic pity," he writes, "that while the rest of the world is giving new attention and respect to basic human rights, every device from subversion of law to violence is being employed to defeat the Constitution, and with such frantic desperation that no voice of stern national statesmanship dares defy, without apology and compromise, this organized retreat from freedom to tryanny and founalism."

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Our Opinions

Defender P. 9

Sat. 10-13-56

Fisk U. President Flays The South

382 P. 9

President Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University came out of his (Southern) corner literally swinging both fists at Dixie in a devastating attack which has left the South groggy. Chicago Ill.

Dr. Johnson, as every one knows, is given to considerable patience and forbearance. But, the violence with which many of the states below the Mason and Dixie line greeted the Court's school decree, has stirred the ire of the learned Fisk President.

Writing in a recent issue of the New York Times magazine, Johnson was unsparing in his criticism of the South's backward agrarian economy, its medieval mores and politics.

In his view, one which every enlightened person shares, the South is so busy defeating "civil rights" that scarcely any attention is given to such matters as health, welfare and the economy of the region. Moreover, it was pointed out that those who invest themselves with the authority to speak for the South and preserve its idiotic "way of life," are in truth the "greatest present danger to American democracy."

By holding down nearly 10 million solely for the purpose of perpetuating an indefensible system, the South is not only a danger to American democracy, it is also its own worse enemy. For, its social policy has not only retarded the Negro, it has impoverished an economy that has all the warrants of productivity.

With impeccable logic, Dr. Johnson observed that the most obvious and immediate outlet for an expanding economy is the increased purchasing power of the underdeveloped markets at home. But, argued Johnson that is impossible in a social economy that artificially limits earning power through a restrictive social system.

"We cannot escape the fact," Johnson declared, "that the Negro minority market alone, even when held down by unequal opportunity and limited education to one half its potential, is equal to the total wealth of Canada or to our total foreign exports."

Johnson is of the opinion that basically, the struggle for human rights is not between North and South or whites and Negroes, or between the national and international points of view. It is a struggle, he said, between those who believe in democracy and those who do not.

To-date, Dr. Johnson has the distinction of being the lone educator North or South, white or black with the moral courage and conviction to speak above whisper and in broad daylight concerning the South's negative philosophy in the context of American democracy. In so doing he is rendering a service to humanity at large.

Fisk President, In Magazine Article Mistrusts "RFD" Solons On Segregtion

New York—Southern Negroes do not seriously expect much change in their civil rights status through "grass root conversion," despite the insistence of white southerners that the reign should be left to work out the present racial crisis in its own way, President Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University declares in a copyrighted article in the New York Times Magazine.

State governments in the South are dominated by rural legislators whose overall attitude is "anti-labor, anti-capital, anti-race, anti-liberal, anti-civil rights, anti-education, anti-intellectual, anti-technology, anti-Federal Government," most significant improvements in the southern Negro's status have come, consequently, as a result of Federal insistence and world public opinion, according to the noted sociologist.

"It is a tragic pity," he writes, "that while the rest of the world is giving new attention and respect to basic human rights, every device from subversion of law to violence is being employed to defeat the Constitution, and with such frantic desperation that no voice of stern national statesmanship dares defy, without apology and compromise, this organized retreat from freedom to tyranny and fuedalism."

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On segregation coverage—

South's protest letters apparently having effect

News Wash. 3-29-56 P. 12

BY JAMES FREE, News Washington correspondent

WASHINGTON, March 29—Those Southern letters of protest to big national magazines about their coverage of the segregation issue in the South are having a good effect.

Birm, Ala.

"I think you will find that Time and Life and Look are less harsh in their articles about the South and about Southerners in Congress than they were only a few weeks ago," said Courtney Pace, administrative assistant to Sen. James O. Eastland.

"A number of times in the past Time magazine has made nasty comment about Sen. Eastland," said Mr. Pace. "And we were looking for the worst when the magazine did a cover piece on the senator last week. But it was a lot better than we thought it would be. On the whole, they were much more fair than in the past."

AND PACE knows that the big magazines have been getting protest letters from Dixie. "A lot of people in Mississippi and Alabama and other states have sent us carbon copies of their letters," he explained.

In the week after Time's cover picture and story on Eastland, Pace said that only a few dozen communications about it had been received.

"Everything that's come in so far has been favorable to the senator and what he stands for," said Pace. "I guess one reason why the other side has not been heard from is that the article was on the temperate side.

"It's those one-sided, nasty articles that stir up the poison pen people."

PACE SAID he hoped that this change for the better in national magazine coverage of the segregation issue in the South will continue.

"Those letters from the South seem to have shown those publishers that it is a short-sighted policy to print slanted stories about what happens in Mississippi and Alabama," he said. "Nobody will object if they carry both sides of the story.

INTEGRATION DATA OF NORTH SOUGHT

Times P. 70-L

Fund for Republic Finances Survey—Report Without Comment Is the Aim

Sun. 4-15-56

A survey to compile a factual inventory of racial integration in the North is under way.

It is being made by a former New York newspaper man and a staff of researchers under a grant from the Fund for the Republic. The fund was set up by the Ford Foundation but is now independent of it. The Fund for the Republic says its purpose is to support activities aiming at the elimination of restrictions on freedom.

New York, N.Y.

The organizer of the survey is David Loth, formerly of The New York Times and The New York World. He has also been information director for various Government and nonprofit agencies.

The aim of the project, he said yesterday, is the preparation of a list of all instances of desegregation in northern areas where Negroes and whites were separated. The list, he explained, will include instances resulting from court orders, official mandates, pressure by organized groups, voluntary action or mere accidents of population shifts.

The survey, he added, will match a similar study of the seventeen southern and border states being made by the Southern Regional Council.

Job Is Strictly Reporting

"Ours is strictly a reporting job," Mr. Loth said. "We are trying to assemble the bare facts of desegregation without any comment or explanation. We propose to make an inventory of institutions, organizations or opportunities which, formerly confined to one race, now are open to members of both.

"We have divided these into the following categories: education on all levels, housing, jobs whether in factories or the professions, recreation facilities, transportation and public accommodations, religion, health facilities, official bodies such as juries or school boards and organizations of all kinds whether voluntary agencies or clubs or service groups or civic organizations."

Researchers are collecting data from the files of publications and national organizations here and in Washington. In addition, letters asking for information have been sent to several hundred state and local antidiscrimination commissons, church and professional groups, service and civic bodies, unions and individuals with experience in race relations. The study was begun a month ago.

"We have received the most encouraging cooperation," Mr. Loth said.

The inventory is confined to instances of the last two years.

"One reason is that this reduces the task to manageable proportions," Mr. Loth said. "Another is that it has seemed most appropriate to focus the similar southern inventory on the period since the Supreme Court decision in the public school cases.

Complete Picture Sought

"It is expected that both studies, North and South, will be published together to provide as complete a picture as possible of just what has been happening in this highly controversial area of American life.

"While we do not believe we will learn of every single instance of desegregation in the thirty-one states we are covering, we hope to present a thoroughly representative picture of what has taken place in the North in the last two years."

Mr. Loth said that "many leaders of both races have told us that such an inventory as we are compiling will be valuable in maintaining and continuing the orderly progress of desegregation."

"They and we believe," he added, "that it can give help to those who may be hesitating in a desegregation program, ammunition to those who face resistance or apathy in similar attempts and a more balanced account of facts to offset the sensational aspects of some current racial problems."

National attention has been focused on the South and border states, Mr. Loth noted. "But segregation is no less unjust because it is practiced in the North, as southern spokesmen frequently point out. Our inventory, we hope, will provide really comprehensive factual data on which to base a judgment as to how successfully the North is proceeding."

Pulse of the Public

Constitution

'Those Who Attack Integrity and Motives Of Supreme Court Do the South an Injustice'

Mon. 4-16-56 P. 4 Atlanta, Ga.

Augusta—As a new Englander and as a temporary resident of Augusta, it has been my experience that in our newspapers and other outlets for public expression the views and motives of both North and South have been misrepresented.

The people I have known in the North have been brought up to consider the Negro race our equal as far as potential and rights are concerned and also to believe that existing cultural, social, and economic inequalities may be corrected through legal and social change. We have received this training in the family, in the school and in the church. Many of us have been brought up with Negroes as neighbors, played ball with them and gone to school with them, which has strengthened this basic attitude.

Questioning the sincerity of Northern people, and attacking the integrity of the Supreme Court is unrealistic, is resented as much as the South resents Northern intrusion and tends to set up a barrier to Northern understanding of your problems.

F. K. BERLEW.

* * *

GOP Foreign Policy Called Pure Bungling

Atlanta—Ralph McGill's analysis of Dulles' foreign policy bungling and mismanagement is as interesting as it is thought-provoking. The mistakes are so many and so obvious that one need not engage in partisan politics to detect them.

To cite just one example, we can cite Israel in the Middle East turmoil. If our State department would make an emphatic statement to Egypt's Nasser and the Arab leaders that Israel is here to stay as an independent nation, there might be hope for peace, at least in that part of the world.

JOSEPH D. FRANCO.

* * *

Pioneer Society Asks For Trash Containers

Atlanta — It is understandable why the members of Atlanta's pioneer families take special pride in the appearance of the streets of our city. Therefore, we suggest that containers be supplied to those points where the paper carriers assemble to arrange the papers for distribution to subscribers, leaving great quantities of paper wrappings, etc., to be blown over sidewalks making a most unsightly litter.

If this suggestion meets the approval of those with the authority to act upon this suggestion it will be deeply appreciated.

ATLANTA PIONEER WOMEN'S SOCIETY.

* * *

Tenseness in South Blamed on Radicals

Stone Mountain — Thinking persons today realize that radicals on both sides were responsible for the War Between the States.

Lincoln kept this element, even in his own cabinet, under control but having put him out of the way this evil influence prevailed.

The suggestion of a senator from Oregon that a police force patterned after the famed Canadian Mounties be sent into the South plainly shows that these same influences are again at work. Today

Conflict Over Segregation to Fear of Progress

Sun. 4-15-56

The "open conflict" over racial segregation in the South is caused by a fear of progress that prevails throughout the country, Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer of Washington, author and lecturer, declared here yesterday.

New York, N.Y.

MRS. MEYER ASKS BIRACIAL STUDIES

Times P. 44-L

Author-Lecturer Attributes

Mrs. Meyer delivered the principal address at the sixth annual alumni conference of the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University. More than 600 social workers attended the lecture, which was held in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Heavenly Rest, Fifth Avenue at Ninetieth Street.

"The all-prevailing tendency in our country today is to fear progress, accept conformity of thought and call everyone a socialist who recommends change," Mrs. Meyer said. "If continued, this can only lead to dangerous animosities and to open conflict, which at this moment is gaining headway in the South over segregation.

"This crucial problem must be seen as a more acute form of irrationalism, anti-intellectualism, intolerance and group hostilities, which exist in every community. Thus we are all at fault, not merely Southern politicians, for this alarming rebellion against the Supreme Court."

U. S. Commission Favored

Mrs. Meyer recommended that white and Negro community leaders work together in the South on a solution to the problem. She urged social workers to support the appointment of a biracial Federal commission to investigate segregation. Similar commissions should then be set up on state and local levels, she added.

In the afternoon there were panel discussions in the school, Fifth Avenue at Ninety-first Street, on civil liberties, legislation, local community activities and party politics.

In the civil rights panel, Dean Kenneth D. Johnson of the school called for withholding all Fed-

eral money from any state that defied the Supreme Court decision on segregation. In the discussion of politics, City Councilman Stanley Isaacs urged social workers to establish friendly relations with both political parties. Stanley H. Lowell, assistant to Mayor Wagner, also urged political activity, but not partisanship, upon social workers.

In the panel on legislation, Julius Edelstein, executive assistant to Senator Herbert H. Lehman, said that juvenile delinquency was a national problem but that the Federal Government had not yet taken responsibility for meeting it.

In the discussion of local community activities, Mrs. Mildred Galef, president of the White Plains Council of Community Services, cautioned social workers that they would be judged by what practical help they could give the people.

Says Negroes Ready To Pay Price For Justice, Freedom

Inferno P.1 Sat. 9-29-56 Houston, Tex.

NEW YORK —— The American Negro is prepared for trouble "if that is the price" in his fight for "justice and freedom," a prominent Negro writer said today.

Prize-winning reporter - author Carl Rowan described "What Negroes Really Want" in an article in the new issue of Look Magazine.

"From illiterate cotton pickers to college presidents," Mr Rowan said, "I heard the same story."

"The Negro wants his children to grow up free from the scourages of illness, ignorance and poverty.

He wants the opportunity to work at the best job for which his training qualify him.

"He wants to live in a society where individuals are free to associate, whatever their race or background.

"The Negro wants a voice in the government that shapes his life.

"Perhaps most of all, the Negro wants the dignity to which free men are entitled. He wants to be judged on his individual merits as a first-class American citizen, and not as a savage whose tastes remain close to the caterpillar and cockroach," as Judge Tom P. Brady of Brookhaven, Mississippi, put it."

"The Negro is confident," Mr Rowan said in Look, because, "There is a new Negro in the land. He is better educated, economically stronger, and he strides toward freedom with a determination bolstered by the knowledge that the major forces at work in the world are on his side."

Race Problem Seen More Important Than A-Bomb

Daily World P.1 Fri, 6-22-56 Atlanta, Ga.

NEW YORK—The race problem, a recently-completed national survey discloses, is considered more important by the American public than the atom bomb, international hostility, juvenile delinquency, or any other problem. It is the most frequently mentioned problem in the U. S. today.

In the second of a series of articles based on the first national race problem survey, the July Catholic Digest reveals that North and South, Negroes and whites combined, the Negro-white problem is viewed as most important by 45 percent of those interviewed. Juvenile delinquency trails far behind with only 36 percent considering it most important, while 32 percent regard the atom bomb as the big problem.

While more than half of the northern whites and Negroes of both sections think of the problem in terms of white prejudice, fear, and hatred, (and the resulting discrimination and inequality), only about one-fourth of southern whites would accept a definition along these lines.

Nearly half the southern whites think that the real problem is desegregation. In response to the query "What would you say seems to be standing most in the way of solving the Negro-white problem today?", prejudice is the obstacle named by most people, even among southern whites. But, in the opinion of Negroes and northern whites, the southern whites themselves are the second most serious obstacle.

Among southern whites, although 24 percent see "prejudice" as the major difficulty, 14 percent think desegregation blocks a solution, and 10 percent say it is "agitation and publicity."

Most people also, the Catholic Digest survey shows, think the race problem a difficult one to solve. The definition "hard problem" was given by 26 percent of northern whites; 88 percent of southern whites; 81 percent of the northern Negroes, and 72 percent of southern Negroes.

Negroes, however, are much more inclined to think that progress is being made towards a solution. About one-third of the whites interviewed think the problem will never be solved. But only one-tenth of the Negroes take so sombre a view.

Asked how long they thought it would take to solve the problem, northern whites estimated 27 years as compared with the southern white estimate of 16 years. Northern Negroes estimate a solution may be arrived at in 23 years while southern Negroes believe solution will come in 10.

Additional material gathered in this first nation-wide survey of attitudes towards the Negro-white problem will appear in subsequent issues of the Catholic Digest. The survey was made for the Digest by an independent opinion research firm.

Sees Integrated Society As Inevitable In U. S.

Daily World P.1 Sat. 6-9-56 Atlanta, Ga.

NASHVILLE, Tenn —The inevitability of an integrated America was heraled here this week by one of this country's top women newspaper executives.

Mrs. Robert L. Vann, publisher said "It (integration) may come too slowly for some of us and it may come too fast for others, but, as sure as night follows doy, it is coming."

Mrs. Vann was principal speaker at 1956 baccalaureate-commencement exercises at Jewell Academy. She addressed a graduating class to nearly 100 members and friends and relatives here to see the colorful program from 20 states.

She emphatically denied the claim that integration would lead to "mongrelization" of the races or that it would open the way for Negroes to marry whites.

"Negro men and women are not interested in marrying anybody just because of race," pointed out Mrs. Vann.

"Prepare," she told the graduates, "for integration when that sure day arrives."

Bishop M. L. Jewell, founder-director of Jewell Academy, reported "unusual progress in all departments of the academy for 1955-56." Bishop Jewell is senior bishop and chief overseer of the Church of the Living God. Pilar and Ground of Truth, which supports the school financially.

SEDITION POWER FOR STATES GAINS

Times P. 40-C

Senate Unit Approves Bill to Restore Rights Ended by High Court Ruling

Thu. 6-7-56 New York, N.Y.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 31—A bill to restore the validity of state anti-sedition laws was approved today by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The measure would, in effect, wipe out a controversial decision by the Supreme Court that Congress had pre-empted the field for Federal Jurisdiction. The 6-to-3 decision was handed down last April 2 in the case of Steve Nelson, a Communist leader. He had been convicted under Pennsylvania law of encouraging the "seditious overthrow" of the United States.

The Supreme Court held that conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the Federal Government was punishable only under the Smith Act, passed by Congress in 1940. The decision did not limit the power of states to pupnish sedition against state governments.

The Nelson decision drew strong criticism from some members of Congress and state attorneys general. At a Senate Inteurnal Security subcommittee hearing on the case, Senators Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, and James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, attacked the Supreme Court justices as "politicians instead of lawyers."

Bridges Introduces Bill

Some forty-one states have their own sedition laws. At a meeting of the National Association of Attorneys General last weke, a resolution supporting Congressional action to reverse the effect of the Nelson decision was approved 31 to 10. The Justice Department also has endorsed the legislation.

The bill approved today was introduced by Senator Styles Bridges, Republican of New Hampshire, with eleven Republican and thre Democratic cosponsors. There was no record vote in the Judiciary Committee on the motion to send the legislation out.

Much broader and more drastic legislation also has been introduced in the field. It would provide that no law of Congress pre-empt any legislative subject for Federal control unless the law specifically provides so.

A bill like Senator Bridges', dealing only with the sedition law, also ispending before the House Judiciary Committee. A subcommittee of that group heard testimony favoring it today from the Massachusetts Commission to Investigate Communism and Subversive A ties. Members of the commiss said the Nelson decision virtually had "put them out of business."

VOICE Of The People

Herald P. 3-6
Sun. 9-9-56
Miami, Fla.

School Days

—Minneapolis Star

GENERAL

foreigners, how can we, here in the South, keep it from the Southern Negro? It is his right as a citizen of the United States and who are we to take it away.

Visit any northern city and you will find the foreign groups living all to themselves. They eat their native foods, speak only their native tongues. They refuse to integrate with other nationalities. I do not have anything against these people but I feel that they owe the United States a certain amount of loyalty.

The Negro is a patriotic American who eats the same food you and I do and who speaks the same language and yet we hold him back. We do not accept him because in the eyes of some, the Negro is beneath him in class.

It seems ridiculous to me that we spend millions of dollars each year in propaganda to send over to Europe and Asia about our wonderful land with "equal rights" for all. All the Communists need is one story about the burning of crosses in front of the homes of Supreme Court judges and all our money has gone to waste.

My only disappointment with the Southern Negro is that he hasn't fought for his rights all these years.

BARBARA WINN PAPE

Oh Yeah!

Defender P. 9
Sat. 9-22-56
Chicago, Ill.

Doesn't Make Sense

Herald P. 3-6
Sun. 9-9-56
Miami, Fla.

We Accept Foreigners But Segregate Negroes

Editor The Herald: This country opens its doors to scores of foreign people each year. They come here because they are oppressed in their native lands and they truly believe that America is "the land of the free."

Each year many of these people of foreign background reach the highest peaks in business and the arts.

If we are to give this wonderful gift of freedom to these

Most Say They Are 'Different'

Defender Sat. 8-4-56
Chicago, Ill.

NEW YORK — Eight out of ten Whites agree with the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal." Seven out of ten say they like, rather than dislike, most Negroes. Yet only four out of ten Whites would be willing to live next door to Negroes. Only five of ten would even be willing to live in the same neighborhood.

Why? "Because Negroes are different, that's why." Approximately half the Whites in the U. S. say that and many of the reasons they give reveal extreme dislike for most Negroes.

There are some of the facts reported in the August Catholic Digest in the first naitonal survey of Negro-White relations. A wide gap between principle and practice was revealed by the answers to the survey questions.

PEOPLE CHANGE ANSWERS

People would tell the questioner that they believed one thing, then admit cheerfully a few minutes later that they practiced another. Certain persons kept a consistent point of view throughout the interview. But many kept switching about, according to whether the questions were abstract or concrete.

Despite the fact that seven out of 10 Whites claim to like Negroes the answers to specific questions showed very different reactions. In the South, though two-thirds of the Whites like Negroes, half would draw the line at working next to them. Fully eight out of

Confucious Says

ten would refuse to live next door. In the North, half the Whites would draw the line at living next door to a Negro family.

THINK NEGROES DIFFERENT

Ideals apart, just about half of white Americans feel that Negroes are "different."

"Except for their color, in what ways would you say that Negroes are different from Whites". They aren't different; one-half of the northern Whites and a fourth of the southern Whites say that. Those who said the are different gave more derogatory explanations than did neutral or favorable ones.

The strange thing about all this is not so much the fact that many people look down on Negroes or wouldn't live next door to them. The strange thing is that so many people who believe in differences still say they like Negroes and say that all men are created equal.

In theory, most Whties accept Negroes. In practice, few do. How does this affect the race problem? It might indicate that most Whites are probably ready to admit Negroes as legal equals, though not as social equals. For when Whites think abstractly of the Negro race, they tend to think of Negroes as the equals of other Whites. But certainly not, in terms of the "different Negro next door, the equal of themselves."

Davis Stresses His Stand on Segregation

Journal + Constitution
Sun. 11-28-56
Atlanta, Ga.
P. 6-B

The segregation question has been raised as a campaign issue in the Fifth District congressional race by Rep. James C. Davis.

Meanwhile, his Republican opponent announced formation of a "Doctors for Thrower" organization, along with some new members of the "Democrats for Thrower."

Rep. Davis, in a major campaign speech, cited his own stand against integration and declared:

"You know how my Republican opponent stands on these questions. We cannot look to either candidate for president for help. Help will have to come from Congress. I offer you sincere, vigorous, aggressive support of our customs, institutions and way of life."

He read a Negro newspaper clipping on a speech by an Atlanta Republican official which cirticized the congressional investigation of Washington school integration headed by Rep. Davis.

* * *

THE SPEECH was made by John W. Lundeen of the Fulton County Republican Committee to the West Side Voters League, a Negro organization, according to Rep. Davis' speech. Mr. Lundeen was quoted as saying the Davis probe was "embarrassing not only to you but also to the entire United States. He did it to promote himself and the one-party system in Georgia."

Rep. Davis then read a statement from the chairman of the House District of Columbia Committee, which declared Rep. Davis and his committee had carried out the school investigation "without the thought of gaining any political advantage or for the purpose of embarrassing anyone."

His committee performed a service to the nation in bringing out "sordid facts" about the Washington school integration, Rep. Davis said. It worked against "frantic and determined" efforts by the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People and others to stop the probe, he said.

* * *

"YET I AM opposed by a vote-hunting Republican who, in his effort to obtain the votes of the minority pressure blocs who can be influenced by the NAACP, and to rouse their hostility and antagonism to me in this campaign is telling them that I created this subcommittee and carried out this investigation to embarrass the Negroes and the whole United States, and to promote myself and the one-party system in the Fifth District of Georgia," Rep. Davis asserted.

He also accused Mr. Thrower of taking no stand "upon any legislative program, even noncontroversial programs, to say nothing of those which are heated and controversial."

* * *

THROWER HEADQUARTERS announced formation of the doctors' group Saturday.

The group has written a letter to all members of the DeKalb and Fulton Medical Assns., urging support of Mr. Thrower as a means of abolishing the county unit system in Fifth District congressional races.

Listed as signers of the letter are Dr. R. Bruce Logue, Dr. H. Walker Jernigan, Dr. Robert L. Whipple, Dr. James P. Hanner, Dr. Arthur J. Merrill, Dr. Hal M. Davidson, Dr. Charles K. Howard and Dr. John Akin.

The doctors' letter said that "we have rarely had the privilege of placing a man of Mr. Thrower's position in public office."

New women members of the "Democrats for Thrower" were announced as: Mrs. J. Winston Huff, Mrs. George Goodwin, Mrs. F. Levering Neely, Mrs. James S. Moore, Mrs. William C. Pauley, Mrs. Josephine J. Heyman, Mrs. Paul Courtney Gaertner, Mrs. Cullen B. Gosnell, Mrs. Brad Ansley, Mrs. W. A. Alexander and Mrs. Richard Hocking.

38a 1956 GENERAL

Colored People Around The World

When Juan Peron, exiled Argentina dictator, and his new girlfriend left Panama Airport for Venezuela, S.A., he was accompanied by this colored aide.

This United States seaman smiles at a General Hospital nurse in far away Malay, Asia, after donating blood to the Red Cross.

Afro-American Sat. 9-1-56 Baltimore Md.

Thousands 'passed,' says Life in segregation series

Afro-American 9-15 Baltimore, Md. Sat. 9-15-56

NEW YORK — "Since 1900 several hundred thousand Americans having a portion of colored blood may have 'passed' or become 'white,'" says Life Magazine in its current (Sept. 10) issue, the second installment in a five-part series on the "Background of Segregation."

The current Life issue states that only 15 per cent of the American colored population is of unmixed African descent, all others having white, American Indian or both in their ancestry.

An Oregon miscegenation law once defined a colored person as anyone having one fourth colored blood. In Missouri, Florida, and South Carolina and other southern border states, various laws have defined a colored person as anyone having as little as one-eighth colored blood.

The ultimate is reached in Alabama, Georgia and Texas where for some legal purposes all persons of "African descent" have been held to be colored.

Integration Law Creates Suspicion, Says Byrnes

Post-Times Herald P. A-6 Sun. 9-23-56 Washington D.C.

MANCHESTER, Vt., Sept. 22 (UP)—Former South Carolina Gov. James F. Byrnes said tonight that "confidence and cooperation" between the South's Negroes and whites has been displaced by "suspicion and fear" since the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decrees.

Byrnes

The 76-year-old former Secretary of State and Supreme Court Justice said in an address prepared for delivery to the Vermont Bar Association that "in the South the court decision has undone all that was accomplished in half a century" by leaders of both races.

"Confidence and cooperation have been displaced by suspicion and fear," he said. "Instead of improving, the situation is worsening."

Byrnes discussing the court's rulings at the invitation of the president of the Vermont Bar Association, cited as examples racial disturbances in Kentucky, Tennessee and Texas where schools were integrated by court order.

"In those communities, the Negroes constitute less than 10 per cent of the population. When it is attempted to force integration in communities where the Negro population is greater, the problem will be greater."

Byrnes criticed the use of National Guard troops to escort Negro children to newly integrated schools in Tennessee and Kentucky, saying:

"The National Guard, which is not called out to escort a willing worker through a picket line in a labor controversy, cannot be called out to escort Negro students through a picket line in a school controversy without leaving scars."

He said southern white people will help Negroes provide segregated private schools if Federal courts "force the public schools to close."

Byrnes declared education should not be denied "innocent Negro children who are being used as pawns by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in an effort to solve overnight a great social problem."

BIAS ASSAILED AS 'SIN'

Times 38a New York

Vatican Paper Says Race Bans 'Deny Genius of U. S.'

VATICAN CITY, Sept. 6 (UP) —The Vatican newspaper Osservatore Romano today denounced discrimination against Negroes in the United States as a "sin against the nature of Christi-

anitz." Adv. 7-1-56

The unofficial newspaper based its editorial criticism on race disturbances over school integration at Oliver Springs, Tenn., and called racial discrimination a "historical paradox which mortifies" the United States.

The editorial was tempered with praise for the United States as a nation in its stand against oppression.

But it described race conflicts as a "contradiction which denies its [the United States'] genius."

It was the bluntest denunciation by the paper on the issue since last October when it castigated the congregation of the St. Cecelia Mission in Jesuit Bend, La., for having prevented a Negro priest from saying mass.

Segregation And U.S. Prestige Abroad

Advertiser Tues. 9-4-56

ONE of the favorite arguments of neo-abolitionists is that segregation must be broken down immediately to placate the colored peoples of the world who won't love the U.S. as long as racial separation continues.

Typical of this kind of argument was the speech the other day by Borough President Hulan E. Jack of Manhattan. Welcoming 200 delegates to the opening of the 31st annual convention of the National Bar Association (a Negro society, Jack said: P. 4-a

We cannot afford at this critical stage of international affairs to give aid to enemies of democracy. The hearts of the American people reach out to nations whose populations are throwing off the yoke of colonialism. If we are to retain world leadership as the symbol of freedom, we must set our own house in order as rapidly as possible to command the respect of awakening men desiring to walk on an equal basis with all mankind.

Since anti-American feeling is rampant in nations practicing more rigid forms of caste and class separation than are in effect anywhere in the U.S., this reason for desegregation seems to rest on a shaky predicate. But if the opinion of peoples of other nations should dictate American custom and laws, Jack must also believe that we should deliberately reduce America to a level of abject poverty so these "awakening men" may indeed walk on an equal basis with us.

For it has been demonstrated time and time again that the real basis of anti-American sentiment wherever it exists is envy: envy of our wealth, luxury and comparatively easy existence. Of course our detractors abroad always cite some other reason for disliking us—jealousy not being an accepted ground for criticism—but this is the heart of it.

American abundance is an infinitely more important barrier to our international popularity than U.S. social customs. If Jack and others who have advanced similar arguments are correct in placing top priority on the need for building American prestige abroad, the first order of business should be to blast our great coal mines, dynamite Wall Street, set fire to our great grain fields, lay waste our industries, and distribute the contents of Fort Knox to our critics. American popularity would soar overnight.

The Public's Right To Know

Advertiser Sat. 10-27-56 P. 4-a

Montgomery Ala.

Many Newspapers Are Carrying The Taboo Against 'Negro' To Absurd Extremes In Their News Columns, Reflecting Prejudice In Reverse

From Time Magazine

WHEN a woman kidnaped a six-week-old infant from a baby sitter's apartment in Brooklyn a fortnight ago, the police alarm included a detail essential to the hunt for the baby: both the kidnaper and the child were Negroes. But except for the New York *Daily News*, no Manhattan daily so identified the missing baby. And most of the papers buried the kidnaper's race deep in their stories, while the New York *Journal-American* described the hunted woman closely from her missing upper teeth to her open-toed shoes, without anywhere mentioning the color of her skin.

The case dramatized the absurd extreme resulting from one approach to a problem that worries thoughtful editors across the U.S.: When should a Negro be so identified in print? The Brooklyn story ended fortunately in the baby's recovery and the arrest of kidnaper Mary Jackson, 35. But in their reluctance to identify a Negro as such, most of the editors not only misled readers who might have offered important clues but also created the false, inflammatory impression that a Negro woman had kidnaped a white baby.

Pressure And Ads

THE taboo against using the Negro label is the product of pressure groups and the conscientious efforts of newspapers to be fair to a minority. Once it was hardly a problem, since newspapers ran little news about Negroes. But now newspapers are running far more news about the Negro than ever before, partly because of his gradual rise in U.S. society, partly because they are wooing him as a reader since his improved economic status has interested advertisers in the Negro market.

Though it varies from one newspaper to another, the ban on racial identification is usually lifted only when the story (1) is favorable, (2) involves a wanted felon, or (3) would make no sense otherwise, *e.g.*, the report of a racial clash. The result: Negroes are seldom identified when they figure in crime stories.

But is a newspaper properly serving either its readers, its community or the interests of the Negro when it masks the fact that there is a heavier crime rate among Negroes than whites? In New York City, for example, it would come as a surprise to most newspaper readers that Negroes comprise 10% of the population but commit about 35% of the crime. Says a police official in a big California city: "Sixty percent of our crime lies squarely in [the Negroes'] lap, and the papers ought to show the community what the crime problem is and where it is. It's only fair reporting, no more. It would pressure responsible Negroes into doing something about it."

'Mexican-American'

SAYS a Los Angeles news executive: "Frankly, I do think there is a tendency in the press to be tender in handling Negro stories. But we are even more chary in using the word 'Mexican' or 'Mexican-descent.'" Says another Los Angeles editor: "Where we run into the most controversy is when we just give the names of boys involved in East Side gang fights. Then we get complaints from Mexican-American groups. We say: 'Well, we didn't say Mexican.' And their answer is: 'You don't have to.' They want us not to print the names at all."

The fact that the crime rate may be higher among certain minority groups, argue some editors, reflects not on their race but on their living conditions; only by airing the problem can any solution be stimulated. Furthermore, they argue that the public is entitled to full information, that race is as pertinent in many cases as is the fact that a man is a lawyer, doctor or executive. Says one Seattle editor: "Some newspapers are forgetting the readers in their zeal to follow an ideology. We favor integration in the schools, but we believe that in many cases, the readers are entitled to simple descriptions of the persons involved."

Sharp Split

OFTEN newspapers run a picture as a means of evading their rule. But this technique can sometimes be misleading. Last week Manhattan's *Daily News* and *Daily Mirror*, reporting the murder of one 15-year-old boy by another, made it plain with a photograph that the offender was a Negro. But in failing in the stories to identify the victim as a Negro, the papers left the reader to speculate whether or not the incident involved whites and reflected racial antagonism.

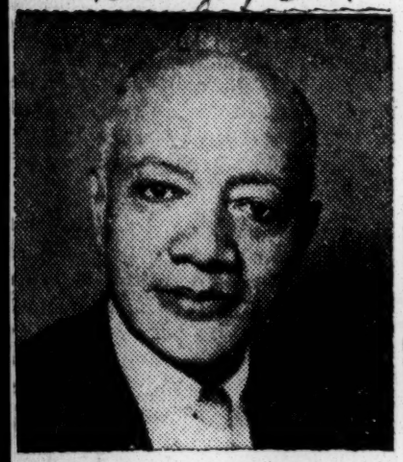
Sometimes it is hard for editors to decide when they would be justified in using a racial tag. They split sharply two months ago in their handling of agency stories from Germany reporting the court-martial conviction of seven U.S. soldiers for raping a 15-year-old German girl. Wire services reported that all seven were Negroes, but many papers cut that fact from their stories. Some newsmen, such as Executive Editor Milburn P. Akers of the Chicago *Sun-Times*, argued last week that the omission was justified. But Denver *Post* Managing Editor Mort Stern said: "I felt we owed it to our readers to include that paragraph."

The Times Explains

The *New York Times* edited out the reference to Negroes, but Managing Editor Turner Catledge admitted that "it was a real problem. We were wrong if the crime was brought about by racial tension. But we were never able to satisfy ourselves on that point." Catledge noted that the *Times'* handling may have created an unfair impression of U.S. occupation troops as a whole. He added: "A real consideration is the fact that the Germans have developed a special dislike for Negro troops because of their acts over there. We might have made the authorities here more aware of that if we had printed the race. But we decided our main duty is to please our readers, not to satisfy officials."

Press Must Tell Real Dixie Story

Defender P.3
Sat. 6-16-56
Chicago, Ill.



DR. JAMES NABRIT

ATLANTA, Ga. — A noted lawyer declared last week that southern pressure groups are using the nation's mass communications media to distort the facts on segregation, and called upon the leaders of his race to use the same facilities to refute their claims.

The speaker was Dr. James H. Nabrit, jr., secretary of Howard university and a veteran civil rights attorney. His remarks were made at Atlanta university where he delivered the commencement address.

If the southern attack on desegregation goes unanswered, Dr. Nabrit said, the Negro stands to lose the support of northern whites in his fight for equal treatment.

Recent articles in national magazines by southern spokesmen and their appearance on network radio and television were seen by Dr. Nabrit as part of the concerted plan to defend segregation.

The plan has two adjectives, he asserted. "One is to convince the North that the South is adamant in its opposition to integration and will never accept it," he said.

"The second is to so bewilder the North with stories of the Negroes and their diseases, ignorance, slothness, political crookedness and immorality as to cause the North to wipe its hands of the question and relegate it to the South for solution."

The arena of battle had shifted from the courts to the field of social action, the attorney declared.

Housing, School Plan Cited

Defender
Sat. 6-16-56
Chicago, Ill.

NEW YORK —After a personal survey of Negro segregation in the North, a white Southern-born editor has reported that the Northern Negro "often lives a life that is, in fact, more segregated than that of the Negro in the South."

P.5

Look Magazine editor, George Leonard, a native of Atlanta, disclosed in an article published in the new issue of Look, that "there's a big gap between the law of the North, which grants the Negro equality; and reality, which confines him to a "Negro ghetto."

Citing Philadelphia, as a case in point, Leonard found that Negroes there attend all Negro schools, are taught by Negro teachers, play and associate exclusively with Nero neihbors and are refused housing in non-Negro sections of town.

All this occurs, Leonard found, in spite of a local "Commission on Human Relations," which fights discrimination, and a Fair Employment Practices Act, which makes discrimination in employment illegal."

ALL TALK

Leonard quotes an unidentified Southerner in his Look article as saying, "too many Northerners talk integration and act segregation. What's needed up there is a mirror that shows bigots. A lot of Yankees couldn't look into that mirror without seeing themselves."

"In Philadelphia, as in any Northern city," Leonard said in Look, "life for a Negro is like walking through a mine field. He may get through unscathed, but when he least expects it, his world may explode,"

"Whereas, in the South, a Negro's limitations are clearly defined by law and custom, in the North he lives with only a hazy idea of where his limitations lie."

HOUSING SEGREGATION

'Segregation in the North does not stop in private housing," Leonard continued. "Public housing projects often go all Negro simply because there are so many Negroes requiring shelter."

"The Negro citizen outside of the South," Leonard said, "looks into the unmasked face of Jim Crow when he tries to find a place to live. Most suburbs are closed to him. When he succeeds in buying a house in a white urban neighborhood, the white residents generally move away in panic.

"He is left the colored district of the village, the great center of the city."

Leonard indicates that Negroes in the North are thankful for the laws and commissions working against segregation and discrimination. "But they know in their hearts that they are not yet really free, and will never be free until they can put their money on the line and buy or rent a house in the neighborhood of their choice."

"We can buy a Cadillac or a Brooks Brothers suit," Negroes say with regret, "but we can't buy a home. Our money's just no good."

THOMAS L. STOKES—

Post-Herald P.14
Thurs. 6-7-56
Birmingham, Ala.

Integration Issue Gets More Confused

WASHINGTON — The situation is getting confused in both parties on the integration issue and who stands for what in which section of the country.

This poses a problem that voters, white and Negro, must wrestle with.

For example, when "Jiggs" Donohue, campaign manager for Sen. Estes Kefauver, blurted out in the finale of the California primary battle that a vote for Adlai Stevenson would be a vote for Senators Eastland (D., Miss.) and Ellender (D., La.) and Herman Talmadge of Georgia he adopted a line previously announced for the Republican Party to use against the Democratic Party as a whole.

The intent is plain in that the three Southerners are segregationists, though it came surprisingly from Mr. Donohue as it served to dramatize the well-known schism in his own party, the Democratic.

Hitherto it has been left to Republicans to point that out.

* * *

HOW REPUBLICAN'S PLAN to dramatize the Democratic schism by keeping the spotlight constantly on the Southern segregationists was explained clearly a few days prior to the Donohue blast by Richard L. Tobin, public relations director of the Citizens for Eisenhower, in a speech here at a conference of that organization.

He urged his fellow Republicans to impress upon Negroes that if Democrats win Congress in the coming election and thus organize and control it again, important committees would be run by "bigoted Southern political hacks." Then he added:

"Drum into Negro voters over and over again this true fact: a vote for a Democrat is a vote for Eastland."

Senator Eastland is singled out as the target and symbol, as you know, because he is chairman of the important Judiciary Committee which has jurisdiction over all civil rights bills, and would be chairman again if Democrats win the Senate in the November election.

The strategy outlined by Mr. Tobin is designed to win over sufficient Negro voters from the Democrats in populous states and urban areas in the North to unseat enough Democrats in House and Senate to give Republicans control of the next Congress.

* * *

CONFIDENT as are Republicans that President Eisenhower will be re-elected, they are not at all sure of regaining Congress. They won Congress, only by a hair-line margin in 1952 because of the Eisenhower pulling power; but then lost it in the 1954 Congressional elections when the President was not a candidate and did not have his name at the head of the ballot.

They believe that the Negro vote, coupled with the President's presence on the ticket might be the combination that would recapture Congress for them in November.

Obviously the Eastland-segregationist campaign line will be beamed only at the North and not at the South, where Republicans are counting upon the continued personal popularity of President Eisenhower to maintain at least some of the gains they made there in 1952.

The President has kept himself out of the integration controversy, which has helped him in the South.

He has said far less than most any Democrat in public life that you could name, and especially Adlai Stevenson and Senator Kefauver.

What little the President said at a news conference some weeks ago would locate him with the "moderates" who uphold the Supreme Court public school decision and urge gradual implementation, and without use of force.

That brackets him and Adlai Stevenson, who is trying desperately to hold the Democratic Party together and thus retain Southern support for his nomination, by what the 1952 Democratic candidate contends is responsible national leadership.

Is it possible for Adlai Stevenson to preserve that necessarily precarious blance within his party, or will other leaders demanding a more rapid integration process prevail in the convention and alienate the South?

As for President Eisenhower, will he be able to keep his support in the South, even though he continues to remain aloof from the controversy, if the issue is actively agitated outside the South by the Republican Party and citizens for Eisenhower along the lines urged by Mr. Tobin?

These questions must await an answer. They epitomize the dilemma of the Negro, voters generally, and of many leaders in both parties.

'Integrate or perish,' says Talladega College speaker

Birmingham, Ala.
Average 10-56
P. 17-A

TALLADEGA, Ala., June 3— "The South must integrate or perish."

President Arthur D. Gray, of Talladega College, made this statement in an address to graduates of Talladega College.

He also called the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People" the most significant social organ in American life for liberty of minds and hearts of all Americans. "But," he added, "how many do not contribute to it?"

"Segregation — the 'Southern way of life'—protects the happiness and insists on the comfort of some Southerners only," he declared. "But there can be no closed shop freedom for all men, and their burdens are interrelated."

Jefferson Ish Jr., of Chicago, the commencement speaker, pointed out that "Talladega College was open to all from its beginning."

"CAN ANYONE tell how far this country would have advanced as a world power if other institutions, similarly circumstanced, had found expression such as it Talladega's?" he asked.

The market of Negroes, now represented by 14 million Negroes in the U. S., with an income of approximately $12 billion annually, is now integrated in a competitive world, Ish declared.

The following Alabamians received awards: Rufus Cook, Birmingham, Avery speech award; Alethea Williams, Selma, modern language award; Julian Mason Davis, Birmingham, Rose Conley Craig award; Malbour Watson, Birmingham, second Little Theater award, and Terrelia Young, Tuskegee, Buell Gordon Gallagher awards.

Custom, Habit Affect Integration

Were it not for the force of habits and customs, integration would move much faster. The ancient Cyprian speaks of custom as the antiquity of error. Custom flows from the native urge of "consciousness of kind," another version of "birds of a feather flock together." Such native trends are often emphasized to the nth degree.

Many good and honest people stress race to the point of doing grave injustice to individuals and causes for apparently no reason other than custom and color. Since a person is not responsible for his color, he should not have to suffer or be embarrassed for being white or black, brown or red. There are those who seem unable to see beyond one's color. Prejudice makes one color conscious. Love should make one color blind. It so happens that color is but skin deep, and that only through the epidermis or outer skin, which may be erased through bleaching.

It is but natural for race and kind to seek its place and level. Those who have never known anything but segregation and have had little or no social contacts with other peoples instinctively move towards and mingle with their own. It's somewhat like water seeking its level. And this perfectly natural habit is continued even after signs are removed and integration legalized and practiced. This with the carry-over of slavery, now a century passed, account for the many serious tensions accompanying integration.

The concept of "separate but equal" is but a subterfuge under the heavy strain of social mores or customs. The theory is only an idea and seldom a reality. Being separate is tantamount to inequality. Long time separate but woefully unequal facilities are fast stepping up towards equality under integration's impact. Public schools for Negroes were never so adequate. Teachers' salaries were never so nearly equal.

Segregation is often modified according to the section of country, often more pronounced in the South. Not more real but more apparent. Segregation is more legalized in the South. Redress is therefore easier in the North. The one and only place where I have ever been denied restaurant service was in New York. I have never entered a restaurant in the South to be denied.

The Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954, was inevitable. Experience and history gave it birth. And this decision is just as certain to be obeyed and executed as was its creation. The length of time for fulfillment is comparatively minor and will vary according to local conditions and customs.

The weight and power of custom may hardly be gauged. An old Arabian proverb places custom along side of the then known four natural elements. To "earth, air, fire and water" was added custom. It sometimes appears that the habits of people and their ways are as powerful and inherent as the very elements which compose our universe.

Except for the principle and truth behind integration, stemming from the "fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man," Negroes would doubtless be less concerned about integration. No people are more satisfied with being themselves than Negroes. "God has made of one blood all nations that dwell on the earth." This principle and fact will eventually make for the practiced equality of all mankind. The slogan of the Cosmopolitan Club of Corda Fratnes, "Above all nations is humanity," is slowly being realized and practiced. Integration though slow must come.

CHAS. W. KELLY,
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Editorials

The Great Segregation Offensive

Alert readers must have noted the large number of recent stories, articles and speeches of white Southern Negro-phobes, "friends of the Negro," which in effect are apologies for racial segregation.

The direct approach from people like Byrnes of South Carolina, and Gen. Mark Clark is the favored one of the more ardent segregationists; but even more effective are the pieces by assorted "men of goodwill" which attempt to show (a) that the Supreme Court was wrong in handing down its "drastic" desegregation decree, (b) that this has worsened race relations which is implied a great pity, and (c) that the attitude of white people in the North, East and West is no different from that of whites in the South, and therefore presumably non-Southern whites should not be too hard on their Dixie brethren.

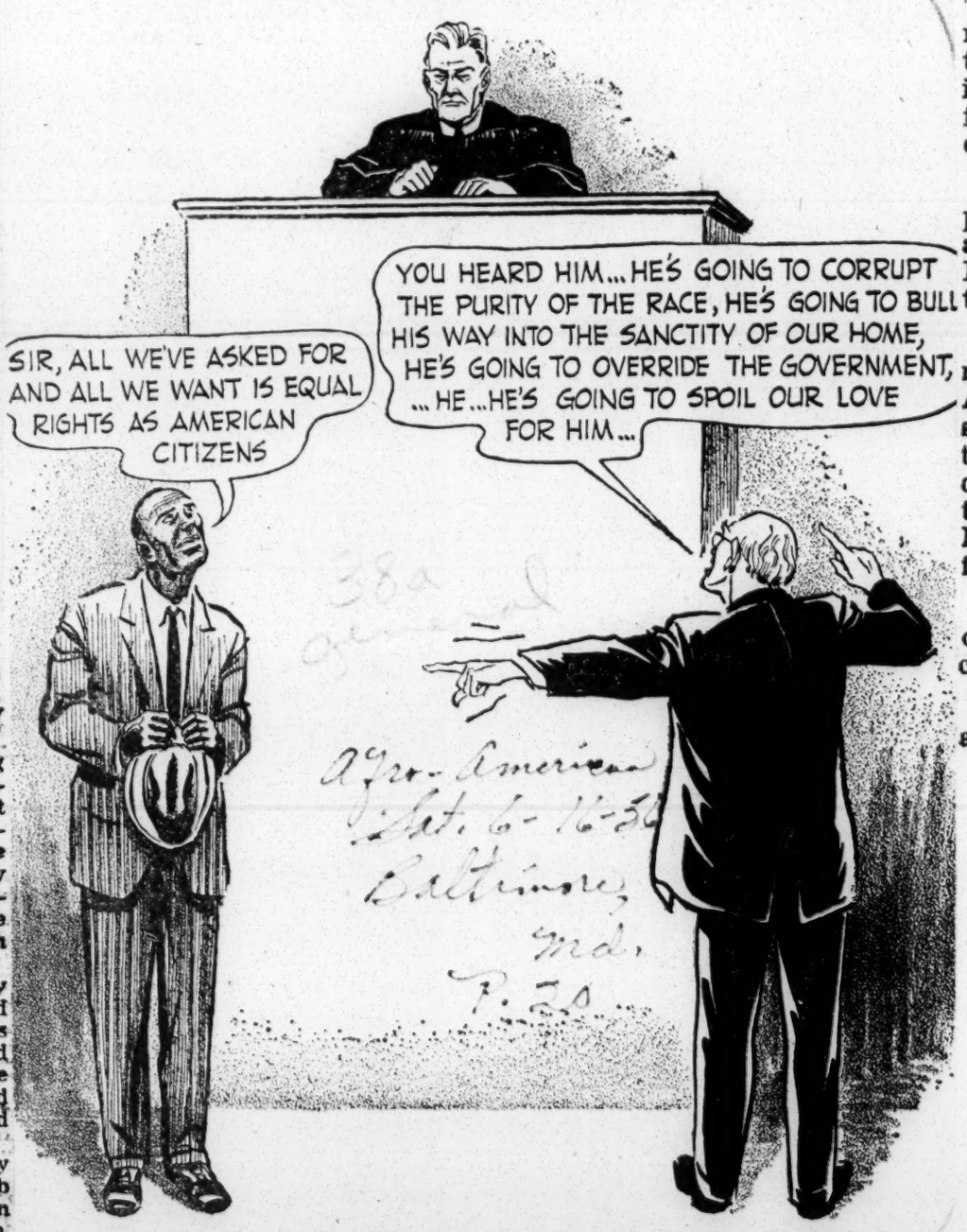
The ominous thing about this campaign is that these propagandists have found mass media almost eager to print all such anti-civil rights arguments, whereas no capable Negro writers have been asked to answer these attacks on the same media.

A generation or two ago, when such controversies arose, men like Walter White, James Weldon Johnson, Kelly Miller, Alain Locke, etc., were called upon to present the Negro's side in magazines and newspapers of large circulation, but today, there is no real forum on these questions and frequently white writers are asked to present the anti-segregationist viewpoint, even though there are far more capable Negroes prepared to present their viewpoint than ever before in history.

It even seems that some of the larger mass media are deliberately playing up to the reactionary South in a bid for circulation.

This is sad commentary on the state of American journalism.

PLEASE, LET HIM SPEAK FOR HIMSELF



"DO VIOLENCE TO NO MAN; NEITHER ACCUSE ANY FALSELY" — LUKE 3:14

HERE IS MILDRED

Northerners Can Be So Smug

Pro-Magazine

By Alice Childress

Baltimore Md.

Girl, I tried to hold my peace, I tried to let things go by the board, I did my best to remember all the things you told me, but before the night was over, I just had to speak my mind.

Sat 8-18-56

... Yes, it was a nice meetin' as meetin's go. Of course you know I don't consider a meetin' to be the last word as far as a good time is concerned.

I go to them 'cause sometimes folks got to meet in order to straighten out things, and I feel that it's my beholden duty to be right there meetin' along with everybody else.

Marge, the church was crowded, and it would have done your heart good if you could of been there to see that fine turnout! ...

It's a good thing that you have a toothache 'cause I wouldn't of taken nothin' else for an excuse! ... No, I don't mean that I'm glad your tooth is achin', and you know it!

... Why do you always twist and turn every word I say ... I don't mean EVERY word, I only mean SOME words! ... Are you feelin' better now? ... Well, that's good.

* * *

DO YOU want me to tell you 'bout the meetin'? ... All right, I'll begin at the beginnin'.

Honey, they raised some money this evenin'. This civil rights business has got folks so tore up 'til they're really ready to dig down in their pocketbooks and put some money where their mouth is!

The whole idea of givin' the money is simply this: they're gonna send it down south to help out people who are catchin' a hard time 'cause they want to vote and ride the buses and things like that ... Yes, they had several speakers there and they spoke right well.

The minister introduced one white man who got up and

"The South is in a state — but what about the North, East and West"

started his speech by sayin', "The South today is in a state ..." and then he went on to tell us all about the state of things.

After he finished a colored man got up and started his speech by sayin', "The South has ALWAYS been in a state ..." Then he went on to further tell us 'bout the state of things.

* * *

TWO OR three more people spoke a little bit, and I'm here to tell you that they gave the South a HARD way to go!

When the question and answer time came, everybody started in on the South all over again and took it from slavery and traveled each day and year right back up to 1956.

I learned a lot, but it seemed to me that we was forgettin' that this land also has a North, East and West to it. Since I don't think we should be so forgetful I got up to say my say.

WHEN IT CAME my turn, I said, "We have heard a great deal about the South tonight and rightly so, but I'm wonderin' if we got room to just low-rate the South in such a sweepin' manner ..."

Marge, before I could go on with what I had to say, there was a little disturbance in the back of the auditorium, and one squeaky-voiced little man jumped up and said, "Yes, that's right, before we get on the South, let's take care of the North!"

Pro-Magazine

... Now, he wasn't doin' a thing but tryin' to mislead the people, so I kept standin' and got him out of my way!

"Never mind that BEFORE business," I says, "but let's take care of the North WHILE we're gettin' on the South! To hear us talk, anybody would think the North was some kind of promised land come true. All is not sweetness and light 'cause we're on the North side of the Mason and Dixon line!

* * *

"BUT THE main thing I want us to remember is that there's lots of good people down South!"

Sat 8-18-56

Marge they started to mumble then, and I could see that I wasn't gettin' too much agreement on the last thing that I had said. "Yes," I says, "good people.

"Are we gonna forget the man in Kentucky who sold a colored family a home and got put in jail for it?

"Are we goin' to forget those youngsters in Alabama, who signed a paper sayin' that they didn't want to have nothin' to do with mobs and that they were for the right of a colored student to go to their college?"

* * *

ONE OF the speakers interrupted me and said, "They ought to be doin' a whole lot more. After all, it's their laws that's makin' all the trouble!"

"You are so right," I says, "and we oughta encourage 'em! We got to start showin' that we know how some of the folks are scared and peptalk 'em a little bit!

"When we hear that there's a mob made up of hundreds of folks, we got to realize that the other thousands upon thousands was not out there with 'em and got to ask 'em how come they can't show some gumption and start doin' and speakin' against the mobs instead of sittin' home and washin' their hands of it like Pontius Pilate.

"For too long they have been allowed to think that we don't expect any good to come from them, that we just fold our hands and say, 'Oh, well, they're Southerners, so what can you expect?'

"We got to start sayin' to 'em, 'Speak up so's we can hear you, if everybody ain't for oppressin', then let those that's against it stand up and be counted!'

* * *

"WE GOT TO include 'em in the stand. We got to write some of their churches and clubs and things and ask 'em, 'Where are you and what are you goin' to do?'

"When we get their answers, we'll have it down in black and white for the whole world to see! And I bet we'll rack up a few more friends down there that way!"

The lady behind me says to me, "Honey, they should speak if they feel right! Looks like we'd be goin' out of our way to be askin' 'em about it."

"Yes," I says, "we would, but it's goin' to take some out-of-the-way things to change them Southern laws!

"After all, we sure hear plenty from the folks who don't want the law to change and from the Northerners who're willin' to go part-way with the civil rights but hang back some when it comes to livin' the thing right down the line!"

* * *

MARGE, I got solid agreement on that 'cause folks know that even though our laws are much better than down home, we still got to put up such a to-do to get what the law promises.

"Didn't they try to keep the man out of the housin' project out in Chicago, didn't they have mobs gatherin'? How 'bout folks tarrin' the colored woman's home out in Long Island?"

Sure, I told them all those things and they had to listen to me, too, 'cause while we're settlin' the trouble down South, we got to remember that we want all our rights, everywhere and this is no time for the Northerners to get so smug ...

You're right, girl! All the colored folks that's standin' up and talkin' out in Mississippi, Alabama, Kentucky, Carolina and all over the South, ain't they Southerners, too!

Yes, indeed, we got to send the message East, West, North and South ... It's high time that the land should be free, from one corner to the other!

Racial Improvements Theory Segregation Rule Out Unchanged

Pro-Former

Houston Tex.

Sat 7-21-56

NASHVILLE TENNESSEE—The doctrine that the racial folkways and mores cannot and do not change has been made invalid by "the observed facts of common experience," Dr C Vann Woodward, specialist on southern history and Professor of History at John Hopkins University Baltimore, Maryland, told the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University last week.

Pointing out that racial segregation is a relatively recent institution in the South, Dr Woodward said that many people, unable to remember when the system did not prevail, are easily persuaded that "it has always been so." Yet, he observed, the wave of state laws and city ordinances establishing "Jim Crow" did not complete itself until after the 1900's.

"Those who cherish the new order of segregation, Jim Crowism and disfranchisement, therefore, often attribute it to the Redeemers, the founding fathers of the New South. But after Redemption was achieved, following the end of Reconstruction, the new governments showed little immediate disposition to expand the segregation code into new fields,—or to make it universal, such as it was to become in the twentieth century," Dr Woodward said.

Conservative southern white leaders maintained an attitude of "noblesse oblige" toward the Negro and sought to prevent extreme reactions which would deprive the Negro of basic rights and opportunities, but the rise of fanatical movements in the South, imperialistic expansion, and "the retreat of Northern liberals" led to their defeat, the speaker observed.

Since the Negro was the symbol of sectional strife, the liberals joined in deprecating further agitation of his cause and in defending the southern view of race in its less extreme forms," Dr. Woodward explained.

The new reaction in the South againht liberal racial reforms as in the case of the White Citizens Council movement, will wane in the face of the "open window" of international scrutiny of our national practices, the economic developments of the South, and the new strength found by the Negro in organized effort to advance his cause legitimately, Dr Woodward predicted, in response to questions raised in the discussion.

National Crisis and Statesmanship

Speaking at the opening session of the Institute, which has 110 members from 30 states and the Union of South Africa, Dr Charles S Johnson, sociologist and President of Fisk University, described the present racial crisis as "a malignancy that endangers the entire national fabric."

It cannot be ignored, cured by temporizing compromises, dismissed as a problem of "indefinite time and magical solution; or even solved by shrewd political

South's Integration Fight Perils Future'

Afro-American Sat. 5-5-56

Baltimore, Md.

CLEVELAND — "Southern states which have been frantically attempting to attract industries to support their flagging agricultural economy are literally jeopardizing their future by regional conflict over desegregation asserted here today.

Gloster B. Current, NAACP branch director, last week made the charges in a address to students and faculty at the Case Institute of Technology.

He cited the example of "many northern industries" which "have temporarily shelved plans to move southward until the conflict over integration is eased as proof to his statement.

DISCUSSING results of the southern White Citizens Councils' "economic equeeze campaign" against advocates of desegregation, Mr. Current related that "merchants who joined the White Citizens Councils found that the boycott is a two-edged sword.

"Caught in the middle between irate and stubborn white citizens and colored people both refusing to trade with anyone suspected of aiding the other group, business leaders adopted a hands-off, neutral policy," he said.

Southern attacks upon the NAACP "have been bitter," Mr. Current noted. "In the press, it is accused of forcing the issue, going too fast and destroying the good race relations which existed prior to the decisions.

"It is equated," he charged "with the Citizens Councils as an extremist group."

* * *

ANSWERING these accusations, the NAACP spokesman pointed out that the NAACP "uses legal action, appeals to public opinion and attempts to influence the passage of remedial legislation in order to further its program. This is proceeding within due bounds and within reason.

"Legal action in itself is a gradualist approach considering the length of time required to process cases through the United States Supreme Court for final determination."

He said that the South, recognizing that "it has no sound legal, moral or ethical ground on which to stand, "has gone to "extremes" to "destroy the NAACP."

maneuvers and death defying manifestos." Direct and definitive reorientation of domestic policy is the only way it can be resolved. he said, "and there can be no compromise with the basic premise in the new urgent struggle against time and circumstances."

Despite the urgency of the situation, "there has been no bold and forthright statesmanship" that would dare to stand up and challenge "the misguided little men in politically strategic places" who believe their "personal prejudices can reverse the tide of world destiny," Dr Johnson observed.

Pointing out that the issue today is one of human equality and national civil rights, the speaker told the Institute that racial seregation is the touchstone which prevents human equality. We are a total nation in the eyes of the rest of the world, and "no allowances are made for regional defections from American philosophy and practice," Dr Johnson said.

He described the White Citizens Council and similar groups as "agencies of malevolence and defiance" which are sufficiently strong, because the South's best leadership has defaulted "to intimidate any reasonable judgment or appeal to sanity, not to speak of righteousness."

A serious result of the hysteria created by activities, he said, is an intrusion upon constitutionally guranteed liberites of the freedom of speech and association; in states like Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and Mississippi. Also, the situation is so turbulent that new industries are doubting the feasability of locating in the South.

Describing law as the "weapon of democracy in defending itself," the speaker said that the course of events has left no alternative to Negroes but court action.

"All that we have is our faith in the power of the human spirit to achieve the ends of a free society, a faith that has given hope to millions of mankind over the world. We cannot default on this promise. This is our moral challenge in a national crisis,," Dr Johnson declared.

Advances Made in Desegregation

"While the hot verbal battle has been going on by the southern politicians, the state and local courts of the South have been supporting the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation and steadily closing the door on segregation," Thurgood Marshall, Chief Legal Counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the Institute in an evening lecture at the Fisk University Chapel.

Constructive action toward school desegregation has taken place in a majority of the southern states— nine out of seventeen, despite fierce opposition from White Citizens Councils and certain politicians, Marshall pointed out.

"The political powers of eight southe n states are determined to block desegration as long as they can do it: It is not a matter of gradualism but of any change at all to eliminate segregated schools. They are determined to use force, if neccessary, to prevent local school boards from even considering the possibility of desegregation. This is nothing but open rebellion," the noted attorney observed.

NAACP Following Middle Ground

In the two years since the Supreme Court decision, Mr Marshall described the role of the NAACP as that of following a "middle ground." "We neither went fishing after the victory was won nor tried to ram through immediate reforms across the board," he said.

However, he observed, the NAACP has learned that things do not happen automatically; school boards and public authorities need prodding in order for changes to begin. Therefore, in the next period ahead, the NAACP will combine community action with legal action, aimed at preserving the gains made in some places in the South and opening up the blockade in others.

This will mean, according to Mr Marshall, concentrating legal action in those states which have raised legislative, administrative and other barriers against the Supreme Court decision, "filing cases as rapidly as we are physically able to do so." In those states which already have begun desegregation, and those which still look favorable, he said that the NAACP would concentrate its efforts upon community action, combining educational, persuasive and other approaches. Legal suits, in these cases, would be used by the NAACP only as a last resort, Mr Marshall explained.

He said that a propaganda attack upon the rest of the nation had been launched by the resisting Southern states and the Citizens Councils, picturing these states as suffering and needing sympathy of the North. Yet, Marshall said that there is nothing in the record of the five most resistant states—Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana—to justify the belief that their present political leadership will accept the Supreme Court decision in any way.

Open Occupancy in Housing

Findings of a national study on race and housing were made public for the first time by the Commission on Race and Housing, headed by Earl B Schwulst, President of the Bowery Savings Bank of New York City, at one of the Institute sessions.

Open occupancy interracial housing was described by the research staff for the Commission as "now accelerating" across the country. Based on 300 interviews with real estate developers and planners in major cities across the country, the study indicated that most of the open occupancy projects develop spontaneously in the cities involved, and the majority are "commercial rather than cooperative" in sponsorship.

"There is no evidence that these projects are economically or socially unsound, and in many situations interracial housing presents no greater difficulty than any other kind of housing," the esearch staff, headed by Dr Davis McEntire of the University of California, reported.

There are few "move-outs" from these projects, and there is high enthusiasm among the occupants who represent a wide variety of social and economic classes in the general public. Where failures have occurred, according to Dr George S Grier who conducted this phase of the study for the Commission, along with his wife, they were traceable to either faulty promotion at planning stages or poor management after the project was completed. Cases of failure were rare.

Though some reticence interracial association was found in the early contacts of Negroes and whites in these projects, no instances of tension or conflict took place. On the whole, according to the study findings, friendly and easy associations developed with longer periods of residence in the projects. "Many of the projects are sponsored by the larger builders and given active support by bankers, the federal Government and labor unions, and they are very similar to the normal housing market in most respects," the research staff observed.

Another racial legend concerning the widespread belief that Negro occupancy automatically depreciates property values was punctured by the preliminary findings of the study. On the basis of intensive analysis of price trends in 64 neighborhoods in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Philadelphia, covering a period of years, Dr Davis McEntire said that "no evidence that racial occupancy itself depreciated property values has yet been found." The study compared 20 neighborhoods where nonwhites had moved in with 44 neighborhoods where they were absent.

Segregation, According To A Gallop Poll

Dr. George Gallop serves his fellowmen in his occasional reach — with a poll. He comes through this week with one on the controversal segregation question with facts and figures indicating just how strongly does the average white Southerner feel about it. The footnote at the bottom of the poll announces the next will deal with "How the Southern Negro feels about segregation."

The poll is divided into two sections, with three divisions of opinions. The first section is a poll taken from Southern whites only. The second section deals with opinions of those outside the South.

These figures furnish an interesting study of contrast in opinions — of those white people living outside the South and who have generations of experience in non-segregated schools, residences, churches, public recreation and common carriers and those living in the South with no experience whatever in non-segregated practices and principles.

The ICC has ruled that racial segregation of interstate passengers on trains, buses and in public waiting rooms must end. The poll among Southern whites would stand: Approve 19%; disapprove 76%; undecided 5%.

Noting the keen contrast in those white people outside the South who have known nothing but non-segregated customs: Approve: 71%; Disapprove 24%; undecided 5%.

ICC's ruling outside the South: Approve 67%; disapprove 24%; undecided 9%.

It is noted that these figures in their striking resemblance are too conspicious to dismiss as so much information.

Any open-minded person would arrive at the conclusion that logic enters into this situation where two sections afford such a proximity in the approvals and disapprovals.

Again the poll shows that in border states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Texas where the whites outnumber the Negro 8 to one, one white in every four approve. Moving in what might be termed mid-South states, Florida, Virginia, Arkansas and North Carolina where Negroes constitute approximately, the opposition rises. This would disclose where the population is higher, the opposition likewise rises.

Those who are really interested in arriving at an unbiased solution of what has been allowed to run into a problem, would do well to emphasize that the leading fear the average Southerner expresses, intermarriage, has not been in peril all these years where there is almost an equal count of approval of the court's decision.

Too, the verdict of the experienced, over against the reduction in economic overhead and the cutting out of duplicity in maintenance and operation of facility, deserves serious consideration.

We believe that much of the opposition to the decision in this section is due to the fact that the politicians have made political use of the racial issue.

Though the Supreme Court has ruled on the question it remains for the district federal courts to act unless the issue is resolved in accordance with the high court ruling by action of the administrative authorities such as the state and local school boards.

This clearly indicates that the Negro citizens should busy themselves in getting more persons eligible to vote.

13 States Covered In Special Study

The Gallup Poll has conducted an intensive study of the South in an effort to determine the reasons behind the people's widely divergent views on segregation.

Ninety specially selected reporters from the organization's field staff made the study. They interviewed both whites and Negroes in 13 Southern states — Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas.

The accompanying article is the second of three on the results of the study. It deals with the sentiment of Southern Negroes. The final report in the series will appear Thursday.

THE GALLUP POLL

Desegregation Orders Split North and South

Over 76% of Southern Whites Oppose Rulings Backed by More Than 67% of Folk In North

By JOHN M. FENTON
Gallup Poll Staff Writer

Princeton, N. J., Feb. 27.—Just how strongly does the average white Southerner feel about desegregation?

What does the Southern Negro want?

The Gallup Poll has conducted an intensive study of the region to get some answers.

All in all, we found eight out of 10 Southern whites opposed to the Supreme Court's outlawing of segregation in the public schools.

Opinion is slightly less opposed to the recent Interstate Commerce Commission ruling that outlawed segregated travel between the states on buses and trains and in public waiting rooms.

The questions and results:

"The United States Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. This means that all children, no matter what their race, must be allowed to go to the same schools. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?"

SOUTHERN WHITES ONLY

Approve	16%
Disapprove	80
Undecided	4

"The Interstate Commerce Commission has ruled that racial segregation on trains, buses and in public waiting rooms must end. Do you approve or disapprove of this ruling?"

SOUTHERN WHITES ONLY

Approve	19%
Disapprove	76
Undecided	5

The wide split in opinion that the segregation issue has brought to the American domestic scene is illustrated by the vote of people in the 35 states outside

Desegregation Orders Split North, South

Continued from First Page

the South on the two issues—as recorded in the latest Gallup Poll survey:

SUPREME COURT'S DECISION
Outside the South

Approve	71%
Disapprove	24
Undecided	5

I.C.C.'S RULING
Outside the South

Approve	67
Disapprove	24
Undecided	9

The degree of opposition to both rulings in the South is directly related to the size of the Negro population in each of the 13 states.

In the border states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma, and Texas, for example, where the white-Negro ratio averages eight whites to one Negro, we found nearly one white in four approving of the Supreme Court's decision. Better than one in four favors the I.C.C.'s ruling.

Still A Large Majority

Even in these states, however, there is still a large majority of whites who oppose integration on both counts.

Moving into what might be termed the mid-South states of Florida, Virginia, Arkansas, and North Carolina—where Negroes constitute, on the average, about 24 per cent of the total population — we discovered slightly greater opposition with about one white person in five favoring mixed schools and a little more than this approving on the I.C.C. question.

It is in the five states of the Deep South—Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Mississippi—where the greatest opposition and bitterest resentment are found.

In these areas—where more than a third of the population is Negro—nearly nine out of 10 whites are opposed on both questions.

One In Nine Undecided

Only about one white person in 17 in these states registers approval of the Supreme Court's decision. Integration on trains and buses and in waiting rooms is approved by one person in 12.

But the Negro, by a 3-to-2 ratio, wants to have an integrated education system. About one Negro in nine at this time is undecided.

Negro sentiment is more strongly in favor of ending segregation in waiting rooms, buses, and trains.

The recent ruling that outlawed segregated travel between states is approved of today—among Negroes—by a vote of 6 to 1. Only about one Negro in 25 is undecided on this point.

The questions that we asked and their results:

"The U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. This means that all children, no matter what their race must be allowed to go to the same schools. Do you approve or disapprove of this ruling?"

SOUTHERN NEGROES ONLY

Approve	82%
Disapprove	14
Undecided	4

"The Interstate Commerce Commission has ruled that racial segregation on trains, buses and in public waiting rooms must end. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?"

SOUTHERN NEGROES ONLY

Approve	53%
Disapprove	36
Undecided	11

In determining the Negro viewpoint, we had conversations with hundreds of Negroes in all parts of the South. Negroes living on farms and in the cities were given a chance to express their views.

Poll Shows 71% Voting For Gradual Integration

Herald Tribune P. 9
Wed. 5-9-56

Gallup Reports Only 18% Favor School Compliance Within a Year

New York, N.Y.

By GEORGE GALLUP

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., May 8.—The American public overwhelmingly adopts the viewpoint of "gradualism" when it comes to setting a timetable for putting the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling into effect.

Seven out of ten persons questioned in a nation-wide survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion believe that the government should try gradually to bring about integration of white and Negro children in the public schools—that is, over a long period of years.

Some Never Want It

Some people in this group—particularly in the South—volunteered the information that they didn't want integration in the public schools ever to come about.

About one person in every six takes the view, however, that the government should do everything it can to bring about integration immediately—within the coming year.

To sound out public opinion the institute assigned its staff of interviewers to talk to an accurate cross-section of Americans in all walks of life, including the proper proportion of whites and Negroes, living in every section of the country.

2 Points of View

Each person was asked:

"The Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. Which of these points of view comes nearest to your way of thinking about the problem of segregation?"

1. **The government should try to bring about the integration of white and Negro children in public schools gradually—that is, over a long period of years 71%**
2. **The government should do everything it can to see that white and Negro children in all parts of the country go to the same public schools within the coming year.....18**

No opinion.....11

100%

Of those who want gradual integration, roughly one person in four vouchsafed the answer that if the choice were theirs they would never permit white and Negro children to be integrated in the public schools.

Opinion in South

That's the picture for the nation as a whole. In the South only one adult in twenty today is in favor of immediate integration. Almost half of those in the thirteen Southern states who want gradual desegregation also volunteered that they are against integration at any time.

Considering those who are against integration at any time as a separate group, here is the vote today in the South:

Gradually	**45%**
Immediately	**5**
Never want integration	**38**
No opinion	**12**

The survey also finds that the greatest majority for the moderate point of view, calling for gradual integration over a long period of years, comes from persons who have attended college. Proportionately the largest number who volunteered that they would never want integration come from those who have grade-school educations.

Vote by Education Levels

The vote by education levels, again considering those who volunteered a "never" answer as a third category:

	College	High Sch'l	Grade Sch'l
Gradually	**73%**	**59%**	**41%**
Immediately	**18**	**18**	**20**
Never	**4**	**14**	**25**
No opinion	**5**	**9**	**14**

It has now been almost two years since the Supreme Court, on May 17, 1954, ruled that separation of the races in public schools deprived Negroes of equal protection of the law and declared that integration should be brought about with "all reasonable speed."

The latest survey on the question, reported by the institute in February of this year, showed seven out of ten adults outside the South to be in favor of integration in principle.

In the South, however, the vote was overwhelmingly against the Supreme Court's decision.

Banish All Intolerance, Justice Warren Warns

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.
Tues. 11-13-56 P. 6

(Copyright 1956 by The New York Times Co.)

NEW YORK, Nov. 12—Chief Justice Earl Warren issued a warning here today that unless intolerance and bigotry were banished in this country, "Freedom can be endangered in America even in our own day."

He spoke before 500 delegates and guests at a luncheon in a hotel here winding up the annual meeting of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Earlier he participated in the dedication of a hall at the conference headquarters, 43 West 57th St., in memory of Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes.

Justice Warren developed his theme from a premise of inequalities manifest in American history. They must not be forgotten, he explained, because of present danger.

"The world is in a sorry condition today," he said. "Enslaved peoples with the courage to assert their freedom are being subjected for that reason alone to cruelty almost beyond the imagination of Americans.

"Our hearts go out to them and we pray for their delivery. We can do more. We can promote the cause of world brotherhood in every place. First and most important, we can promote it here at home. The broader our base is in the United States, the sounder our foundation is, the more forceful our appeals can be in other parts of the world."

Justice Warren asserted there was not a city in this country "but could be bettered by a new or strengthened unit of the National Conference of Christians and Jews." The late Justice Hughes was a founder of the organization and Justice Warren himself an early worker on its behalf.

He recalled the first steps taken in Oakland, Calif., 25 years ago and continued: "Many other American communities, 300 of them, I am told, have enjoyed the same experience but for every one that has there are 10 that have not. It would be a wonderful thing if cities all over the world were to form such organizations."

There is an imperative need at this time for men and women of good will in all faiths to join together for peace based upon brotherhood, Justice Warren concluded. He would have the crusade pursued "until justice, understanding and cooperation shall prevail as a way of life for the entire family of man."

Hon. Sherman Minton Says Desegregation Was Inevitable

Globe P. 6
Fri. 11-9-56
Nashville, Tenn.

CHICAGO—

Former Associate Justice Sherman Minton, who retired recently from the Supreme Court, says in the December EBONY that the Court's desegregation ruling was inevitable because the high tribunal had been chipped away at the "separate but equal" doctrine for a long time. In Minton's view, the ruling destroyed the legal foundation of an ancient, and to him, obnoxious system of dual citizenship in America and decreed a new day of equality for Negroes.

"We are conscious of the great progress the Negro people have made and now, with the school desegregation ruling, the possibilities for them are infinite", Minton says.

Minton hated the riots that flared up when authorities attempted to desegregate schools in Texas, Kentucky, and Tennessee. "It's possible that we could even have much more violence than we've had so far," he stated gravely, "but the problem of violent resistance will have to be met as it appears."

As to whether Federal forces should be used to quell such riots, Minton is quite specific: "You can't reject the use of Federal forces in suppressing violence", he says.

As to how long racial segregation will last in America, Minton says it is anybody's guess. He adds that resistance to it will ultimately fail. Determination to preserve segregation at any price is so fanatical among a large segment of whites in the South, that they may even resort to more destructive measures in their futile efforts to delay the custom's death.

Whether the Supreme Court's ruling will ultimately lead to the end of segregation in all areas of national life, Minton refuses to predict. As to future actions of the high court, however, he is firm in his belief that the great 1954 ruling has set a definite pattern, from which coming decisions on segregation shall not deviate.

12 million citizens have not one representative

Afro-American Sat. 11-10-56
Baltimore, Md. P. 6

ATLANTA — "Think of it," writes E. M. Martin, successful business executive, "12 million colored citizens in the South and not a single colored representative in any state, county or city government, with possibly a few noble exceptions here and there.

"Where legal robbery leaves off, the KKK and White Citizens Councils take over. Thousands of state, county and city laws and ordinances enacted by white Democrats, say the colored man is not equal to the white.

"They also say he must be kept out of government except in inferior places. If this isn't hell and slavery for colored people, pray, what is it?"

94 Years After Emancipation Negroes Still Seek Freedom

Eagle Thurs. 6-21-56 Tulsa, Okla.

P1-A

Today, 94 years after Congress took initial steps toward freeing slaves in the territories of the United States—it was June 19, 1862—Negroes still are seeking fruits of that action, of the Emancipation Proclamation, and of the 13th amendment.

Just as Negroes were protesting the ungodly act of slavery back in 1862, they are protesting the ungodly act of racial discrimination in 1956. Evidence of this can be seen throughout the nation. There are bus boycotts in two major cities and hints of other possible strikes to come. Negroes are engaged in court battles for equal opportunities in education, employment, living conditions, etc.

A century ago, many people felt that it was morally wrong to enslave another group or race, but few believers did anything about it. Today, many people say they believe jimcrow and discrimination is against christian principles, and they, too, fail to do anything about it..

Conditions are similar

every was recognized as evil, later abolished in 1862, run quite parallel to conditions existing today.

The conditions under which slavery was recognized as evil, and later abolished in 1862, run quite parallel to conditions existing today.

The action by Congress on June 19, 1862 was the stepping stone for Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, issued on September 22, 1862. The proclamation stated that all slaves in states rebelling against the United States during the Civil War as of January 1, 1863 were free.

Slaves in Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia were free. A total of 3,120,000 were released. 830,000 were not freed.

13th Amendment

The next constitutional act, the 13th amendment was issued on February 22, 1865. This was the final document on slavery and it made the institution in any form illegal in the United States.

A number of states, beginning with Vermount in 1777 through New Jersey in 1804 outlawed slavery. In 1787, slavery was forever banned in the Northwest Territory by the Northwest Ordinance.

The first organized group to stand against slavery was the quakers. Then came such dynamic anti-slavery leaders as William Lloyd Garrison, Elijah P. Lovejoy and John Brown.

Lincoln Was Pressured

Lincoln, himself often called "The Great Emancipator," was against slavery, but he wanted to end it harmoniously by paying the owners for the freedmen. It may be noted, however, that Lincoln was being pressured by northerners, to abolish slavery. Once the President replied:

"My paramount object is to save the union and not either to save or destroy slavery."

Negro Is Called Anti-Red Force

Post & Times Herald Washington, D.C. P.26

The deadline is approaching when the United States and the West must offer Negroes real racial equality or lose them to Communism, an Australian religious leader declared here yesterday.

Wash. 7-23-56

"The West hasn't a chance of winning to its way of life the mass of colored people unless it convinces them it has gained a greater conception of racial justice," the Rev. Alan Walker said in a sermon at Foundry Methodist Church.

"We whose skin is pink haven't got too long to get out of our bloodstream the feeling of racial superiority," he said. "The colored man is standing to his feet, deciding whom and what he will follow."

Americans must show speed in proving their belief in racial equality through specific acts, he asserted.

"You Americans haven't got long to move beyond segregation in attitude, custom and law," he said.

Nor has South Africa much time to switch from apartheid, he added.

"Unless Australia," he said, "modifies its white-Australia policy, and Britain and France expunge lingering colonalism, they will lose the good will of the colored man."

According to Mr. Walker, racialism has become, "in the long run," a more serious issue than the Communist-West conflicts. He attributed to "perpetuated racialism" some of the defeats the West has sustained.

In this country on a "preaching itinerary," the minister has spoken at Methodist colleges and seminaries and held eight-day missions in several cities. He is on a leave of absence as director of the "Mission to the Nation" for the Methodist Church of Australia.

Mr. Walker called race and peace the two principal issues "God must be asking us to express our convictions on." In them lies an "ethical challenge," he said, which Christians will meet if the present "quickening of interest" in religion is truly sprung from Christ.

The new "wistful groping" after God shows, he said, that many persons have come to realize there is a world of the spirit. "I feel I can't live without it," is a common sentiment, he said.

But unless it is Christ-centered, this is not enough, he declared.

DAVID LAWRENCE

Our 'Illegal' 14th Amendment

Evening Star Washington, D.C. Thurs. 7-26-56

Forced on South in 1868, It Is Basis of Bill On Civil Rights, Termed 'Rights Invader'

P.23-A

Americans would be outraged today if they read that a country calling itself a republic had forced the adoption of a constitution upon its local legislatures at the point of a bayonet.

Few Americans know, however, that this was precisely what happened in supposedly free America in 1868—nearly three years after the War Between the States and after the Southern States had been accepted fully into the Union.

Indeed, few people today know the historical background of the "civil rights" bill which the House of Representatives has just passed. Instead, many people, in referring to the segregation issue, talk glibly about the need for "obeying the Constitution," without the slightest awareness that the famous Fourteenth Amendment from which the whole "civil rights" controversy has emerged never really was ratified in the constitutional manner by two-thirds of both houses of Congress and by three-fourths of the then existing States.

Without exception, all the historians who have written about that period in American history are agreed as to the facts of what happened. There were 37 States in the Union and, then as now, it was necessary before the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution that two steps be taken—first, approval of a proposed amendment by a two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress, and, second, ratification by three-fourths of the State legislatures.

In 1866, when the Fourteenth Amendment was considered by Congress, the members of the House and Senate who came from the South were deliberately disqualified from voting by a Northern majority in both houses. Nevertheless, the amendment was submitted to the States for ratification.

The action taken by Congress was in contrast to what had happened in 1865—after the war—when the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery, was before these same members of Congress. Southern members were not disqualified then. Nor was any question raised as to the legitimacy of the State legislatures when the entire South, through these same legislatures, voted to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment. President Andrew Johnson had formally proclaimed amnesty and had recognized the State governments in 1865. To all intents and purposes, they were the legal governments of those States.

When, two years after the amnesty, the 10 Southern States rejected the Fourteenth Amendment, this was enough to defeat ratification, inasmuch as 10 States were more than one-fourth of the 37 in the Union at the time. Congress then stepped in and, again without letting the Southern Congressmen or Senators vote, passed the Reconstruction Act of 1867 over the veto of President Andrew Johnson, who in a message formally challenged the constitutionality of the law. Under the terms of that law, Congress attempted to coerce the Southern States. The law declared the existing State governments were to be wiped out, all Confederate soldiers were to be disfranchised and military rule was to be imposed.

The law specifically said military rule would be lifted and the States would be given back their powers and their representation in Congress only after each one had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment.

"Rump" legislatures thereupon were set up under military rule, which in turn accepted the conditions imposed on the South by Congress. With ironical disregard of the

very words of the Fourteenth Amendment which guaranteed "due process of law," this amendment was proclaimed formally in 1868 as an integral part of the Constitution.

There is, of course, no power contained in the Constitution, itself, which can order the States to vote for or reject a constitutional amendment. The Supreme Court of the United States, however, has since sidestepped every case brought before it which attempted to question the validity of the procedure used in 1867 and 1868. To this day, the highest court in the land has never ruled on the legitimacy of the Fourteenth Amendment itself.

Since the Supreme Court in 1954 overturned a precedent established 58 years before with respect to "equal but separate" schools, there are many lawyers today who say the Supreme Court now should re-examine the method by which the Fourteenth Amendment was illegally interjected into the Constitution. In fact, a case has just been brought in a Federal court in Tennessee that raises this very issue.

As recently as 1951, the Supreme Court expressed its disapproval of what it termed the "conquered province" theory that prevailed in Congress after the war and warned that the Fourteenth Amendment "was not to be used to centralize power so as to upset the Federal system."

Yet the "civil rights" measure which the House has just passed does mean Federal interference in the operations of State institutions and agencies and the harassment of citizens generally by a Federal commission—even though such citizens are not connected with State governments in any way.

This is perhaps the most far-reaching invasion of the rights of the States that has been proposed since the ill-fated time when Congress coerced the Southern States by means of puppet legislatures into "ratifying" an amendment that the people didn't want—the antithesis of government by the "consent of the governed."

Few voices, unfortunately, are being raised in the North against this defiance of basic principles of constitutionalism. Whether or not one believes in the principle of integration in the public schools wherever the States desire it—as this writer does—the fact remains that the orders to obey "integration" and the support in Congress for various "civil rights" measures are based on an alleged amendment to the Constitution that never was legally ratified.

NEGRO REMINDED OF TIE TO NATION

Times 7-15-56

New York

Preacher Puts It First in Any 'Color War'—Scorns Fatalism, Hails Destiny

Mon. 8-13-56

The first duty of the American Negro is to his own land, even if the Suez Canal controversy should come to be regarded by Asians and Africans as a "color war," a Negro minister said yesterday.

The Rev. Gardner Taylor made the statement in a sermon at the Concord Baptist Church of Christ, Marcy and Putnam Avenues, Brooklyn. He added, however, that "we look with hope and joy at the rising surge of dark people toward full freedom."

His remarks about the tensions in the Middle East and the role of the races were made in a sermon in which he condemned a "fatalistic" outlook on life.

"Fatalism has become instilled in many who consider themselves sophisticated and modern," he went on. "Some are too lazy to battle against the tides and to strive for what they believe ought to happen to them and for them."

But, observing that there were instances where a person had no control of certain situations, he added:

"It is a tragic sight to see a man or woman fighting circumstances that cannot be changed and are not meant to be changed.

"We are born members of a certain race and, while there ought not to be undue pride of tribe or color, still a person ought to accept with honor and a sense of destiny."

HUMPHREY URGES PATIENCE ON BIAS

Times 7-15-56

New York

Calls for Understanding of South's Problem—Kefauver and Kennedy Claim Gains

Mon. 8-13-56

By ANTHONY LEWIS

Special to The New York Times.

CHICAGO, Aug. 12—Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota pushed his campaign for the Democratic Vice-Presidential nomination today with a call for understanding of Southern problems on the race issue.

Senator Humphrey, who led a successful floor fight for a strong civil rights plank at the 1948 convention, told a nationwide television audience that patience was essential in the fight to wipe out racial prejudice.

"We know you're not going to kill it over night no matter how many platforms you write," Senator Humphrey said.

Meanwhile, F. Joseph Donohue, campaign manager for Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, claimed the support of two Southern Governors for Senator Kefauver as the Vice-Presidential nominee. He did not name them, but he hinted they were Govs. James E. Folsom of Alabama and Leroy Collins of Florida.

Cites Support from Long

Mr. Donohue, speaking at a televised news conference, said that Senator Kefauver already had a pledge of support from Gov. Earl Long of Louisiana. Some kind of Southern backing would be an important plum for the Senator because he is generally considered notably unpopular with most Southern politicians.

An inactive candidate for the second spot on the ticket, Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, remained very much in the picture. He spent the day visiting receptions, meeting politicians and generally acting just like a candidate except in name.

Senator Kennedy's assistants said they had been approached by many delegates who wanted to work for him. States represented, they said, included New Jersey, Maryland, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Georgia, Flordia, Louisiana, Arizona, California and Oregon.

Govs. Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut and Dennis J. Roberts of Rhode Island, who are supporting Senator Kennedy, reported to him that he was gaining strength. After the meeting, the Senator said that he was "very pleased," but he still insisted he was not an active candidate.

'Observance' Is Cited

Senator Humphrey appeared on the Columbia Broadcasting System program "Face the Nation." He said he preferred to think of "observance" of the Supreme Court decision against public school segregation rather than "enforcement."

"We're going to have a strong plank on civil rights," Senator Humphrey said. However, he was optimistic that it would be one acceptable to the South. He accused the Republicans of playing politics with the racial issue because they had no substantial Southern support that they must placate.

Political appeal to farmers—an area in which Mr. Stevenson is assertedly weak—figured in the infighting among the Vice Presidential hopefuls. Senator Humphrey's backers are pressing the argument that he would give a Stevenson ticket the strength it needs in the Midwest.

The identical theme is being sounded, however, by Kefauver supporters. And Mr. Donohue sounded a warning today that Mr. Stevenson might not get the votes of farm-area Kefauver delegates in the Presidential nomination balloting unless he indicated he would accept the Tennessean as a running mate.

Speaking on the American Broadcasting Company program "College Press Conference," Mr. Donohue said Kefauver votes in Wisconsin and Minnesota would "never go to Harriman so long as they feel Kefauver will be on the Stevenson ticket."

Polling Northern Whites

Atlanta Const. 7-8-56

Catholic Digest is further evidence of segregation sentiment in the North, where it's not supposed to exist.

Montgomery Ala

The poll compared the feelings of white Southerners with those of white Northerners. Two-thirds of the white Southerners questioned said they liked Negroes. The percentage was somewhat higher among Northern whites.

Mon. 8-13-56

But 17% of Northern whites admitted they would not like to work next to Negroes and 37% said they didn't want to live in the same neighborhood with Negroes. Southern disapproval was considerably higher on both questions (46% and 65%, respectively) but it may be supposed that if the poll were limited to Northerners who lived in areas comparable to the South in the number of Negro residents, the percentages would come close to balancing out. Illustrating again that the race problem depends not so much on geography as on the concentration of Negroes.

Use of Federal Troops

Courier Sat. 8-18-56

The Federal Government, in no significant instance, has ever used Federal troops to enforce law except AFTER AN AGGRESSION against the Government itself.

Life P 9

Yet the issue is constantly flaunted about the use of Federal troops to enforce the Supreme Court's decision against segregation. It is a completely phony issue. It is an issue injected to becloud the real issue—desegregation. It presupposes that it is going to be necessary to place Federal troops at Southern schools to protect Negro children.

Questions as to the use of Federal troops are incendiary and irresponsible and are meant to be so.

Negro parents have no thought of their children walking to school with soldiers by their sides. The NAACP does not advocate the use of Federal troops to solve the problem of segregation. No responsible Negro organization or leader does.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

If Federal troops ever had to be used (which God forbid!), the decision so to do would not be one pressed for by Negroes. Four million Negro slaves did not ask the Federal Government to go to war to free them. The Federal Government only went into action AFTER THE AGGRESSION at Fort Sumter.

ELIZABETH B. ALDEN

DIVIDED SOUTH SEARCHES ITS SOUL

Sirs:

Robert Penn Warren has given us a masterful report ("Divided South Searches Its Soul," LIFE, July 9). His summation calling for "a process of mutual education for whites and blacks" should be taken literally by educators the country over.

Newark, N.J.

Sirs:

The time has come for an organized movement to cancel subscriptions to magazines that continue to publish such articles against the South.

JOE D. JONES

Walterboro, S.C.

Sirs:

Warren's searching report was brilliantly intensified by Walter Richards' illustrations. If Warren's data on preachers' reactions are valid, the failure of most southern churches to *be* Christian is the most heartbreaking aspect of this conflict.

BEN W. FUSON

Park College
Parkville, Mo.

Sirs:

Warren's article was a clumsy attempt to slam the South. However, the author did succeed in revealing his true talent—writing fiction.

CHARLES M. REYLE

Knoxville, Tenn.

Mon. 7-30-56

Sirs:

It is this kind of frank, but two-edged coverage of the race problem that the present situation has been crying for. As a "borderline Southerner" whose family tree has roots deep in the South, I can vouch for the typicality of many of Warren's interviews and can add only a fervent "Amen" to his conclusions.

ANN JEFFRY MONTAGUE

Arlington, Va.

Sirs:

To reorient, re-educate and relocate himself is wisely in order before Mr. Robert Penn Warren should ever attempt such an article.

WILLIAM B. SCOGGINS

Norfolk, Va.

Sirs:

Mr. Warren's feeling of relief when he left this section of the country I can well understand. It is heartbreaking to live in an area where man has so little respect for man.

ELISABETH B. WIEDEMAN

New Orleans, La.

DAVID LAWRENCE

Evening Star Washington D.C.

Integration and Intermarriages

South's Fear of Mongrelization of Races Is Called the Real Issue

Times 5-20-56

Integration of races in all schools throughout the United States is a long way off — years and years, and maybe never. It is as far away or as near as the day when present advocates of integration are willing to face, possibly in their own families, the real issue — the intermarriage of white sons and daughters with Negroes.

The Supreme Court of the United States a few weeks ago sidestepped a decision on the issue of racial intermarriage. For technical reasons, it refused to decide whether a Virginia State law prohibiting intermarriage of races was constitutional. There are such laws in 28 States. Another case is certain to come before the highest court soon. If it is decided that State laws prohibiting intermarriage are unconstitutional, the issue will bring even more friction than the question of school integration.

For in the South many people feel that legalized intermarriages will lead to a mongrelization of the white race and that the propinquity of white and Negro children from the kindergarten age up through the colleges cannot but encourage intermarriages on the widest scale in future generations.

The Southerners are arguing for the right to discriminate in their social life, and they consider schools to be a social institution. They point to the recent decision of the Supreme Court on the school question as having been based primarily on sociological grounds.

Southerners also contend that in the North many of the outspoken advocates of integration believe in and themselves practice the right to discriminate against Negroes and do keep them off the membership rolls of the "exclusive" clubs in New York City and Chicago, for example, and bar them from many country clubs throughout the United States, even though such clubs enjoy certain tax exemptions bestowed upon them by the Federal Government. Is this right to discriminate in choosing members now to be taken away from them through the coercion of the taxing power?

The prediction that integration in the schools is far distant is based on the many avenues of avoidance available to the South under the head of "lawful means."

The manifesto signed by such a renowned constitutional lawyer as Senator Walter F. George, Democrat of Georgia, and more than 100 other members of Congress did not—as has been erroneously interpreted in many quarters—advocate physical resistance to the Supreme Court's decision. It is important to examine anew the wording of the two most significant paragraphs in the manifesto, which read as follows:

"We commend the motives of those States which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means. . . .

"We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision."

What are the "lawful means"? There are many. Here are some:

(1) Case after case can be brought in a prolonged process of litigation, and every case can introduce a different principle or a different approach to the problem. Meanwhile, integration is delayed for years. This method is wholly lawful.

(2) Southern States can amend their Constitutions and pass laws permitting public funds to be given directly to individual citizens for use in educating their children in private schools chosen by their parents.

(3) Public-school buildings can be leased to private corporations, and private schools can be established which could discriminate against Negroes just as do the "exclusive" clubs in the North.

(4) Cases can be brought to the courts by white parents in support of the right of a State to exclude from classrooms all children who do not conform to sociological patterns set by the school boards in a community. Since the Supreme Court itself ruled that a Negro child can be made to feel psychologically inferior if excluded from a classroom containing white children, it will be argued that the impact of the Negro child on the white child has retarded educational progress and that, therefore, States should be permitted to operate mixed schools or segregated schools as the school authorities in their discretion may decide.

(5) Many delicate matters of jurisdiction on strictly educational questions can be raised to embarrass the Northern States until they are finally convinced that the only way out is the adoption of an amendment to the Federal Constitution specifically granting to the States the sole right to pass laws with respect to school attendance and educational standards in public schools.

The drive for a constitutional amendment to reverse the Supreme Court's decision will be based on the theory that many people who want religious schools preserved will not wish to see the Federal Government given complete control over education.

One thing is clear. The legal battle has just begun, and "interposition" means interposing many a case that will hold up for a long, long while the general integration of schools in the South, during which time the movement for an amendment to the Constitution will be pursued.

Experience with another social issue — the Eighteenth Amendment—is recalled. Public sentiment was gradually built up against it, and the Federal prohibition laws were so universally disregarded and "resisted" that adoption of the "repeal" amendment to the Constitution came with amazing rapidity—within 10 months after both houses of Congress passed it. The States now have the sole power to prohibit the sale of intoxicating beverages within their own boundaries. It has become a "local issue" —which is what education, too, really was for 165 years, until the Supreme Court decision of 1954.

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A NEGRO IS SATISFIED

Commercial Appeal

To The Commercial Appeal:

When Paul Clark says he is a bigoted ignorant integrationist I agree with him. He speaks of North Side Chicago Park or New York or Beverly Hills as a heaven for the oppressed colored people of Mississippi. P. 3

If he can find as many as five Mississippi Negroes who will accompany him to either of these places I'll guarantee him free passage with understanding Paul will stay and will send for the Negroes when they want to come home, which would be about 10 days.

Memphis Tenn.

Mississippi is building good schools, buying good buses, hiring qualified teachers for the good colored people and they are satisfied.

God bless the good colored people and let's build them good schools and get along with them.

SAM JOHNSON.

SEGREGATION FOES SLATE THREE RALLIES

Times P. 33C

Three anti-segregation rallies are scheduled next month in Chicago and New York, it was announced yesterday.

Times 5-17-56

The Rev. Dr. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, 132 West 138th Street, said the gatherings would be held on May 11 in Chicago, May 17 at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York and on May 24 at Madison Square Garden.

Dr. Powell, Democratic representative from Manhattan, hailed the National Deliverance Day of Prayer on March 28 as a "great success" in funds raised and attendance.

New York

Dr. Powell reported that the estimated $2,500 proceeds of the program March 28 would be sent to Negroes waging the bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala.

Dr. Powell emphasized that the Montgomery Negroes were "not passively resisting the segregation pattern, but are asking for Negro drivers, improved seating arrangement and courteous treatment."

A group of clergymen will meet at St. Phillip's Protestant Episcopal Church, 215 West 133d Street, at 11:30 A. M. on May 23 to plan for the Madison Square Garden rally.

Dean Rusk Says "Negro In Society" Watched By World

Globe P. 12 Grev. 4-4-56

The role the Negro will play in our society will have a crucial influence upon the choice hundreds of millions of people will make in organizing their newly-won independence, Dr. Dean Rusk, president of the Rockefeller Founlation, told a capacity audience of 1800 attending the United Negro College Convocation last night at Severance Hall.

Nashville Tenn.

We are being judged by our performance, Dr. Rusk warned, and it will have a direct effect upon the choice of ideologies and institutions that are now being made throughout the world. Pointing to the contributions that college-trained American Negroes had made "at the most sensitive points in our foreign relations," Dr. Rusk said that we cannot afford to diminish support for Negro education because the "segregation issue is still unresolved."

"To do so would create a lost generation of our Negro young people who aspire to learning and responsibile and dignified careers. The segregation issue is not settled, there are young people to be educated, and these are institutions ready for the task Quite apart from the ultimate solution itself. . .we shall in any event need the full capacity of all of our present colleges and universities and more."

The Convocation, sponsored by more than 160 distinguished Cleveland citizens under the chairmanship of Louis B. Seltzer, editor of The Cleveland Press, highlighted a 3-day meeting of the presidents of 31 colleges of the United Negro College Fund.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia, and Vice-President of the Fund, speaking at the Severance Hall meeting, statel that though the deep South is employing tactics to delay desegregation, "America can never again accept segregation as Constitutional measure. These attempts to circumvent the May 17, 1954 Decision of the Supreme Court will have to be tested out in the Federal Courts by Negroes."

Dr. Mays pointed out that the Fund's 31 colleges make, adding that for almost a century "they have carried the torch of freedom and interracial good will for the entire South. When the churches were closed to interracial gatherings and other institutions were barred against them, it was on the campuses of these colleges that Negroes and white people of good will anl prophetic insights met to discuss their common problems and to lay the foundation for a desegregated society.

"Even today, with incresing racial tension in the deep South, it is only on the campuses of the colleges that make up the United Negro College Funl that desegregated, interracial meetings can be held, and free discussion on integregation permitted. For example, in Georgia, right now, the only colleges in the state that are free to have interracial gatherings without restrictions are the seven so-called Negro colleges."

A Call for the White House to Act

Courier-Journal

WHEN the Supreme Court in 1954 ruled segregated public schools unconstitutional, President EISENHOWER responded with vigorous leadership. He said he hoped that the District of Columbia schools would become a model for the change decreed by the court. Almost inevitably, thanks to the prestige of his high office, they did—achieving virtually complete integration within two years, and with relatively so little friction that many students of social revolution were astonished.

Louisville, Ky.

The model, however, has fired no emulation in the Deep South. Hot-headed opposition to compliance with the court's decree has mounted, steadily borrowing strength from extremists who would complete a social revolution overnight. Men of goodwill and moderation, of both races, are threatened with the melting heat of the extremists, and there is a steadily worsening deterioration of the situation.

Times 3-27-56

This development has paralleled a vacuum of leadership at the top. It is a vacuum that has swelled dangerously since the days of 1954. It is a vacuum that friends of the President and of the nation's best interests are now asking him to fill.

So far President EISENHOWER has responded with press-conference statements urging moderation and understanding, and with the weak and hopeless suggestion that Congress take over the burden with a bipartisan commission charged with making a continuing study of implementation of the court's order. The appeal for moderation and understanding, remarkably like ADLAI STEVENSON'S plea for "moderation, patience, time and intelligence," unfortunately commends itself only to those who already have it. It can achieve its goal only if it is matched by positive Presidential action to buttress these moderating influences, North and South, Negro and white, that alone can save the country from catastrophe.

Speech in itself is a form of action, of course. And there is no doubt that much could be accomplished, as some White House advisers are urging, by a fireside chat giving a careful and detailed exposition of the President's philosophy of moderation and how he wants it applied to what WALTER LIPPMANN has termed the most dangerous internal problem facing the nation.

But the President is also being urged (when he is not being urged to say nothing) to appoint his own commission of inquiry, a commission that would profit heavily from his own vast prestige and his great personal influence, a prestige and an influence that know no sectional lines. He is also being urged, by ADLAI STEVENSON and others, to call a White House conference or a series of them, at which responsible leaders of both races would exchange ideas on how best to proceed.

There is merit in all these ideas, it seems to us—merit as well as the possibility of increased friction if the personal leadership of the President is not both vigorous and sustained. But the crying need of the moment, whatever course is to be charted, is for Presidential initiative, for a truly national voice that rises above the uproar of the hate-mongers and the fanatics and speaks with justice and righteousness and sanity and patience and understanding.

There are many such voices in the South itself, little heard as yet over the din of the extremists. But they can be amplified a thousand-fold, in respectability and influence, by the President himself. Whatever the outcome of commissions or conferences in Washington, it is these voices that need the prestige of official endorsement and organization; it is state and not national bi-racial commissions that must do the greater job. If they are composed of men of goodwill who acknowledge that the time has come for the Negro and the white man to hammer out their problems across the conference table, if they are appointed by the President himself and are pledged to the same goals he has espoused, they could go far toward saving the day.

But it is the President who must act first.

Southern Revolt in '56

Post-Dispatch-Herald

Although there is as yet no obvious leader behind whom old guard Southern Democrats might rally (unless it is Senator Byrd), there is increasing evidence that a third party movement is in the making. It may not be consciously planned at this time, but the threat, nevertheless, is a real one. The issuance of the manifesto by Southern Senators and Representatives declaring implacable opposition to the Supreme Court school integration decision hardened the lines in the South against moderate and progressive leaders, who now seem to have become captives of the extremists. Passions are aroused as perhaps never before in this century and certainly to a greater extent than in 1948 when the Dixiecrat movement was born. White Citizens Councils and many even less extreme groups are saying that a vote for either national party as now constituted is a vote for integration. Thus the stage is being set for revolt.

Sun 4-1-56

Responsible Southerners have sought without avail to find safe means of recapturing their positions of influence and of putting out flames of hatred that are spreading in every direction. They know that the Dixiecrat movement in 1948 profited the South nothing and failed in its primary purpose, which was to cause the defeat of President Truman. In 1952, the Republican Party offered a temporary place of refuge to many a disgruntled Southern Democrat, and there was no third-party movement that year. Now the leadership of the two parties is so clearly in agreement on the race issue that extremist Southerners have nowhere to turn. In order to express their resentment and frustration they would, like Samson, pull down the temple on their own heads.

The time has come for courageous Southern leadership. If it is not exercised soon, revolt will be inevitable when the Democratic platform is written in August. Speaker Rayburn and Senator Johnson have such widespread support in the South that they could do much to calm the waters if they would speak out clearly and forcefully. They know that the South has nothing to gain by working outside the two-party system. They know that serious economic difficulties face the region if it becomes politically isolated. They know that the Supreme Court did not order a revolution in a day and that the interests of both races will best be served by evolutionary rather than revolutionary changes. They and others like them know these facts, and they should speak out. We are confident that they would find many recruits. At least, they would be acting to head off the threat implicit in a third-party movement—a threat to national unity and to success of the party they represent.

Second Thoughts on the South

Newsweek p. 23

The southward migration of U.S. industry may slow considerably if tension continues to mount over the segregation issue.

Mon. 3-26-56

One major company has already closed its Southern plant; other companies considering a southward move are having second thoughts.

Dayton, Ohio

The most recent cause for caution: Reports of a scattered boycott by white customers against companies believed to be "antisegregation."

Sales of one brand of beer in Mississippi* have declined since a publication called The White Sentinel reported the brewer was a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. (The truth: The brewer merely gave a membership to one of its Negro salesmen.) Sales are still down in several Southern states despite a flying trip by a company delegation to clear up the situation.

Voice Of The People

News p. 10

Segregation Natural, If Opportunities Equal

Why, Mr. White Councilman, are you so concerned and making such a big issue of integration. You are the only one who is worried. Ninety-nine per cent of the Negroes never even give it a thought.

We don't want to socialize with you, we don't want anything you have, but equal schools and parks for our children, and you wouldn't be giving us that because we pay just as much taxes as you do. We drive just as many cars per capita as you do. We wear just as fine clothes as you do. Our homes are just as comfortable as yours are. What do you have we haven't got?

Times 4-3-56

We don't want to go to school with you. Should you build two identical schools a block apart both unsegregated, you would find that the Negroes would segregate themselves. If our public schools were integrated, there would be so few Negroes, if any, in your white schools, your vanity would be shocked. And why do you and Gov. Marvin Griffin always preach integration leads to inter-marriage. Don't you have any confidence in your so-called white supremacy? Don't you know that marriage is an agreement between two persons, and nobody can be forced into a wedding? Don't you realize nobody can marry a white person unless he or she is willing?

B'ham, Ala.

So why don't you settle down and stop worrying yourself to death and passing laws and keep the newspapers full of trash about segregation and integration? The Negro doesn't want to be with you half as bad as some of your bill collectors and policy men seem to want to be with him. If integration comes, and it will, you have nothing to worry about. We'll still segregate ourselves because we love our race.

TED BROOKS,
Sayreton, Ala.

Va. Segregation Defender Cites

Post + Times Herald P. 18 Sat. 3-24-56

Sen. Lehman's Prohibition Stand

Washington D.C.

Associated Press

Sen. Robertson (D-Va.) yesterday recalled the North's fight against the prohibition amendment in urging recognition of "the justice" of the South's fight against integration.

New York and other Northern states, Robertson told the Senate, fought against the 18th amendment — which outlawed liquor—just as the South "now objects to a prohibition against separate but equal schools" for whites and Negroes.

He directed his remarks principally to Sen. Lehman (D—N. Y.) who criticized in the Senate recently the "manifesto" adopted by 19 Southern Senators and about 75 House members.

Lehman said the "manifesto calls for the use of all lawful means to overturn the decision of the Supreme Court."

"But these words," Lehman added, "are in support of action in some states to defy the law and to prevent its enforcement. That is not lawful action."

Robertson recalled that Lehman in 1933, while Governor of New York called the 18th amendment "and the related enforcement act 'sumptuary' legislation which, according to the dictionary, means law designed to regulate habits primarily on moral or religious grounds by the use of the state's police powers."

"He (Lehman) said repeal of the amendment showed 'the force of intelligent, well considered public opinion, aroused by the abuses and failures of a statute that never commended itself to the reasoned judgment of the people'," Robertson added.

"Will the gentleman (Lehman) not recognize," Robertson continued, "that the decree demanding that instead of providing separate but equal schools for the races the Southern states must mix them altogether is in our eyes 'sumptuary' legislation of the worst sort and that such action does not commend itself to the reasoned judgment of the people in our states."

6 Negroes Attempt College Registration

ATLANTA, March 23 (AP)—Six Negroes tried to enroll today at the State College of Business Administration.

At the end of the day the Negroes were no closer to enrollment than when they started after visits to the College, the State Board of Regents and the Fulton County Ordinary (Chancery Judge).

However, Attorney A. T. Walden for the Negroes said he would continue his fight to have them enrolled.

Alabama Legislature Broke Oath, Says Folsom

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 22 (AP)—Gov. James E. Folsom charged today that the Alabama Legislature "collectively and individually" violated its oath to the U. S. Constitution by passing a resolution declaring the U. S. Supreme Court's anti-segregation decrees null and void.

Folsom told a news conference that "the only way an elected official can be relieved of his oath to the Constitution of the United States is by a constitutional convention."

"Until the people say otherwise, I'm going to uphold my oath to the United States Constitution, come hell or high water," he said.

Baltimore County Speeds Integration

TOWSON, Md., March 22 (AP) The Baltimore County Board of Education voted unanimously yesterday to open 25 more public schools to integration when the fall term begins next September.

When added to the 28 desegregated last fall, the county will have 53 integrated schools including 43 elementary, three junior high, six senior high and one special school for mentally retarded youngsters.

San Antonio Ends City Segregation

SAN ANTONIO, Tex., March 22 (AP)—City councilmen, in less than five minutes today, ended a century of segregation of whites and Negroes in municipally owned facilities.

They unanimously passed an ordinance repealing a 1954 ordinance requiring racial segregation in city swimming pools, and then went a giant step further and threw open the doors of all public functions in municipally owned facilities to "all persons . . . on an equal basis."

City Atty. Carlos Cadena said the action is effective immediately. There were no speeches and the council completed passage quickly. The measure has been under private discussion for about a week.

The ordinance covered public tennis courts, golf courses, swimming pools, rest rooms and the Municipal Auditorium.

All school districts here are already desegregated.

Segregation Illegal; School Board Concedes

NASHVILLE, Tenn., March 22—The Nashville School Board conceded today that segregation provisions of Tennessee's Constitution and statues are "clearly unconstiutional."

The concession was made in a Federal Court brief supporting its request for dissolution of a three-judge court scheduled to be convened next week to hear the constitutional question.

At the same time the board requested a continuance of the suit seeking admission of 21 Negro children to white schools and two white children to Negro schools to permit more time for planning desegregation.

The Southern Declaration

Herald Tribune

The "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" issued by nineteen Senators and seventy-seven Congressmen from eleven Southern states is a serious development. It is easy to take issue with the "principles" enunciated in the document; morally, it is highly vulnerable. What is harder to challenge is the fact that an "explosive and dangerous condition" exists in the South of which this declaration is an ominous symbol.

Tues. 3-13-56

The situation has been building up ever since the Supreme Court ruled, on May 16, 1954, "that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits the states from maintaining racially segregated public schools." Before that, application of the doctrine that "separate but equal public facilities" did not meet the requirements of the amendment—in transportation, in higher education—encountered relatively little co-ordinated opposition. It was when desegregation was applied to all public schooling that Southern resistance became articulate, organized and, in some cases, violent.

P. 20

New York N. Y.

The rioting on the campus of the University of Alabama over the admission of Miss Autherine Lucy on Feb. 6 provided a focus for public awareness of the gravity of the situation. Reporting from Tuscaloosa to this newspaper on Feb. 7, Mr. Robert S. Bird described the "seething undercurrent of discussion" that followed the riots. On Feb. 11 he told of a meeting of more than 12,000 Alabamans in Montgomery, who "roared and booed their defiance of 'race integration'"; the next day he outlined the "almost perfect success" of the Negro boycott of Montgomery's buses, which produced, on Feb. 21, the indictment of the boycott leaders. March 1 found a court ordering Miss Lucy readmitted to the university, although one trustee warned that "she probably will be killed." Almost immediately, Miss Lucy was expelled for "disciplinary reasons." Meanwhile, Mr. Bird saw Bessemer, Ala., shops stripped of guns and ammunition on rumors that Negroes planned to jostle whites on the streets. And guns are flowing Southward in increasing amounts, symptomatic of danger ahead.

* * *

Around the episodes in Alabama could be perceived the fabric of a growing crisis in the deep South. As Mr. Bird wrote on Feb. 27, in a series on "The South's Bias Problem," for most Southerners "the idea of segregation is not only an experienced fact in their lives but has for them the sanction of rightness which their whole heritage of cultural beliefs give it. This gives emotional power beyond a Northerner's ordinary understanding."

Without an understanding of that emotional power, the protests of the Southern Congressmen may seem mere legalisms. When they recite the precedents for the "separate but equal" thesis which the Supreme Court has renounced, and charge that the members of the Court "substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land," they can be refuted. The rule of *"stare decisis"*—that previous decisions govern later ones—has been regarded as "salutary" by the United States Supreme Court but not completely binding in constitutional matters. In 1894 the Court stated: "Manifestly, as this court is clothed with the power and entrusted with the duty to maintain the fundamental law of the Constitution, the discharge of that duty requires it not to extend any decision upon a constitutional question if it is convinced that error in principle might supervene."

* * *

Moreover, as Justice Brandeis pointed out in 1932, the reversals of previous decisions have been particularly numerous in such fields as the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In interpreting that clause, the Court is bound to consider the climate of human society at a given time, to determine what, in the words of the amendment, the "privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States" may be con-

sidered to be at that time, and what constitutes "equal protection of the laws."

The Supreme Court held that in public education segregation does violate the Fourteenth Amendment, much as Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans held it to be "morally wrong and sinful," and warned of excommunication to those who supported it in parochial schools, as Mr. Francis Sugrue reported on Feb. 24. Outside the deep South and at points within it, the conviction of segregation's moral, social and legal wrong has been steadily growing. The need for maintaining the great tradition of American freedom in the world insures that it will continue to grow. But if it presses too hard and too fast upon the deep emotional adherence to segregation in the South, the danger of the "chaos and confusion" against which the Southern Congressmen warn will be intensified. This newspaper urges again, as it did editorially, on Feb. 19: "We are all Americans, North and South, white and Negro, and we must find, with reasonable dispatch, an American solution to our common problem."

For a Bipartisan Racial Study Group

Post + Times Herald
Tues. 4-10-56

From the (Norfolk) Virginian-Pilot

Washington, D.C.

THE EXCHANGE between Gov. LeRoy Collins of Florida and President Eisenhower leaves the clear implication that if Congress does not provide for the bipartisan commission on racial problems which the President asked for in January, he will set up some kind of commission himself. The country approaches, almost surely, a new effort to understand segregation problems in the Southern states.

But Governor Collins' suggestion of a conference of Governors and Attorneys General of the Southern States is a dubious approach. In the first place, the Southern Governors have an organization already. They have met and discussed the school segregation problems, and will do so again, and have also met in smaller groups. Southern Attorneys General have similarly conferred on what to do.

In the second place, if a congressional or presidential commission is to offer any hope, its membership should not be confined to the South. It should have a heavy Southern membership—possibly a large majority. But because the problems are national, and the contributions toward their solutions should be national, the membership should be national.

In the third place, such a commission should not be confined to officials, but should have as members some men and women, some Negroes too, all of moral strength and influence, of balance and courage, of deep wisdom and high intelligence, and of willingness to take on public duty for which they would probably encounter severe criticism.

IF IT is possible to muster such a commission, it is possible that it would initiate a new force in the South, and in the Nation too, to compete for public approval with the extremists on both sides who now dominate the scene. This is a force which Virginia has not had, the South has not had, and the Nation has not had.

It is the kind of influence which Governor Stanley envisaged on March 17, 1954, when, having just heard of the Supreme Court's decision of that day, he announced his purpose to set up a genuine study commission. He still held to that idea a few weeks later when he said it should include women and Negroes.

What happened thereafter is familiar history. The political forces of Virginia took charge. The result was the 32-member Gray Commission made up exclusively of legislators. The further result was a struggle between the deeply moved Southside of Virginia, which has supplied most of t driving power for state action, and t Negro leadership, chiefly exemplified the National Association for the Advan ment of Colored People (though if had not been that organization, it wo have been another).

In this struggle most of the cal thoughtful, moderate people of Virgin were squeezed out. Their influence ha been minor, almost negligible. They have waited and watched in anxiety, sometimes they have succumbed to pressure and taken sides.

IN SUCH respects, what has happened in Virginia is in principle much like what has happened throughout the South though in the Deep South the spirit and the extent have been different. It is the Governors and Attorneys General, it is the Legislatures, and it is now the Congressmen of the South that have taken the lead and directed the course of the South.

The college and university leadership, most other educational leadership, the church leadership, the men and women who have tried for years, not in dramatic ways, to improve racial relations, and the great multitude of moderate and responsible people who are not politicians but are not the less public-spirited and intelligent on that account—all these, who may well be the majority of the people of the South, have been a scattered and ineffective force.

What is here said about extremists and moderates in the South can, and should, be said about extremists and moderates in other parts of the Nation.

The point is that if the President, or if Congress, is to make a genuine contribution through a commission to study the perplexing and dangerous problems that grip the South, it will have to bring a new force into being.

The time may even have passed when such a movement can be started with any hope of success. For now the extremists have whipped up emotionalism to such a state that quiet thinking and action are much more difficult.

Yet the chance is there that the right kind of leadership, in the right kind of spirit, would bring into this troubled field a new concept to which men and women of good spirit would repair. It could not find more encouraging personal leadership than that of President Eisenhower.

Desegregation

Courier Sun. 4-15-56

Ohio Court Upholds Race Bar

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Ohio's Supreme Court has refused to hand down a verdict favoring the admission of a Negro woman to the Coney Island Amusement Park near Cincinnati and Mrs. Ethel Fletcher has indicated that she will carry the case on up to the U. S. Supreme Court. The court voted 5-2 against Mrs. Fletcher's mandamus action.

Pittsburgh, Pa. P.9

Jim Crow Worth $30 Billions

CHICAGO—Frank H. Cassell, industrial relations manager of the Island Steel Company, told a De Paul University forum here that racial discrimination costs U. S. industry $30 billions a year in wasted manpower and productivity.

* * *

Bishop Hits Dearborn Mayor

DETROIT—Bishop Richard S. Emrich of the Episcopal Church in Michigan has called it the "duty of every pastor and Christian to oppose" Mayor Orville Hubbard of Dearborn. Bishop Emrich said that Hubbard, by being outspoken in favor of segregation is opposing "fundamental teaching in the Christian faith."

* * *

GTEA Calls for Integration

AUGUSTA, Ga.—A call for the integration of Georgia's public schools has been issued by the Georgia Teachers and Education Association which represents 9,000 Negro members. The GTEA called for integration "with a spirit of fair play and good will."

* * *

ROUNDUP—In Arlington, Va., the NAACP is threatening court action unless the local school board allows Mrs. Lucille L. Penn to register at the University of Virginia's extension center . . . **Negro plaintiffs in the desegregation case against the Memphis State College, through their counsel, Atty. Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP, have asked the U. S. Supreme Court to order three-judge hearings on the case** . . . Gov. James (Kissin' Jim) Folsom, in Montgomery, Ala., has signed into law a bill which gives parents "freedom of choice" to say whether their children should attend segregated or integrated schools . . . **A new school, costing nearly $250,000 and about 85 per cent completed, is no longer under construction in Dublin, Ga., in the wake of protests from white residents. School officials ordered a halt to the building of the school when it was claimed that the building was being erected close to a white home. Most of the 600 students who would have entered the school are presently being taught in shacks at Buckeye, Royal Chapel, and Minter** . . . In Hillsboro, Ohio, eighteen Negro children have enrolled in formerly all-white schools thus ending over two years of litigation on the segregation issue . . . **In Birmingham, Ala., Georgia's Attorney General Eugene Cook told a Citizens Council rally that his state will close the U. of Georgia law school rather than admit a Negro** . . . Dartmouth College's Chapter of Phi Sigma Kappa has severed its ties with the national organization over the latter's banning of Negroes . . . Ex-Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas will be the "master of ceremonies" when the White Citizens Council of Arkansas and the White America, Inc., stage a rally in Little Rock on April 30.

NORTH PAPERS COVERING DIXIE 'LIKE WAR ZONE'

Journal & Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 2-19-56

COLUMBIA, S.C., Feb. 18 (AP)—The South is being covered like a war zone by Northern newspapers, Thomas R. Waring, editor of the Charleston News & Courier, said Saturday.

Addressing the final session of the South Carolina Press Assn's. mid-winter institute, Waring said Northern newspapers and magazines have a "corps of correspondents deployed all over the place" because of the race segregation problem.

"If we maintain decency and some semblance of order," Waring said, "we may be able to convince some of the people of the North that we are not a complete bunch of barbarians in the South."

'Tell It Not In Gath, Publish It Not In The Streets Of Askelon'—X

—Samuel 11, 1:30

Advertiser P.4-A Apr. 4-7-56

ONE day last week, a crudely printed note arrived at the home of a college president in Garden City, N.Y.—a pleasant Long Island village some 1,100 miles northeast of Shorter, Ala.

Starkly brief and simple, the note read: "Warning—a bomb will blow up your school Wednesday. We hate niggers."

JOHNSON

Dr. Paul Dawson Eddy, the Montgomery-born president of Adelphi College, moved fast. A day ahead of schedule, he dismissed classes for the traditional spring holidays; classes scheduled for that night and the following morning were cancelled. Some 200 women students living on-campus, who had made transportation arrangements for the following day, hastily revised their plans and left immediately.

Montgomery, Ala.

Soon the campsu and classrooms were deserted, as Garden City police, aided by Nassau County detectives, began a search of the little liberal arts school of some 3,500 enrollment, including a half-dozen Negroes.

Nothing happened. The bomb threat, fortunately, did not materialize. This week, students were preparing to return to classes Monday.

Dr. Eddy told *The Advertiser* by telephone that the bomb-note is the first of its kind ever received at Adelphi, though Negroes have been enrolled there in small numbers since World War I. Heretofore, he said, relations always have been amicable between the Negroes and other students, who include a large foreign element (representatives of 32 countries).

Dr. Eddy was at a loss to explain the threatening note. The police have found "no tangible evidence" during their investigation of what was, at the least, an alarming incident.

To *The New York Times*, however, the Garden City incident—though heavy with the race-violence element that appeals to New York editors when the wind is from the South—rated no more than a rather obscure spot on Pg. 29, Section C.

It's Happened Before

LENDING the incident added significance, if it needed more, is the fact that Adelphi College is not the first educational faculty in Nassau County to receive a bomb scare. For the past two years, according to *The Times* itself, "public schools in the county have been plagued" with threats.

As recently as Feb. 29, a juvenile court judge in Nassau County "made an example" of three high school students who admitted taking part in a bomb scare incident at Mineola High School earlier in the year. The Youths were sent to Nassau County Children's Center for three weeks.

Dr. Eddy, Adelphi's president for 20 years, is one of that growing army of graduates who believe the South must be given time to adjust to a court decision that jarringly reversed what had previously been a legal method of separating the races.

Among his friends, the "great body of opinion" shares his views, although a small group of the social-reformer type condemns anything short of immediate integration.

Moderate though he may be, Dr. Eddy does not see that the U.S. Supreme Court had any alternative but to render its far-reaching decision which struck down legal segregation.

"I don't think in this day and age, with world conditions what they are, that the court could have given any other decision," he said. But he believes it acted with "great wisdom" in not ordering immediate compliance.

Eddy, who was born in 1895 while his parents were residing briefly in Montgomery, believes, too, that the South was heading on its own initiative toward much improved race relations long before the court acted.

"If they give the South time," said Dr. Eddy, "they will work out their problems. If you push the South, there'll be trouble."

Discrimination Universal

A MAN who has traveled about the world as a missionary, Dr. Eddy does not claim that the North is pure in racial matters. Discrimination is universal, wherever groups with different customs and social mores are forced to live close, says Eeddy. It has been thus for centuries.

"The only place I know in the world

By Tom Johnson
Of The Advertiser Staff

where all races live together in as complete harmony as could be hoped for is Hawaii," Eddy observed.

Discrimination in the North, he believes, is founded on the familiar economic fear that the Negroes will disturb the equilibrium somehow by working cheap and thus cornering all the jobs. Another kind of resistance to the Negro arises from the fear that his presence will tumble property values. Because this is commonly believed, it is so.

Dr. Eddy is in no fear that the harmony that exists on his campus is about to be disturbed. When proposed dormitories are constructed, he expects that Negro students will occupy them with whites. At the present, the only resident students are women.

The Adelphi faculty includes a Negro biology teacher and there have been others in the past, he added.

Someday, Maybe

DOES he believe, as a man who has lived North and South, that school integration will, or could, be accomplished in the South?

Perhaps, he replies, but it must be done gradually, beginning possibly in the graduate schools, then in professional schools. Finally and ultimately, he said, the problem must be tackled on the community level. That is where the lasting and satisfactory solution will be found, if one is to be found.

CHARGE POLICE PERSECUTION OF BUSINESSMAN

A METROPOLITAN NEWSPAPER FOR THE ENTIRE FAMILY

LOS ANGELES **Herald-Dispatch**

"WITHOUT STRUGGLE THERE IS NO PROGRESS." Frederick Douglass

DEDICATED TO JUSTICE AND EQUAL RIGHTS UNDER THE LAW

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EDITORIAL

TO KEEP IT UP

THE HIGH STANDARDS OF OUR CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

Repeal The Smith Act

Segregation, poverty, ignorance, repression, superstition, coercion and fear will become a matter of history only when man realizes that his rights to freedom are his rights and takes steps toward securing that freedom. The important and proper methods of maintaining freedom have not been taught us by those who governed us and to whom we paid homage.

Hence, our next step toward securing and keeping our God given rights to freedom depends upon ourselves. We must think for ourselves; and while our conclusions may not be infallible they will be nearer to right than the conclusions forced upon us by those who have personal interest in keeping us in ignorance. This then, brings us to the importance of supporting the magnificent Montgomery, Alabama, Bus Boycott, which is now the militant leadership of America.

"We'll Go to Jail Together" Say Bus Boycott Leaders

Electoral College Reform Vote Viewed As Anti-Civil Rights

NEW YORK, March 28—Support of the proposed amendment to change the present method of electing the President and Vice-President "will be interpreted by Negro voters as anti-civil rights," Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said today in a telegram to a group of sponsors of the resolution which is now being debated on the floor.

The present proposal, Wilkins said, is essentially the same as the Lodge-Gossett resolution of 1950. The arguments advanced by Representative Ed Gossett of Texas at that time were "scarcely racial in character," the NAACP leader said the same is true.

At that time the Texas Democrat said the purpose of the resolution was to curb the power of the Negro bloc, which he said foreign born voters in the large Northern cities. He charged that time power "rests in the hands of the Negroes."

The proposal, Wilkins said, "is not a civil rights measure. It is a political measure. It is a measure for Negroes to lose political influence in 16 upper Southern states, and for the Negro to gain no compensation in any other state."

E. J. Franklyn, CIO Fights Housing Discrimination

Job opportunities and decent housing are the two issues mentioned by Congress of Industrial Organizations Director Bill Anderson according to a survey conducted in the Long Beach Press-Telegram and published earlier this week.

The survey found that despite improvement in job opportunities during the past three years, an minimum for Negroes still is "job classifications to

ATTORNEY HERBERT THOMPSON, JR., Los Angeles' foremost Civil Rights Attorney, received an award for the splendid work he accomplished during the two years he chaired the Legal Redress Committee of local NAACP, and especially his work in the Fire Department. The award was given by the Wilmington

Negroes Were Abused for 20 Years By Bus Drivers

Perhaps you have heard the statement that Negroes will not stick together. Well, if you hear it again, remember Montgomery, Alabama. The Rev. Abernathy, 25-year-old leader of the 137 day old Montgomery, Alabama Bus Boycott, in a meaningful speech, told 4,000 Negro and white listeners at Olympic Auditorium last Thursday evening, that solidarity among the Negroes in Montgomery "isn't just lived yet" and will walk until complete victory is won. He said the Negroes are not walking for fame or publicity, not for money, but for freedom.

Rev. Abernathy said the boycott is a culmination of over 20 years of insults, humiliations, name calling by drivers and beatings of Negro men, women and children. He said, "We have stood by to see our wives, mothers, and daughters insulted by men who the years by "big go" against us."

The marked headine in this Negro publication reveals the story is the same in California.

MANIFESTO'S FUTURE IS CITED BY CARLEY

Commercial Appeal P.4 Feb. 3-28-56

Fame Awaits Motion, Says Editorial Writer

Special to The Commercial Appeal

OXFORD, Miss., March 27.—Jack Carley, editorial writer for The Commercial Appeal, predicted Tuesday night that the recent Dixie Manifesto "will, in time, take a rightful place with the nation's greatest pronouncements."

Memphis, Tenn.

The prediction came as Mr. Carley cautioned all media of spoken or written communications against being "overwhelmed by provocation."

The manifesto's "appeal to our people not to be provoked by the agitators and troublemakers . . . and to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts' underlines the vital element of responsibility," Mr. Carley declared. "We must bear a little more of our share."

Addressing a banquet sponsored by the staff of the Mississippian, University of Mississippi publication, Mr. Carley cautioned his listeners to "ever seek truth, print the truth, guide, counsel and, if need be, admonish."

"There is only one place for us to stand—on the side of good order," he said.

"The times are somewhat hard," he continued. "The future seems a little foreboding, but if we face it with courage, if we keep faith with the past and with our convictions, we shall survive, come all the world against us."

Those attending the banquet at Mistilis Restaurant included Ole Miss faculty members, members of the University's Editorial Board, and staff members of the Mississippian and Oxford Eagle.

Today in National Affairs

Herald Tribune P.17

'Legal Means' Seen Delaying School Integration for Years

Sun. 3-20-56

New York, N.Y.

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, Mar. 19.—Integration of races in all schools throughout the United States is a long way off—years and years, and maybe never. It is as far away or as near as the day when present advocates of integration are willing to face, possibly in their own families, the real issue—the intermarriage of white sons and daughters with Negroes.

Lawrence

The Supreme Court of the United States a few weeks ago side-stepped a decision on the issue of racial intermarriage. For technical reasons, it refused to decide whether a Virginia state law prohibiting intermarriage of races was constitutional. There are such laws in twenty-eight states. Another case is certain to come before the highest court soon. If it is decided that state laws prohibiting intermarriage are unconstitutional, the issue will bring even more friction than the question of school integration.

South Against Intermarriage

For in the South many people feel that legalized intermarriages will lead to a mongrelization of the white race and that the propinquity of white and Negro children from the kindergarten age up through the colleges cannot but encourage intermarriages on the widest scale in future generations.

The Southerners are arguing for the right to discriminate in their social life, and they consider schools to be a social institution. They point to the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the school question as having been based primarily on sociological grounds.

Southerners also contend that in the North many of the outspoken advocates of integration believe in and themselves practice the right to discriminate against Negroes and do keep them off the membership rolls of the "exclusive" clubs in New York City and Chicago, for example, and bar them from many country clubs throughout the United States, even though such clubs enjoy certain tax exemptions bestowed upon them by the Federal government. Is this right to discriminate in choosing members now to be taken away from them through the coercion of the taxing power?

"Lawful Means" Available

The prediction that integration in the schools is far distant is based on the many avenues of avoidance available to the South under the head of "lawful means."

The manifesto signed by such a renowned constitutional lawyer as Sen. Walter F. George, of Georgia, Democrat, and more than 100 other members of Congress did not—as has been erroneously interpreted in many quarters—advocate physical resistance to the Supreme Court's decision. It is important to examine anew the wording of the two most significant paragraphs in the manifesto, which read as follows:

"We commend the motives of those states which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means. . . .

"We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision."

What are the "lawful means"? There are many. Here are some:

1. Case after case can be brought in a prolonged process of litigation, and every case can introduce a different principle or a different approach to the problem. Meanwhile, integration is delayed for years. This method is wholly lawful.

2. Southern states can amend their constitutions and pass laws permitting public funds to be given directly to individual citizens for use in educating their children in private schools chosen by their parents.

3. Public-school buildings can be leased to private corporations, and private schools can be established which could discriminate against Negroes just as do the "exclusive" clubs in the North.

4. Cases can be brought to the courts by white parents in support of the right of a state to exclude from classrooms all children who do not conform to sociological patterns set by the school boards in a community. Since the Supreme Court itself ruled that a Negro child can be made to feel psychologically inferior if excluded from a classroom containing white children, it will be argued that the impact of the Negro child on the white child has retarded educational progress and that, therefore, states should be permitted to operate mixed schools or segregated schools as the school authorities in their discretion may decide.

5. Many delicate matters of jurisdiction on strictly educational questions can be raised to embarrass the Northern states until they are finally convinced that the only way out is the adoption of an amendment to the Federal constitution specifically granting to the states the sole right to pass laws with respect to school attendance and educational standards in public schools.

Drive for Amendment

The drive for a constitutional amendment to reverse the Supreme Court's decision will be based on the theory that many people who want religious schools preserved will not wish to see the Federal government given complete control over education.

One thing is clear. The legal battle has just begun and "interposition" means interposing many a case that will hold up for a long, long while the general integration of schools in the South, during which time the movement for an amendment to the Constitution will be pursued.

Experience with another social issue—the eighteenth amendment—is recalled. Public sentiment was gradually built up against it, and the Federal prohibition laws were so universally disregarded and "resisted" that adoption of the "repeal" amendment to the Constitution came with amazing rapidity—within ten months after both Houses of Congress passed it. The states now have the sole power to prohibit the sale of intoxicating beverages within their own boundaries. It has become a "local issue"—which is what education, too, really was for 165 years, until the Supreme Court decision of 1954.

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Ministers Ask Ike To Help End Race Strife

Defender Chicago Ill. P.3

Sat. 4-7-56

TERRE HAUTE, Ind. — The executive board of the General Missionary Baptist state convention of Indiana has asked President Eisenhower and Atty. Gen. Brownell to "use the influence of their great offices" to bring an end to racial tensions in the south.

The appeal was made in a resolution adopted by the group in a meeting at the St. Paul Baptist church here. Copies of the resolution were sent also to each member of Congress from Indiana.

Charging that "there has been a reign of terror, violence and murder against the Negro, aimed at preventing him from aspiring to enjoy the democracy for which he fought, bled and died," the group said conditions in the south represent "brazen defiance" of the Supreme Court.

The resolution said in part:

"We are firm believers in democracy and the democratic process, and we feel that the Constitution of the U. S., spells out the rights and privileges of all American citizens. . .

"We commend the ministers and other leaders of Montgomery, Ala., for the gallant stand they are taking against tyranny, discrimination and unfairness . . ."

The group, led by Dr. L. K. Jackson, secretary, urged all churches send funds to help the Montgomery leaders of a bus boycott.

"We appeal to the President of the United States and the attorney general to use the influence of their great offices to bring an immediate end to this reign of terror, violence and inhumanity," the ministers said.

Limits on Negro Rights Hurt U. S., Bishop Says

Sunday Star Washington D.C.

The Rt. Rev. D. Ward Nichols, Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, said yesterday the Communists have been able to score gains because of the refusal of some Americans to allow Negroes their full rights.

Commenting on his recent visit to Russia, Bishop Nichols said he intends to make a full report to the President through the Secretary of State on the damage our race relations are doing to our foreign policy.

"Throughout our entire Russian trip," Bishop Nichols said, "a good deal of attention was paid to me for reasons that are in fact quite distressing. Russian journalists and others to whom I talked were carefully indoctrinated with th eidea that Negroes in America were officially deprived of any semblance of human treatment.

"If the questions directed to me are an index of their thoughts on this subject, I must state that race relations in the United States are being used as a primary weapon against the ideals of democracy.

"It must be perfectly clear to everyone that as a race Negroes enjoy something less than universal first-class citizenship in this country. This is not official policy, however, and I am satisfied that our great President has asked for progress in this direction. Of course progress and moderation represent two distinct sets of attitudes."

Bishop Nichols officiated yesterday afternoon at the laying of the corner stone for the new building of the Ward Memorial A. M. E. Church, Forty-second street and Washington place N.E.

Says Race Problem Worse In Church Going Nations

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Sat. 4-4-56

LONDON — (ANP) — With a finger pointed at the United States and the Union of South Africa, a Church of England minister charged last week that race prejudice is the biggest problem in countries where church-going is strongest.

Rev. Ieuan Powell, writing in the Easter issue of his parish magazine, said racial prejudice is much less a problem in countries where there is least church-going.

Britain and France, he said, have poor church attendance but less racial friction.

Rev. Powell pointed to the U. S. and the Union of South Africa as church-going countries with the worst records.

SEGREGATION END IN 5 YEARS SEEN

Times of N.Y.
New York

Unitarian Group Told That 'Tough-Minded' Appraisal Warrants Forecast

Aug. 5-20-56

By JOHN H. FENTON

Special to The New York Times.

BOSTON, May 19—Effective desegregation in Southern states within five years was predicted tonight by a leading Negro social scientist.

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, consultant for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, made his prediction in his speech at the annual dinner of the Unitarian Service Committee, Inc. The committee is a voluntary, nonsectarian, social welfare agency.

The psychologist, whose report on the effects of prejudice and discrimination on personality development was quoted by the Supreme Court in its public school desegregation decision two years ago, said a "tough-minded' 'appraisal of the relevant social forces led him to his conclusion.

If desegregation does not occur within five years, Dr. Clark went on, then the South and the nation will have retrogressed.

"I do not believe that Americans will permit this to happen," he asserted.

Legal Action Stressed

The next legal step toward civil rights, Dr. Clark went on, "should be the bringing of taxpayers' suits to enjoin the southern states and public officials from using funds, which include taxes paid by Negroes, for the purpose of withholding from the Negro his adjudicated civil rights."

Dr. Clark declared that "if certain whites desire to keep the Negro in an inferior status they should be willing to pay for this luxury with their personal funds." He added that public funds "should not be used in order to aid one group of citizens in their attempts to impose or maintain shackles upon another group of citizens."

He listed these liabilities for those seeking rapid segregation: The tenacity of segregation patterns; the apathy and inertia of individuals not immediately involved in the struggle, and the "vacillation, indecision and temporizing of the national political parties, political leaders and the legislative and executive branche of our Federal Government."

In addition, he added the "one party structure that dominates the South, and the increasing success of the propaganda war directed at the North."

If an increase in racial tension and violence should develop in the South, Dr. Clark said, President Eisenhower and top officials of the Department of Justice must accept a "major share" of the blame. He continued, with some bitterness:

"It may well be that golf clubs are no more effective in times of social crises than are violin bows."

The reference to violin bows was interpreted to mean Nero's fiddling while Rome burned.

Dr. Clark is Associate Professon of Psychology at the City College of New York and research director of the Northside Center for Child Development. He was one of several Negroes participating in the American Unitarian Association's annual meetings. The meetings opened Thursday and will continue through Tuesday. Last night, the Rev. Dr. Howard Thurman, dean of the Marsh Chapel of Boston University, termed the "overwhelming criminality of segregation" to be one of the results of a "mood of violence that has possesed the spirit of man like the great sickness."

Problems of Indians Cited

In an earlier speech on minorities, Mrs. Robert L. Rosenthal of Lexington, Mass., said that every day the Federal Government failed to deal with the problems of the American Indians the problems grow "in a kind of geometric progression."

Mrs. Rosenthal is chairman of public information for the National Indian Welfare Organization. She addressed the meeting of the General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women.

Dr. Gardner Murphy of the Menninger Foundation, a psychological clinic, asserted at a colloquium on the nature of man that "the unknowns have piled up even faster than the knowns" with the spread of knowledge, thereby making it increasingly difficult to understand man.

Members of the Cosmo-Theist Society were told by Dr. Harlow Shapley of Harvard University that "there is no reason in the world to believe that our mental stature hasn't been excelled by sen ent beings elsewhere in the uni se."

WHAT'S HAPPENING ON THE Desegregation Front

Post

CLEAN UP OWN YARD, LEHMAN URGES NORTH

NEW YORK — Northearners were urged to clean up "our own back yard" while also seeking justice for Negroes in the South by Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D-NY) in a speech prepared for the annual meeting of the Urban League of Greater New York, here Sunday.

July 6 1956

Harlem, the Democratic senator declared, is "both illustration and proof that the acute manifestations" of the civil rights problems are not confined to the South.

Sen. Lehman said: "Harlem is a community rich in tradition and culture . . . but Harlem is also a rebuke to us of the North, and a challenge to clean up our own back yard, even as we press forward with our efforts to bring justice and equality to the Negroes and other oppressed minorities in the South."

Journal P.3

GUILFORD COUNTY MAKES NO PUPIL CHANGES

HIGH POINT—The local school board announced on Friday that it had adopted a resolution making it possible for the board to assign students purely as individuals, considering the factors of health, welfare and safety.

At Greensboro, the Guilford County board of education approved the assignment of 18,000 rural school children to schools for the coming year, but no Negro children were asigned to white schools or vice versa. All assignments were to schools which the pupils would have attended nor-

* * *

HODGES PLAN HIT BY NC METHODISTS

RALEIGH—Opposition to Gov. mally under the segregated system.

Hodges' program of voluntary segregation as "repugnant to freedom-loving people" was voiced here Saturday by members of the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church.

The Negro Methodists called upon Gov. Hodges "as a Methodist layman to follow the Methodist Church suggestion that Methodists lead the way in bringing about an integrated sociey."

In its report to the conference, the Board of Social and Economic Relations said: "No state has the right to do wrong. All states, customs, traditions and laws are regional or national. The Supreme Court is not a threat to the rights of individual states, but . . . requires these individual states to deal fairly and justly with all their citizens."

* * *

S. C. WOULD OUTLAW NAACP LIKE OTHERS

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Noting that Alabama and Louisiana have already banned NAACP activity, State Senator Blease Ellington of Lexington County, said in a campaign speech that he hopes that South Carolina will do likewise.

* * *

MICHIGAN DEMOCRATS URGE END TO JIM CROW

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich. — Unanimous adoption of a pledge urging Michigan Democrats to work toward the end of racial segregation in the United States was announced here on Saturday as the state's Democrats wound up their two-day state convention.

* * *

CITES DANGER OF RACE IN POLITICS

DURHAM—W. Millard Barbee, president of the State Federation of Labor, said in a radio forum here Saturday that "using racial differences in political campaigns could lead to race riots."

"It grieves me no small degree," Barbee said, "when the racial issue is injected into any political campaign—county, state or national."

Barbee referred particularly to some of the eastern and far western counties of the state as places where the race question could become dangerous. He saw no danger in Durham county, however.

* * *

NOVELIST FAULKNER MAKES ABOUT FACE

NEW YORK—Novelist William Faulkner, writing in Harpers' magazine, says this month that the nation's failure to achieve Negro and white equality could "destroy the one potent force against communism in the world today—the simple belief of man that he can be free.

Faulkner, the Mississippi writer, who stirred up a hornet's nest with a pro-segregation article in Life magazine not long ago, said:

"The people who only 300 years ago were eating the carrion in the tropical jungles have produced the Phi Beta Kappas and the Dr. Bunches and the Carvers and the Booker T. Washingtons and the poets and musicians. They have yet to produce a Fuchs or a Rosenberg or Gold or Burgess or Maclean or Hiss, and for every Negro Communist or fellow traveler there are a thousand white ones," Faulkner wrote.

Their present lack of equality, he said, "is our Southern white man's shame."

Hit Back at Segregationists, Atlanta U. Seniors Are Urged

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. June 6-5-56 P.16

A Washington, D.C., Negro lawyer, in a speech delivered here Monday, called on Negroes to launch a counterattack on racial segregationists who are "poisoning the minds of Northern whites."

Dr. James M. Nabrit Jr., civil rights attorney and secretary of Howard University in Washington, told graduating seniors at Atlanta University that the Negroes must use the same facilities of mass communication in starting the counter move.

He said Southern segregationists, in national magazines and by appearances on network radio and TV constitute a "dangerous course of action."

They are, he added, polluting the minds of Northern whites.

Nabrit said the segregationists have two objectives:

"One is to convince the North that the South is adamant in its opposition to integration and will never accept it. The second is to so bewilder the North with stories of the Negroes and their diseases, ignorance, political crookedness and immorality as to cause the North to wipe its hands of the question."

He then blasted former Gov. James Byrnes of South Carolina, former Gov. Herman Talmadge of Georgia, newspaper editor T. R. Waring of Charleston, S.C.; Gen. Mark Clark, novelist William Faulkner, Gov. Allan Shivers of Texas and Associated Press writer Bem Price as being leaders in the Southern camp.

He added that the Negroes need selected persons to appear on radio and television, before college and forum groups, to prepare newspaper and magazine articles and to separate fact from fiction."

In conclusion, Nabrit urged the graduates to stay inside the law and fight diligently for their rights.

NEGRO SAYS SOUTH WOULD DIVIDE NORTH

Commercial Appeal P.20

Campaign On Racial Issue 'Well-Organized'

Memphis Tenn.

ATLANTA, June 4.—(AP)—A Negro lawyer said Monday backers of racial segregation "have embarked upon a well-organized and co-ordinated campaign to divide and poison the minds of Northern whites" through the media of mass communications.

Dr. James M. Nabrit Jr., a civil rights attorney and secretary of Howard University in Washington, called on Negroes to use the same facilities to counter such efforts.

In an address at commencement exercises at Atlanta University, Nabrit said articles by Southerners in national magazines and their appearance on network radio and television programs constitute a "dangerous course of action."

He said segregationists aim to "confuse and dissipate all activities which lend moral, political and economic or financial support to the Negro's effort to achieve equal justice under the law."

Times 6-5-56

They have two objectives, he said, adding:

"One is to convince the North that the South is adamant in its opposition to integration and will never accept it. The second is to so bewilder the North with stories of the Negroes and their diseases, ignorance, political crookedness and immorality as to cause the North to wipe its hands of the question and relegate it to the South for solution."

VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Federalist Papers On States' Rights

I would like to quote a few passages from "The Federalist," that great commentary on our national Constitution.

These quotes are strikingly apposite to to the present heated discussion as to the power of the federal government over the rights of the several states. The quotes follow:

1. "It has not a little contributed to the existing infirmities of the federal system, that it never had a ratification by the people. Resting on no better foundation than the consent of several legislatures, it has been exposed to frequent and intricate questions concerning the validity of its powers, and has given birth to the enormous doctrine of a right of legislative repeal.

"Owing to its ratification to the law of a state, it has been contended that the same authority might repeal the law by which it was ratified. However gross a heresy it may be to maintain that a party to a compact has the right to revoke that compact, the doctrine itself has had respectable advocates."—The Federalist No. 22: Hamilton, Dec. 14, 1787.)

2. "Were it admitted that the federal government may feel a . . . disposition to extend its power beyond the due limits, the (states) would still have the advantage in the means of defeating such encroachments.

"If an act of a particular state, though unfriendly to the national government, be generally popular in that state, and should not too grossly violate the oaths of the state officers, it is executed immediately and, of course, by means on the spot and depending on the state alone.

"The opposition of the federal government or the interposition of federal officers would but inflame the zeal of all parties on the side of the state, and the evil could not be prevented or repaired, if at all, without the employment of means which must always be resorted to with reluctance and difficulty.

". . . should an unwarrantable measure of the federal government be unpopular in particular states . . . the means of opposition to its are powerful and at hand. The disquietude of the people . . . (their) refusal to cooperate with the officers of the Union; the frowns of the executive magistracy of the state; the embarrassments created by legislative devices . . . would oppose, in any state, difficulties not to be despised.

". . . and where the sentiments of several adjoining states happened to be in unison, (there would be presented) obstructions which the federal government would hardly be willing to encounter.

"But ambitious encroachments of the federal government on the authority of the state governments would not excite the opposition of a single state, or of a few states only. They would be signals of general alarm.

"Every state government would espouse the common cause. A correspondence would be opened. Plans of resistance would be concerted. One spirit would animate and conduct the whole.

"But what degree of madness could ever drive the federal government to such an extremity?"—(The Federalist: James Madison, Jan. 29, 1788.)

3. ". . . as the Constitutions of the states differ much from each other, it might happen that a . . . national law, of great and equal importance to the states, would interfere with some and not with other constitutions, and would consequently be valid in some of the states at the same time that it would have no effect in others.

"Thus the world would have seen, for the first time, a system of government founded on an inversion of the fundamental principles of all government; it would have seen the authority of the whole society everywhere subordinate to the authority of the parts; it would have seen a monster, in which the head was under the direction of the members."—(The Federalist, No. 44, James Madison, Jan. 25, 1788.)

Thus our founding father struggled with the same problems which face us today. May we, in our time, have the same intellectual and spiritual integrity.

STANLEIGH MALOTTE.

Integration Issue Now Confused

By Thomas L. Stokes.

WASHINGTON — The situation is getting confused in both parties on the integration issue and who stands for what in which section of the country. This poses a problem that the long-suffering voters, white and Negro, must wrestle with between now and November.

For example, when "Jiggs" Donohue, campaign manager for Senator Estes Kefauver, blurted out in the final of the California primary battle that a vote for Adlai Stevenson would be a vote for Senators James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) and Allen J. Ellender (D., La.) and Herman Talmadge of Georgia, he adopted a line previously announced for the Republican Party to use against the Democratic Party as a whole.

The intent is plain in that the three southerners are segregationists, though it came surprisingly from Donohue, serving to dramatize the well-known schism in his own party, the Democratic. Hitherto, it has been left to the Republicans to point that out.

How Republicans plan to dramatize the Democratic schism by keeping the spotlight constantly on the southern segregationists was explained clearly, a few days prior to the Donohue blast, by Richard L. Tobin, public relations director of the Citizens for Eisenhower, in a speech here at a conference of that revivified organization.

He urged his fellow Republicans to impress upon Negroes that if Democrats win Congress in the coming election, important committees would be run by "bigoted southern political hacks." Then he added:

"Drum into Negro voters over and over again this true fact: A vote for a Democrat is a vote for Eastland."

Senator Eastland is singled out as the target and symbol, as you know, because he is chairman of the important Judiciary Committee which has jurisdiction over all civil rights bills. He would be chairman again if Democrats win the Senate in November.

The strategy outlined by Tobin is designed to win over sufficient Negro voters from the Democrats in populous states and urban areas in the north to unseat enough Democrats in House and Senate to give Republicans control of the next Congress.

Confident as are Republicans that Eisenhower will be reelected, they are not at all sure of regaining Congress. They won Congress, as you remember, only by a hair-line margin in 1952 because of the Eisenhower pulling power, but then lost it in the 1954 congressional elections when the President was not a candidate and did not have his name at the head of the ballot.

They believe that the Negro vote, coupled with the President's presence on the ticket, might be the combination that would recapture Congress for them in November.

Obviously the Eastland-segregationist campaign line will be beamed only at the North and not at the South, where Republicans are counting upon the continued personal popularity of President Eisenhower to maintain at least some of the gains they made there in 1952.

The President has kept himself out of the integration controversy, which has helped him in the South. He has, in fact, said far less than most any Democrat in public life that you could name.

Stevenson and Senator Kefauver have been quizzed about the issue and have talked about it continually during the three-month primary campaign. What little the President said at a news conference some weeks ago would locate him with the "moderates" who uphold the Supreme Court public school decision and urge gradual implementation, without use of force.

That brackets him with Stevenson, who is trying desperately to hold the Democratic party together and thus retain southern support for his nomination.

It it possible for Stevenson to preserve that necessarily precarious balance within his party, or will other leaders demanding a more rapid integration process and a more vigorour policy generally prevail in the convention and alienate the South?

As for President Eisenhower, will he be able to keep his support in the South, even though he continues to remain aloof from the controversy, if the issue is actively agitated outside the South by the Republican Party and Citizens for Eisenhower along the lines urged by Tobin?

These questions must await an answer. They epitomize the dilemma of the Negro, voters generally, and of many leaders in both parties.

Polite Racial Ostracism In Buffalo, N.Y.

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I have just read in the *Buffalo Evening News* a letter written by Vesta L. Robertson of Montgomery, and, as her observations are a rather sweeping indictment of the North as a whole, I am anxious to have it known that there are a sizable number of fair-minded people right here in the North who agree with her.

Having lived in the North 44 and in North Carolina 6 of my 50 years, born and raised here in New York, from my own personal experience I can say unequivocally the South is morally and spiritually head and shoulders above the North where we are born into a mongreloid miasma of "integrated" mediocrity and a debased sense of spiritual values.

But apart from this, the typical yankee is an obdurate numbskull, narrow-minded, self-righteous to the point of nausea. I do not consider New York a fit place to rear a family, for I cannot see to have any children of mine grow up in the spiritual vacuum which is so characteristic of Northern life.

As for the Negro, he is treated better in the South under segregation than he is in the North under our wholly hypocritical and cut-throat system of polite racial ostracism. Do white and colored live together here in a blishful state of "racial equality?" No, they do not! Buffalo has two large Negro colonies where they have their own churches and undoubtedly would prefer to have their own schools if the laws permitted. The social status of the Negro in Buffalo and in the whole North practically defies description. It must be purely by instinct that he is able to sense where he is "taboo" and where his presence might be tolerated. Consequently, for a little "paper freedom" in New York, the Negro has traded his personal identity and self-respect.

As an advocate of states' rights, I not only wholly disapprove of the Supreme Court decision meddling in the private affairs of the states, but also believe the state of Alabama or any other state is fully justified in taking any measures necessary to thwart any future encroachments of federal influence by means of legalistic contortions and private misinterpretations of the Constitution to help the spread of organized labor and serve the ends of seditious bands like the NAACP.

In closing, I hope it will be refreshing to some of your readers to know there are plenty of "yankees," myself included, who would be proud to live in Alabama or at least contribute something to friendship among the states.

GEORGE A. LAWSON.
Gainesville, N.Y.

Nixon Calls For End To Segregation

WASHINGTON -(ANP)- Vice-President Richard Nixon, addressing a nationwide television audience before and after a motion picture on job discrimination last week, called for an end to all racial and religious bias in private enterprises as "good business, good citizenship and plain good sense."

The movie, entitled "Commencement," was prepared by President Eisenhower's committee on government contracts. It is designed to teach a practical lesson in tolerance.

As chairman of the President's committee, Nixon asked for nationwide acceptance of the principle of equal opportunity for all persons, regardless of race or creed

Helpless, Say GOP Senators On Rights

Afro-American Sat. 6-23-56

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON — Four Republican members of the Senate Judiciary Committee took a "we'd - like - to- -do - something-but-" attitude of the civil rights measures that are being strangled in their committee by Sen. James O. Eastland (Dem., Miss.)

The opinions were expressed to Dr. Carl Murphy, president of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers, by Sens. William Langer, John M. Butler, Everett Dirksen, and Alexander Wiley.

* * *

MR. LANGER said:

"Senators Hennings, O'Mahoney and myself, who constitute the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, unanimously voted out civil rights legislation nearly two months ago.

"When I was chairman of the committee I was able to help you, but when Wayne Morse turned Democratic I automatically lost my chairmanship as the Democrats had a majority of one and Mr. Eastland now occupies that position.

"I.. doubt whether anyone can get the full committee to overrule the procedure outlined by the chairman."

* * *

MR. DIRKSEN of Illinois stated:

"As late as Monday ... I raised the question of action in the Judiciary Committee on pending civil rights proposals in the hope that we could speed these to action by the full committee without delay.

"The chairman (Senator Eastland) advised that quite a number of witnesses were still to be heard, including certain members of the Senate.

"It would no doubt be possible to limit the testimony of some witnesses but it would be flying in the face of custom to seek to preclude interested members of the Senate from presenting their testimony to us."

* * *

MR. WILEY of Wisconsin asserted:

"I certainly don't want there to be needless delay on this, or for that matter, any other vital legislation which our people expect the full Senate to have the opportunity to vote upon.

"I think that our Judiciary Committee should make a substantial record on the civil rights front, so that the pros and cons are fully understood.

"At the same time, I am completely opposed to time-wasting devices which are merely designed to clutter up the redord and consume precious weeks.

"Obviously, time is running out in this session of the Congress, and unless the committee gives the Senate the chance to take this legislation up, it will tend to die on the vine."

* * *

MR. BUTLER stated:

"I must admit a feeling of frustration. The conduct of these hearings is definitely controlled by the majority party.

"I am doing everything within my limited power as a minority member of the committee to get these bills through the committee and out on the floor.

"While I am not confident that we will be successful in this regard, I have not by any means as yet given up hope."

Prejudice Hits As Foe of U. S.

Call & Post Kansas City, Mo.

WICHITA, Kas. — The United States will never be able to hold a place of leadership and the good will of the peoples of the world "until its professions of democracy are matched by its practices," Dr. Archiblad James Carey, Chicago, Ill., said Friday night to an overflow audience at the new St. Paul AME church, 17th and Piatt.

The Rev. Dr. Carey, who was appointed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower as first alternate delegate of the United States to the eighth General Assembly of the United Nations in 1953, was the principal speaker at a dedication banquet which formally opened the new church.

Tri. 6-15-56

Sees Double Standard

"We claim to be the leaders of the free world." Dr. Carey, an attorney, said. "But not all Americans are truly free."

Dr. Carey, former pastor of several Chicago AME churches, pointed out that for the past 350 years "we have been living under a double standard of morality in human relations. Slowly but steadily the days of racial segregation are nearing an end.

"The forthcoming termination of the life of racial segregation will be borne out because members of all minority groups—not only Negroes—have given an excellent account of themselves when given the opportunity.

"This also is true," he continued, "because of our shrinking world of which 60 per cent are colored people."

Must Face Them

"Because we have to face them abroad in our foreign relations," Dr. Carey explained, "we have had to revise our conduct at home."

The attorney, who is a recipient of the Abraham Schwartz Award for Human Relations, gave his views on the actions of the Supreme court in its rulings on racial segregation.

Tri. 6-15-56

"The Supreme court has cut out a cancer and the agony of the present is the post - operation shock," Dr. Carey said.

In closing, Dr. Carey, who was selected to serve as vice-chairman of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy in 1955, paid tribute to the President for "his stalwart leadership in the field of human relations."

Does high cost of segregation prevent balancing of United States' budget?

Afro-American Sat. 6-23-56

Baltimore, Md.

By BAKER E. HORTEN

CHICAGO (ANP) — Every now and then a loud yell can be heard from the boys on Capitol Hill as to why and when, if ever, some administration can manage to balance the budget.

P. 13

Supplementing their hysterics, once in a while a faint and often overlooked scream can be heard from us tax-paying peons after looking in our empty wallets when the 15th of April rolls around.

General

All this may add up to just a lot of hog-wash, depending upon who's hog is getting washed, but it will be a shocking surprise to this reporter if the budget ever gets balanced.

Many people, and to an extent rightly so, are blaming our foreign aid program for the high taxes we're faced with today. But this corner somehow feels that even the $4,900,000 that the President wants for foreign aid wouldn't hurt, if no more was asked.

* * *

I AM A FIRM believer that the existing system of segregation in our country is costing us double the foreign aid figure in finances, grief, relief, welfare and countless other degrading circumstances breeded by a racial system.

In the South, for example, tax payers are forced to pay for the operation of two schools — one for colored and one for white.

They must by law of segregation maintain two separate parks, swimming pools, beaches, golf courses, and a hoard of other unnecessary facilities which cost you and I good, hard earned blood money.

Divide the cost of these things in half by eliminating them and perhaps we would have a good start toward balancing the national budget, or at least we would warrant a tax cut.

* * *

ONE OF THESE days I intend to make a vein-bursting attempt, if possible, to estimate the savings per year our country would realize if we weren't paying for two of everything.

Apparently, many of our Congressional representatives serve us well when it comes to measures outside of the duo-separate caste system, but will stop at no expense to retain a system that is costing the nation twice the necessary finances.

Before the boys start squaking about taxes again, they should take inventory of themselves to see whether they want a tax cut where it will do the most good—namely, the cutting out of segregation.

Gains in Fighting Discrimination

Herald Tribune
Wed. 5-23-56

New York, N.Y.

By Elinore Morehouse Herrick

THE key to the considerable gains made by President Eisenhower in the fight against racial discrimination is his use of every existing means to press for racial equality of opportunity. It was he who had the insight to extend President Truman's 1948 order for desegregation in the armed services to the government schools and other facilities at military posts. He has made the nation's capital a pilot project in the fight. In his State of the Union message in February, 1952, he had pledged himself to end discrimination there.

Working through the Board of Commissioners who govern Washington under Congressional direction, integration was started in the District services, police, fire, etc. School authorities were called together and the first steps toward educational integration were taken before the Supreme Court decision. The President felt strongly that the Capitol city should show the way. With this determined effort it was not long before barriers were lifted in restaurants, motion picture houses and other private businesses.

The inclusion of an anti-discrimination clause in government purchase contracts started with President Roosevelt. So did the Fair Employment Practices Committee. The war-time F. E. P. C. did some good but not nearly as much as its supporters claimed for it.

* * *

I had a first-hand opportunity to appraise its work when the shipyard I represented was one of its targets in Texas. The issue was our failure to upgrade Negroes and Mexicans which had been blocked by the fierce opposition of the A.F.L. Metal Trades Department unions and threat to strike. It was only with great difficulty that I persuaded the F E. P. C. representatives even to meet with these unions. The F. E. P. C. talked "tough" to employers but did not even threaten to rap the knuckles of such union leaders.

It was hard not to be cynical during the years when President Truman was barnstorming for a permanent F. E. P. C. Neither he nor President Roosevelt ever seized a plant which was pursuing discriminatory policies although they had war-time powers to do so. Nor was there ever a crackdown on the unions which in many cases were the real offenders. Racial barriers were deeply rooted in some of the old A. F. L. craft unions. The first attack on such union policies was made by the New York State Anti-Discrimination Commission established through the efforts of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey.

President Eisenhower wrote a new and stronger order for government contracts and set up a committee including employer and labor members to improve effectiveness of the application of the clause and to supervise enforcement. The work of this committee has been one of the most far-reaching efforts of this Administration.

Instead of an F. E. P. C. with powerless roving investigators, the President put the responsibility for compliance where it belonged—on the contracting agencies. Each was required to appoint compliance officers, whose duty was to investigate government suppliers to make sure they were following a non-discriminatory policy in recruitment, hiring, training and upgrading of employees. Even the kind of ads they placed for "help wanted" were scrutinized. Contracting and sub-contracting employers were required to post notices advising employees of their rights. Complaints began to flow to the Government Contract Committee.

* * *

The committee has placed great emphasis on an educational campaign. Wherever complaints filed against several contractors in the same industry indicate that there might be an industry-wide pattern of discrimination, a sub-committee has been appointed to take the matter up with the whole industry. Conferences have been held with eleven leading organizations representing entire industries. There have been similar conferences with labor union leaders. Employer groups have undertaken to mail detailed explanations of the program to all their members.

Last year a conference was held with representatives of the twenty-one states and various municipalities which have anti-discrimination statutes to pool their experience. The committee has gone into the field to meet government contractors to find out their problems in complying.

A two-day training session for compliance officers has been held by the committee—the first such training program. It was attended by 125 representatives of Federal agencies.

In still another area the Eisenhower influence has had important impact. For a two-year period the Federal Bureau of Investigation experimented in the conduct of civil rights schools in co-operation with state and local police throughout the country. Already 200,000 enforcement officers in 175 cities have received such training and by the end of 1956 it is expected that 750 such training programs to give affirmative protection to civil rights will have been inaugurated.

Each year President Eisenhower has asked Congress—unsuccessfully to date—to create a bipartisan commission with subpoena power to investigate infringement of civil rights. This past March he presented to Congress legislation to create a civil rights committee with subpoena power to look into all complaints; to establish a special division in the Justice Department under an Assistant Attorney General to supervise all civil rights cases; and legislation to permit any citizen to institute in Federal courts a civil action against any person or organization that denied or sought to deny suffrage in any state.

* * *

These proposals have now been approved by the House Judiciary Subcommittee.

To extremists this may seem a modest program. But President Truman campaigned fruitlessly for an "all-out" attack on the discrimination problem, rejected compromises proposed even by such a liberal member of his own party as Senator Humphrey of Minnesota, insisted on criminal rather than civil penalties, put the creation of an F. E. P. C. ahead of anti-lynching and anti-poll tax bills which had a good chance of passage. The result was no legislation of any kind.

But the Eisenhower legislative program is realistic. It takes civil rights cases out of the local courts, which have involved endless red tape and frustration, and puts them into the Federal courts.

It is up to Congress to act. The President has utilized to maximum advantage all existing opportunities to end discrimination without recourse to the kind of legislation that has fomented so much bitterness in the South and that has hopelessly split the Democratic party. The time has come for Congress to enact the reasonable program the President has proposed.

Mrs. Herrick was formerly regional director of the National Labor Relations Board.

Racial, Farm Issues Hurt Ike, Newsmen Say in N. Y.

Constitution p. 11
Atlanta Ga.

By WAYNE PHILLIPS

(Copyright 1956 by The New York Times Co.)

NEW YORK, April 22—Dissatisfaction over segregation and farm policies has hurt President Eisenhower's popularity, newspaper executives reported today as they arrived in New York for Press Week.

However, most of those questioned reported that economic conditions in their areas were good, and that there was general satisfaction with the administration.

Wed. 4-23-56

Here and there small declines in retailing were reported, and there were some evidences of manufacturing cutbacks.

The chief business problem reported by the executives was the shortage of newsprint. Cutbacks in contract deliveries of newsprint have forced many papers to buy in the open market, and in some cases operations have been curtailed.

Those questioned at random were among 1,200 editors, publishers and business executives of daily newspapers in this country, Canada, Hawaii and Puerto Rico who are here for meetings this week.

The major organizations convening in Press Week include the American Newspaper Publisers Association and its bureau of advertising; the Associated Press, the United Press and the International News Service-International News Photos.

Secretary of State Dulles will deliver an address at the fifty-sixth annual luncheon of the Associated Press tomorrow.

The sharpest reports of dissatisfaction with the president's policies came from the South, where the issue of racial segregation has been at white heat, and from the West, where ranchers have been caught between declining livestock prices and rising costs of living.

One publisher—Marshall Field Jr. of the Chicago Sun-Times—held that because of Supreme Court decisions against racial segregation "the Negro vote is tending toward the Republican party this time."

The farm issue has hurt the president in Georgia, according to George C. Biggers, president of Atlanta Newspapers Inc., publishers of The Atlanta Journal and The Constitution. And segregation hurt him in Alabama, according to Clarence B. Hanson Jr., publisher of the Birmingham Post-Herald and News.

But both pointed out that in traditionally democratic states this was of little political significance, and that despite the disatisfaction the president was still "extremely popular" personally.

"The segregatin issue is separate and apart and we would have that under any administration," Biggers said.

McDonald Urges Industrialists To Back Court Segregation Ban

Pittsburgh—A plea to industrial leaders to lend their support to upholding the U. S. Supreme Court's ban on segregated schools was made at the convention of the Pennsylvania Industrial Union Council by Pres. David J. McDonald of the Steelworkers.

He called on the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers "to speak out truly as believers in democracy to help provide ways and means to avoid this threat to our American life."

Hits White Councils

McDonald hit hard at the rise of White Citizens Councils in the southern states and termed them "the most serious challenge to American democracy in the past 100 years."

"I do not think," he continued, "there are those so foolish as to carry us to the stage of 1861 but some people may try to take us down that road. In the South, plant managers and superintendents have tremendous influence in small towns. The political leader bows to his word and shudders at his anger.

"Labor is solidly backing the Supreme Court decision and I suggest that top-side management in such industries as steel, lumber and chemicals institute a system of education among management representatives whereby these leaders of thought can raise their voices to spread democracy."

Classrooms of Democracy

McDonald declared that "the factories of America, where men work side by side, regardless of race, can be made the classrooms of democracy in America. It is the responsibility of industrial management to speak out affirmatively on this and to do something about it, as labor has done."

The convention's only roll call vote to fill an office saw a contest for a vice presidency between two members of the Transport Workers. Charles Robinson, the incumbent, defeated Andrew Kaelin, head of the TWU railroad division, by a vote of 2,004 to 689.

The Council's committee to work out details of merger with the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor will meet after the Federation's convention in Philadelphia next month.

The segregation issue III—

Many believe integration to come—hope long way off

BY JOHN M. FENTON, Gallup Poll staff representative

Although an overwhelming majority of Southern whites—especially in the Deep South—are opposed to integration, a good many expect the day to come when segregation will end.

But they hope that day is a long time off.

With much bitterness at having something "shoved down our throats," 55 per cent of the white Southerners admit today that the time will eventually come when whites and Negroes will be going to the same schools, eating in the same restaurants, and generally sharing the same accommodations.

On the other hand, an important and articulate minority holds that integration will never come to Dixie. This group tends to feel it is something that "the South just won't permit."

Negroes — a majority of whom want to have mixed schools—are more optimistic about the chances of full-scale integration. They too, however, think it will involve many years before it comes.

This reporter has just returned from the South where he directed the field operations of local reporters from the Institute's staff in interviewing a true cross-section of the white and Negro population.

In seeking to determine the future chances for integration, we asked the following question:

"Do you think the day will ever come in the South when whites and Negroes will be going to the same schools, eating in the same restaurants, and generally sharing the same public accommodations?"

The results for whites and Negroes:

WILL DAY EVER COME?

Southern whites only	
Yes	55%
No	33
Don't know	12
Southern Negroes only	
Yes	70%
No	15
Don't know	15

No immediate acceptance

This is how the Southerner feels about the eventual outcome of integration. When it comes to the question of any immediate acceptance of the Supreme Court's decision, his views are quite different.

Only about one white person in eight in the South thinks that the people in his community will accept the decision quietly without any trouble or attempts at delay.

This view is most prevalent in the "border states" of Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Texas where integration is already in effect in some communities and where the percentage of Negroes in the population is relatively low.

Othr white people we talked with believe that integration will be introduced into the schools, but only after a great deal of delay and trouble. Behind their thinking is the idea that "we'll have to do it, but we'll show them we don't like it before we do."

The views of a 72-year-old architect from Spartanburg, S. C., are typical on this point. "I believe people will stall for awhile," he said, "but they eventually will have to give in. I don't feel any violence will result except possibly some small incidents."

Negroes are hopeful

A MAJORITY of the Negroes are hopeful of cooperation of some kind in setting up mixed schools — even though many think it will be delayed for some time.

"I think all people will cooperate and have school together," said a Negro farm housewife in Arkansas, but she added, "I do believe though there will be some trouble.

To a great many white persons, the prospect of integrating with the Negro is so remote as to be unworthy of serious thought. These people are convinced that segregation will "just be kept like it always was."

A 37-year-old farmer who lives just outside of Clarksdale, Miss., commented: "Well, maybe I'm prejudiced—I'm a Mississippi Southerner. But I think the people will continue to have separate schools indefinitely—if they have schols at all."

The possibility that the South —if forced into integration— might not "have schools at all" is one discussed frequently. One hears much talk about the introduction of a private school system or—if that is not possible—"just keeping the kids out of school altogether."

"People will just not let the children go to the public schools if it comes," said a 21-year-old secretary from Wythesville, Va., "My children will never go to school with the Negroes."

"The people around here will fight this thing," stated a 32-year-old candy salesman from Chattanooga, "I'll send my children to private schools before I'll let them mix with Negroes."

Adding up the score on the question of what people will do, one finds that the "bitter-enders"—those who are thinking only in terms of preventing integration—outnumber the "go along reluctantly" group—by about 2-to-1.

'Hard Core' of South

A FIXED determination to "just not go along" with the Supreme Court's decision is most noticeable in the Deep South—in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina and Mississippi.

In these states, all of which have a Negro population larger than 30 per cent (and in some instances, counties where more than seven out of 10 persons are Negroes), only about one white person in five thinks there will be any kind of acceptance—willing or unwilling —of the integration decision at present. The resk talk about ways to continue segregation.

These are the states where a "hard core" of resistance is likely to be met with for many years to come.

Whereas talk of violence and bloodshed is practically negligible in other parts of the South, there are some white people in the Deep South states who think there will be riots, killings and such if the Negroes are "mixed in" with the whites.

Attitudes extreme

EXTREME ATTITUDES on the question of integration are by no means confined to the general public. The same views are held by many law enforcement officials. Here, for example, is how the sheriff of a heavily Negro county in Mississippi delta feels about integration:

"I don't like it.

First, for the simple reason that it is not right to force children into desegration because of their color.

Second, the white children in the South are farther advanced in their literary work than the colored children.

Third, we are building good schools for colored children in this area; therefore, it is not necessary to mix the races.

"I believe segregation was intended" he went on, "otherwise, the laws of nature would not have made white and colored. The laws of nature cry out against mixing the races. Segregation is necessary in the South to prevent bloodshed and horror."

The sheriff admitted, however, that segregation would probably end some day, adding bitterly, "It will destroy the South in so doing."

'Bitter pill' to swallow

FOR MANY SOUTHERN whites—like this sheriff—eventual integration is a bitter pill that they feel they will be forced to swallow because of "outside interests" and a North that doesn't really understand their problems. Although it goes against a tradition and a "way of life" that they have always known, most admit they they will finally obey the Supreme Court's injunction because it is the law.

As a New Orleans housewife sid: "We have to accept the laws of our land, but we don't have to like them."

"Yeh, it will come someday, I guess," commented a 42-year-old construction worker from West Point, Miss., "there's just so many Negroes in the South and such power in the North. They just don't understand the situation."

For many people, it's just a case of accepting the inevitable or as a Norfolk, Va., housewife put it: "It's either accept it or fight another civil war. I hate to think about it, but I suppose it will come."

In the opinion of the average Southerner, therefore, integration does lie somewhere in the future. Although he sees much time and a good deal of trouble before it comes, he feels, in the long run, that there is not much he could do to stop it—much as he might like to do so.—(c).

Racial Progress Made Under Ike Administration Despite Bias

World Birmingham Ala.
Jan 1-13-56

NEW YORK—(NNPA)—Tremendous progress on many fronts in the three years of the Eisenhower Administration has been marred by some incidents in certain sections of the country, William P. Rogers, Deputy Attorney General of the United States, declared Wednesday night.

Mr Rogers spoke at the labor-management award dinner of the Urban League of Greater New York in the Starlight Room of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

One incident which detracted from the record of achievement was the kidnaping and brutal murder of Emmett Louis Till, 14-year-old Chicago boy, whose body was found in the Tallahatchie River in Mississippi.

Mr. Rogers called the Till case "a serious black mark" and said it "does much harm to our country."

Declaring that more progress has been made in the past three years in the field of civil rights than at any time since 1865, Mr. Rogers listed the following achievements:

1. The elimination of segregation and discrimination in the Nation's Capital, including parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, tennis courts, golf courses, theaters and the public schools, in which colored students comprise 64 per cent of the total enrollment and 147 schools now have racially mixed classes.

2. The elimination of segregation in the Armed Forces, the operation of all schools for children of service personnel on military posts on an integrated basis, abolition of racial segregation in Veterans' Administration hospitals, and the elimination of segregated facilities for civilian employees at Navy yards in the South.

World

3. The order of the Interstate Commerce Commission that racial segregation be ended in interstate trave, railroad coaches, buses and waiting stations—a principle which the Justice Department "vigorously supported" in a brief filed with the Commission.

P.8

4. The decree of the Supreme Court ordering "a prompt and reasonable start" toward "good faith" compliance with its decision against segregated public schools.

5. "Great progress" made by President Eisenhower's Committee on Government Contracts in seeing that contractors comply with the anti-discrimination clause in all standard Government contracts.

Mr. Rogers disclosed in his speech that as a result of a report made by the Greater New York Urban League, the President's Committee has decided to review the employment practices of the entire transportattion industry.

He said the committee will consider the employment practices of airlines, railroads, buslines and steamship companies which do business with the Federal Government.

A special subcommittee, headed by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, Mr. Rogers revealed, has already met with the presidents and other leading management representatives of eleven airlines.

These management representatives, after a frank and complete discussion with the subcommittee, placed the matter before the Air Transport Association, the trade association of the industry.

Mr. Rogers said the Air Transport Association discussed the matter at its annual meeting and decided that the specific methods of working out a program, at least with reference to nonflight personnel, should be carried out by the professional staffs of the President's Committee and the Association.

Citations were presented at the dinner to Max Kralstein, vice-president of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers International Union AFL-CIO), and George Faunce, vice-president and general counsel of the Continental Baking Company, for their contributions to improved race relations in the Greater New York area by working to eliminate discriminatory employment in industry."

The presentations were made by Mrs. Sophia Y. Jacobbs, president and Edward S. Lewis, executive director of the Greater New York Urban League.

Understanding the South

Forbearance Is Asked in Judging Attitude on Racial Problems

Times P.12-E

The writer of the following letter, formerly Professor of International Law at Princeton, has held numerous diplomatic posts.

Sun. 1-22-56

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

As a Northerner who has been privileged for several years to enjoy the courtesy and hospitality of Southerners, I regret the inability of many Northerners to understand the point of view of intelligent and highminded Southerners concerning the racial problem. This point of view has been ably and temperately presented in the January issue of Harper's Magazine by the able and conscientious editor of The Charleston News and Courier, Thomas R. Waring.

New York

The heart of the racial problem, as I have studied it at close hand, lies in the honest conviction that local governments, under the Constitution of the United States, have the right to solve their social and economic problems in their own way. This point of view, known historically as States Rights, is still of deep significance for all Americans.

The intense opposition felt in this politically Democratic section of the country to the policy of aggrandizement of power in the National Government by the New and Fair Deals was very genuine. It was shared by millions of Northerners.

The racial issue was not created by the present generation. It is a thorny bequest of several centuries. It cannot easily be solved, not even by a fiat of the Supreme Court. It requires wisdom, patience and forbearance by all concerned, including Northerners and colored folks in general.

The North has the greater need of forbearance when it sadly acknowledges its grave responsibilities for the lamentable condition of the colored people who migrated to New York and Chicago.

What I am pleading for is simple courtesy by outsiders in judging the attitude of generous-minded Southerners in their agonizing task of working out a just solution of the racial issue. They have the most concern for the welfare of the colored people, who, in last analysis, must share the responsibility for the creation of a prosperous and happier Southland.

PHILIP M. BROWN.

Charleston, S. C., Jan. 12, 1956.

There Are 'Good' Yankees

A Advertiser P.4-A

SOMETHING new has been added Up Na'wth — new and encouraging — voices raised urging appreciation of our problems, moderation and understanding.

Mon. 3-5-56

They cite the inconsistency of Yankees denouncing one form of defiance of law in the South, while condoning other and more violent disregard in their own bailiwicks.

Montgomery Ala.

An evil or error is not to be corrected by pointing out that someone is in as bad or worse case. But the practice of people with greater sins reproving the lesser faults of others was deemed odious enough to be censured in the Sermon on the Mount:

"Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; 'and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye." (Matther 7:5).

★

ANY Southerner who has associated much with yankees knows that many of them readily qualify to come under the general heading of "good people" — kindly, fair-minded men of good will.

But since *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the Civil War, the Yankee has had a crusader complex. He sees himself as St. George slaying the dragon of Secessionist sin. Or, perhaps unconsciously he poses as another Don Quixote laying lance in rest for some Negro Dulcinea—often with as little consideration for realities as the knight of La Mancha showed when he tilted with windmills.

Criticism of the South thus stems from two sources.

First and most blatant, Yankee politicians appealing to the Negro vote, hand and glove with organizations having a vested interest in inflaming Negro sensibilities.

Second, *honest and well-meaning people* who reflect their century-old heritage and preconceived notions, stimulated by today's propaganda. The South's best hope for a fair deal lies with these last.

★

QUITE recently, for example, two great Northern newspapers have called attention to the sordid technique of some of their own politicians—vulgar demogogues who hit the South at any manifestation of racial violence, but condone by silence or inaction much worse mob violence in their own states.

Editorialized *The Cincinnati Enquirer*:

The attempts to coerce Miss Authurine Lucy into staying away from the University of Alabama were deplored and deplorable. An angry assortment of whites formed themselves into a mob. They hurled stones and vegetables at the student, broke a window in the car transporting her.

In recent weeks the country has witnessed acts of aggravated and organized violence in strikes conducted against Westinghouse and Republic Aviation. Crowds of pickets have barred access to plants by violence, hurled rocks, overturned motor cars and assaulted workers. These incidents have been the result of systematic violence.

★

The *Chicago Tribune*, sometimes labeled South-hating, held forth in similar vein, and even more emphatically.

The *Tribune* called attention to rioutous mobs interrupting defense production in New York State, domain of the sanctimonious punk Harriman. It noted that town police of Babylon, N.Y. and the Suffol county sheriff were unable to maintain order, and—

The Babylon chief wired the governor [Harriman] that his men were exhausted by their efforts to restrain the violence of the picket mob, and that the violence was increasing constantly. He pleaded for state police, the national guard, or any other force at the governor's disposal that could restore order. His plea was ignored.

Yet Gov. Harriman has been bawling for the use of federal force to impose desegregation on the Southern States. Mobs in Alabama are anathema to him, but he shuts his eyes to a civil insurrection against law and order in his own state.

★

A THIRD editorial, timely and thoughtful, of a more general scope, has come to hand from the *St. Josep* [Missouri] *News Press*. Headed "NAAC Go Slow, Please." It stated in part:

We of this border state would like to give some friendly advice to this nationwide group that seeks more equality for the Negro. That advice is this: Go slow.

The Negro has come a long and grand journey since in midst of a terrible civil conflict Abraham Lincoln enunciatied his Emancipation Proclamation. Study the story of mankind. From twilight of antiquity to this very day, name us one race that has come as far in less than 100 years!

The South has its problems and we question whether the haste demanded by NAACP will help solve those problems.

38a 1956

GENERAL

Forget being a Negro to remain sane, says professor

Tribune Fri. 5-4-56

Los Angeles, Calif. P. 8

SAN FRANCISCO — "If whites are to . . . get over their prevailing obsession with skin color, they must learn how from Negroes who themselves are unobsessed — with their own skin color or anyone else's. In this insane situation of race relations, Negroes must act as the white man's psychotherapist," Prof. S. I. Hayakawa, talking on "How to be Sane Though Negro", on the San Francisco State college forum series, said here last week.

A former wartime Chicago Defender columnist, the Japanese semanticist, professor of English at State college, said, "The secret of how to be sane though Negro, is to forget as far as possible that one is a Negro. . . . If you are a biochemist or a parent but expect to be treated as a Negro, people are going to treat you as a Negro — whatever that means to them.

"What is necessary . . . is to remember only when one has to remember, and to forget the rest of the time. And what is important is that occasions on which one has to remember are constantly being reduced — for that is exactly what non-segregation means.

"More Negroes should,, instead of defensively asserting the equality of Negroes, take equality so much for granted that you can relax, and help everybody else relax. I do not mean that there should be any relaxation in legal and legislative efforts to reduce discriminatory practices; but these require clear-headedness and, therefore, personal relaxation, too.

"Your own beliefs about the outcome of any social situation of which you are a part are a factor in the outcome," Dr. Hayakawa said.

"You have heard whites say, 'If Negroes move into our community, there is bound to be trouble'. . . . Although such people sometimes believe they are stating an impersonal fact, there is an enormous personal element in such statements. In other words, you sense that they themselves are going to help make that trouble. . . . If a Negro goes into mixed company with the prediction . . . 'People are going to be unpleasant to me because of my race,' they may very well be unpleasant to him. . . .

"The expectations we have of life . . . the conscious or unconscious prophecies we make about people . . . are the combined product of our experience, our education, our miseducation."

FORMAL FIGHT WON

Dr. Hayakawa said he emphasizes personal attitudes because "in one sense it can be said the fight for desegregation and, therefore, for equality, has already been won. . . . It has been won, first of all, at the level of the Supreme Court and federal law. It has also been won at the level of mass communications. . . . No national magazine, no radio, nor television, no press syndicate, no newspaper outside the South, neither major political party, questions any longer the right of Negroes to full participation. . . . Equality as a moral principle, is almost universally established."

Describing as "bootleg segregation" the gerrymandering of school districts and control of real estate against the interests of Negroes, Dr. Hayakawa said this is evidence of the "ambivalence in the hearts of most white people; they simultaneously want Negroes to get ahead because they genuinely believe that equality is desirable, and they don't want Negroes to get ahead because they might find Negroes as their next door neighbors".

The educator expressed the opinion that "many white people, either because of unfamiliarity or ambivalence . . . are uncertain how to behave in an interracial situation; they unconsciously look to the Negro for guidance. . . . The Negro . . . can set the tone of social or business intercourse by the clues he gives in his speech and behaviour as to how he expects to be treated.

Tribune

"If he acts obsequiously, as if he expects to be stepped upon, people will gladly step on him. If he acts nervously and self-consciously, so will the white people. . . . If he is over-assertive and arrogant, they will respond with equal rudeness or with silence. If he acts naturally, they will, in 9 cases out of 10, act naturally too, and be happy and relieved that meeting a Negro was not the ordeal they thought it was going to be.

38a General

"Lillian Smith says that on the subject of Negroes, most white people are ignorant, blind, and sick. . . . Why get angry with these poor, ignorant, sick people who are trying to be friendly? How much enlightenment do you expect from white people with the kind of education on the subject of Negroes that most of them have had — education in terms of the cliches of minstrel shows, bum vaudeville jokes, movie and radio and newspaper comic stereotypes, and superstitious folklore? If you expect too much of them — if you expect all white people to be intelligent and sensible on the subject of Negroes — you will be running into daily disappointments.

"Every instance of natural communication between Negro and white can be, for the white person who needs it, a kind of psychotherapy," the speaker asserted.

HITS NEGRO'S JIM CROW OF THE MIND

"I want to suggest — indeed, to urge — the lifting of what I shall call the "jim crow of the mind," Dr. Hayakawa continued.

"Let us look at the community of educated, upper-middle-class Negroes. Are they seriously interested in music, or do they go to concerts only when Marian Anderson is singing? Are they genuinely interested in art, or do they only go to art shows when Jacob Lawrence or Eldizir Cortor are exhibiting? Are they really interested in sociology, or only in the sociology of the Negro?

"If you look at the titles of dissertations in the graduate division of Negro universities, you will note the widespread existence of this jim crow of the mind — dissertations on Negro housing, Negro population movements, Negro journalism, Negro poetry, Negro painting, and so on indefinitely. Granted that some of these dissertations are justified by the needs and exigencies of research in particular localities, the almost total absence of topics not limited to the Negro is a depressing commentary on the one-sidedness of academic life in many Negro colleges.

"I do not blame anyone for this intellectual segregation, which is the inevitable product of the history of Negroes in the United States. But what is past is past. Hence the question I am raising is whether the removal of jim crow of the mind is keeping pace with the removal of physical jim crow. It is not impossible that we are carrying into the present attitudes and habits now partly antiquated?

"I believe every Negro should interest himself, not superficially but deeply, in the problems of some minority other than his own. There are minority groups other than ethnic to be studied: the stutterers, the physically handicapped, the blind, and the members of all sorts of other social minorities who develop their own minority group complexes. The more intensively one studies any such group, the more impressive become the similarities among all human beings. . . . Gradually, as one pursues such studies, we begin to lose the sense of a special Negro problem,' just as I have long ago lost the sense of a special 'Japanese problem', and we acquire instead a sense of the profound similarity of all human problems."

Tell It To Old Grandma

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Advertiser 2-23

Montgomery, Al

Ignorant And Bigoted

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—I am a transplanted Georgian, having lived in California since 1922. I still consider myself a Southerner. I make frequent visits back there to visit my many friends and relatives throughout the South.

Tri. 5-4-56

In my opinion there is more actual discrimination against the Negro here than there is in the South. True, there is segregation by state and municipal laws in the South, but there is segregation here by choice.

In my 34 years here I have seen movements to keep Negroes from moving into certain districts. The movements would always fail. The Negroes would gradually move in and soon all of the white people would move out. I know of schools which were formerly all white and are now all Negro.

I know of large firms employing several hundred people and they do not have a Negro on their payroll.

Most of the people are not concerned with the Negro problem, because it does not affect them. It really gets under my skin when I hear people criticize the South, when they know absolutely nothing about the situation in the South and all the while they themselves are practicing segregation.

407 S. Maple,
Brea, Calif. THOMAS G. SLAPPEY.

◆

The True Situation

Editor, The Advertiser:

I read, with great interest, the article "Southern Editor Declares Negro Problem is National" which appeared in our local paper recently. This is the first time I've read an article that deals with the situation in its true state. This has been my personal contention, and I was deeply gratified that others share this same feeling and are in a position to so aptly present it to the attention of the public.

Trust that your every effort in this field will be greatly rewarded.

MRS. OTIS J. THOMPSON.
1313 N. Grace St.,
Lake Charles, La.

Weekly P. 3-B
New Orleans, La.
Sat. 5-5-56

38a
General

District Affairs

Post Times Herald

Integration Enters New Active Phase

Sun. 5-6-56 P. 2-E
Washington, D.C.

By Grace Bassett

WASHINGTONIANS can expect further action in the next few months to remove remaining aspects of official segregation. For one thing, the city has gone so far on this front that further advances are expected. For another thing, the presidential campaign will keep the issue alive.

Miss Bassett

Although the basis for considerable progress on the racial front was laid during the Truman Administration, the largest strides were made in the months after the inauguration of President Eisenhower, who made a campaign promise to use his authority to eliminate segregation in the District.

Under Board President Samuel Spencer, who just ended a 3-year term, orders went out to protect District jobholders from discrimination because of race, creed or color.

The White House urged school administrators to implement the Supreme Court integration ruling as a model for the Nation. Integrated classes began in the fall of 1954. Negro and white firemen started living and working together in the city's populated firehouses a year later.

THEN THE Commissioners moved cautiously for two years. They were heeding critics who warned against moving too fast.

Robert E. McLaughlin, new president of a new board, may be expected to take the lead where the old board left off.

Evidence of the renewed policy was provided last week. The city fathers voted to ban discrimination in amusement places throughout the city.

The regulation may render "moot" a court case testing an 1869 law barring the same kind of discrimination in the "old city," bounded by Rock Creek, Florida ave., and the Anacostia River. The Commissioners merely "extended" this law to the present city.

THE PREVIOUS board had rejected the regulation in favor of the court test for two reasons: One was to get the people used to the idea of opening up amusement places to all. Another was to avoid a row with Southern Congressmen.

There were those who felt that a court decision would provide a firm basis for the broad regulation of the type the Commissioners just adopted. Others felt just as strongly that all the Commissioners needed was the courage to use authority they clearly possessed.

STILL BEFORE them are these unsettled problems:

The city's fire department still keeps only eight Negroes in otherwise white companies around the clock. The NAACP says that these men have been given the "silent treatment" by their white colleagues.

Fire Chief Millard Sutton insists that rules can't change men's minds. But habits can, he says, and his department will solve its problem if left alone. McLaughlin plans to insist on progress on this front.

As Police Commissioner, McLaughlin also may have to decide city policy on maintenance of separate facilities for 14,000 Negro and 8000 white members of the Police Boys Club. Club managers fear that fund campaigns will suffer if they merge the clubs. Activities fighting juvenile delinquency are financed by public contributions. Policemen help solicit funds. Public buildings have been used as clubhouses.

McLaughlin and Thomas G. Carney, club president, have their heads together, but so far they have not come up with a satisfactory solution.

SEGREGATION TALK CITES JESUS' WORDS

Times P. 25-C
Sun. 5-6-56
New York, N. Y.

Northerners who feel they must tell Southerners what to do about segregation were referred yesterday to the Sermon on the Mount by the Rev. Hugh McCandless. He is rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Epiphany, Seventy-fourth Street and York Avenue.

Continuing his series of sermons on segregation, Mr. McCandless noted that Jesus had advised: "First cast the beam out of thine own eye."

The South, he said, has attempted to reconcile segregation with Christianity. Therefore "pious recriminations" from the North fall on deaf ears.

The "least educated" in the South, he said, draw on the primitive ideas of racial purity expressed in the Old Testament. The "more educated," according to Mr. McCandless, say what many Northerners say:

"'It's a bad situation, but there it is. You can't change it, so just accept it. Maybe if we all just ignore it, it will go away.'"

However, he added, there are prophets in the South. He noted as an example Southern novels and plays that depict the degeneration of aristocratic families.

Ike Tells South To Move Ahead On Integration

FROM PRESS REPORTS

WASHINGTON, March 21—President Eisenhower declared today that "all the South" should show some progress toward racial desegregation.

"I am for moderation, but I am for progress," he told his news conference.

He raised this plea:

"Let's don't try to think of this as a tremendous fight that is going to separate Americans and get ourselves in a nasty mess.

"Let's try to think of how we can make progress."

Appealing to the clergy for help, the president said that the South is duty-bound to make "some progress" toward racial integration of public schools.

Mr. Eisenhower renewed his plea for "sympathetic" understanding of the South's deep emotional problem, but told his news conference that "we should not stagnate." He said religious leaders have a "very great responsibility" to help toward "progress" with "moderation."

"This is a very tough one," he said, "and people have to search their own hearts if we are going to get a decent answer and keep going ahead."

Asked how he felt about Negroes being brought to trial in Montgomery, Ala., for "refusing to ride the buses," Mr. Eisenhower said he understood the state had a law against boycotts.

But he said "it is incumbent on all the South to show some progress" in complying with the Supreme Court's order against segregated schools. However, he said, the problem is "far larger, both in its emotional and even in its physical aspects, than most of us realize."

The President extended his appeal for racial "tolerance" to cover such international problems as the Arab-Israel crisis and the struggle of North African peoples for independence. In all such disputes, he said, the answer is "mediation rather than conflict."

Mr. Eisenhower said the United States is doing its best, both in and out of the United Nations, to convince both the Arabs and Israelis that their best interests lie in mediation.

Underlining his concern over the Mid-East and other world problems, Mr. Eisenhower announced that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who returned today from a Far Eastern trip, will brief both Democratic and Republican congressional leaders at the White House tomorrow.

The President shied away from direct comment on Sen. Estes Kefauver's victory over Adali E. Stevenson in the Minnesota Democratic primary. But he said Minnesota is a "very important state" and the results should be "studied."

Mr. Eisenhower refused to be drawn into discussion of Kefauver's claim that the big Democratic vote indicated a Midwest "revolt" against the administration's flexible farm price support program.

But he said he believes farmers understand that the Administration is trying to give them "100 per cent of parity in the market place." To try to do it by law, he said, would merely pile up more farm surpluses and "trouble" for the farmer.

Mr. Eisenhower said the Senate's new farm bill is neither "workable" nor a "good bill." He urged Senate-House conferees to "write a good bill, and one which can really be helpful to the farmer."

Turning to the international scene, the president said he does not believe the "basic Communist objective" of world domination has been changed by recent Soviet criticism of Josef Stalin.

He said Russia's present leaders apparently wanted to repudiate certain Stalinist doctrines and possibly decided to "go the whole way and repudiate the man as well."

In his discussion of the Southern school and Middle East disputes, Md. Eisenhower highly praised the activities of the Rev. Billy Graham, who had a conference with the President yesterday.

The President said Graham "carries his religion to the far corners of the earth, trying to promote pace, trying to promote mediation instead of conflict, tolerance instead of prejudice."

He warned against thinking of the school segregation dispute as "a tremendous fight that is going to separate Americans and get ourselves into a nasty mess."

"Let's try to think of it as how can we make progress and keep it going and not stop it," he said. "Now that, I believe, the pulpits can help on."

TALKS ABOUT SEGREGATION—President Eisenhower at yesterday's press conference. (United Press Telephoto.)

Strength in Racial Integration

The substance of "The Negro Potential," a study just produced at Columbia University under the auspices of the Conservation of Human Resources Project, which President Eisenhower inaugurated during his stay on Morningside Heights, is that this country's 15 million or more Negroes are our "single most underdeveloped human resource" and that one of the greatest national challenges is to open more opportunities to make better use of this strength.

Offhand, this may sound like an elaborate statement of the obvious. Certainly, it is wasteful not to make full use of man power, even though the Negro tenth of our population has made tremendous gains in recent years. But the point emphasized by Dr. Eli Ginzberg and his associates is that these advances have come primarily through American prosperity. In short, where opportunity is provided the benefits are quickly apparent. And here it is a plain fact that the opportunities come from removing educational handicaps, making more and better jobs available and breaking the barriers of racial discrimination.

No one can say with any certainty how long it will take to achieve a complete integration of Negroes to the point of equal opportunity for all citizens. The report says that the "best hope" rests in a continued "strong and virile economy." It is admitted, however, that a large part of the South is in no mood for desegregation. Yet the authors believe that outside pressures "will induce the South to steer away from a self-destructive recalcitrance." Only time will tell about that. It would be better meanwhile to exercise forbearance and understanding.

But change is not necessarily slow. General Ridgway proved in Korea that desegregation was feasible, and now racial integration is an established fact in the armed forces. While military and civil life are by no means comparable, the Korea experience did demonstrate, in the report's words, "remarkable ability of both whites and Negroes to adjust to new relations with each other in such a manner that the potential of each can be more fully realized." It was a case of lifting tradition's handicap and affording equal rights and opportunity. The result has been greater strength for all.

The example is worth meditating upon —both for building the United States at home and for exerting leadership in the free world.

Newswoman Tells Role Of Negro Women

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Through the efforts of Negro women, the fight for equality is being won, recently declared Mrs. Alice A. Dunnigan, Washington correspondent for the Associated Negro Press.

Speaking to more than 300 persons attending the annual ladies' night banquet of the Association of Oldest Inhabitants, Monday night, Mrs. Dunnigan urged the group to "keep fighting until we've won complete victory of equality in this land of ours."

The newspaper woman spoke of the American Negro woman from the time of enslavement to her present rise of equality. She noted the slow progress, citing the odds of color, sex and condition of servitude, which had to be overcome.

But, she added, women are still in hte forefront in this fight for equality and justice.

She recalled the fight spearheaded by the late Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, which resulted in the abolition of segregation in eating places and amusement places in the District of Columbia.

Speaking of school integration, she reminded her audience of the long, hard fight waged by Miss Ada Sipuel for admittance into the law school at the University of Oklahoma. It was this victory which led to abolition of segregation in institutions of higher learning, and paved the way for the later Supreme Court decision on school integration.

She mentioned the fight with Miss Autherine Lucy staged for admission to the University of Alabama.

Finding Middle Way Between Extremes Is Pressing Task In Our Racial Situation

News Sun. 5-6-56 P. 22-A

Perilous dissension — mainly between extremist elements—now menaces racial relations in Alabama.

Birmingham, Ala.

If the situation is to be kept from getting even worse, positive, constructive steps must be developed to deal with the grave problems in this field.

Conflicts and disturbances and attempted coercions — expressed either through disorders or by legal maneuvering—are dangerous in present tensions.

If the conflict is permitted to grow, increasing trouble will be inevitable.

No satisfactory outcome is conceivable in terms of any all-out victory for any extremist attitude.

On the one hand, utter defiance of the Supreme Court school decision can bring no solution.

Nor, on the other hand, can efforts to give immediate general effect to the court's decision.

Two realities must be faced:

The Supreme Court decision represents the law of the land.

Running counter thereto is the unquestionably strong sentiment against the court's decision.

If no all-out extremist victory is even conceivable, then what helpful things are possible in the middle ground?

What steps can be taken that might be workable in view of the powerful sentiment against desegregation?

What measures might be compatible with the newly created legal status—and at the same time gain the support of the large number of persons of both races who desire peaceful, orderly, cooperative progress in the field of racial rights and relations?

The Birmingham News is confident that a great majority of our people oppose extremist methods of dealing with the difficult situation.

It believes they ardently desire constructive procedure.

Yet this more tolerant thinking and desire of the majority has not been heard from in anything like the scope and force with which the extremists on both sides have managed to assert their contentions.

One major reason for absence of firm and effective expression of the moderate viewpoint is that formation of a constructive program of that kind is a very complex and difficult task.

That task urgently challenges the immediate and best efforts of all citizens—white and colored—who believe in such a cooperative approach.

The quest of such a program, we believe, should be a major undertaking of the biracial commission Gov. Folsom has proposed.

The Birmingham News has the faith that *there are things* that can be done along the way of moderation and cooperation.

First of all, strong and explicit support can be given to law and order in meeting our difficult problem.

Furthermore, long ago *The Birmingham News* suggested for consideration a plan for provision in Alabama of a free choice as between white, colored and mixed schools.

The Alabama Legislature, by legal enactment, has approved that approach.

We realize that such a method would be a difficult undertaking.

None the less, we also believe that there is real hope for constructive steps in such a plan.

There is, we believe, no better approach than one seeking to develop opportunities for truly *voluntary action* in accordance with individual conviction.

Surely efforts at compulsion—legal or otherwise—which go against sincere, profound feelings on either side of the issue are bound to produce acute situations.

Persisting attempts along such lines obviously will lead to one disturbing crisis after another.

That is not what the people of Alabama want.

So, let those who do want order and understanding intensify their efforts to find better ways.

The proposed biracial commission—in concert with all white and Negro citizens of good will — should press forward in that endeavor in every community in Alabama.

'Support migration'—

Timmerman hurls challenge at North

News Fri. 5-11-56 P. 11

Birmingham, Ala.

RIVERS' BRIDGE, S. C., May 11—(AP)—Northern advocates of racial integration were challenged today by South Carolina Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr. "to cast off their hypocorisy and accept the Negro into their communities, their institutions and their families."

Timmerman called on "the integrationist to prove his sincerity" by supporting a program of voluntary migration of Negroes from the South to communities "where racial mixing is acceptable."

He said "a federal program of financial aid to enable those who want to mix to move" to other areas "would cost only a fraction" of the billions advocated for foreign aid.

TIMMERMAN SPOKE at the 80th annual Rivers' Bridge Confederate Memorial Assn. ceremonies that commemorate a War Between the States battle near here.

Calling that war the "war of Northern aggression," Timmerman charged that its cause was not Negro slavery in the South, but "the determination of Northern plutocrats to establish national control under which the policies of the North would determine the policies of the nation."

"Much has changed in the last 90-odd years," Timmerman continued, "but some things remain the same. The North continues to be prone to stick its nose into somebody's business, especially the business of the South, while ignoring and even promoting deplorable conditions in its own areas.

"Northern propagandists are as loud, obnoxious and untruthful today as the abolitionists a century ago . . ."

TIMMERMAN SAID "the integrationist, like the abolitionist, is a hypocrite" because "he proclaims in the name of brotherly love that Southern segregation is discrimination, while ignoring and cultivating deplorable conditions in his own area."

"The ghetto of Harlem, the lawless slums of Washington, the frequent—but frequently ignored—race riots in schools, parks and playgrounds, the muggings and switchblade cuttings and 32 months of racial disorder in Chicago's Trumbull Park, all are models of those deplorable conditions," he continued.

"By comparison, the Southern Negro has achieved the best record of lawful conduct of any member of his race in the nation."

TIMMERMAN SAID that under a voluntary migration program "the state of Oregon could become a real model for the nation."

"I mention Oregon," he explained, "because its two U. S. senators (Morse and Neuberger, both Democrats) have been loudest in proclaiming the virtues of integration, and I assume they represent the views of their people.

"I also mention Oregon because I have advocated such a program for Oregon before, and I have received little complaint from the people of that state."

GETTYSBURG, Pa., where President Eisenhower has a farm, "could become an Eastern mecca of integration," Timmerman continued. "High officials in Washington could establish their homes there and enjoy the blessings that they advocate for other people."

"I CHALLENGE the Northern leaders of both major parties to incorporate such a program in the platforms of the parties," he asserted.

"I challenge the senior senator from Oregon (Morse) to advocate and support this voluntary program as a major plank in his platform for re-election."

He said he does not expect his challenges to be accepted because "the integrationist is a hypocrite."

HE MAINTAINED that "the time has come for the South to assert its political strength" since "the current trend in national affairs clearly indicates that the South can expect little consideration unless the states of the South are willing to organize."

"The South needs to stand firm and insist that the Democratic Party write a platform and provide a candidate that is acceptable to the South," he declared. "The real issue is one of principle. It is our right to determine for ourselves the course of our future and our lives. It is more personal than the underlying issue of the war of Northern aggression."

Friends In The North

Advertiser P. 4-A

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have read the *U. S. News & World Report* article in which you were interviewed. I am a yankee who is ashamed of the hypocrisy of the North. The tragedy is too few people realize the problems of the other sections of the country. In this (Detroit) area the Negro problem is something that has been with us about, say, 15 years only. The combination N.A.A.C.P.-C.I.O. is ruthless and intolerant of all opposite views of the race problem. This group is working together to elect Southern congressmen of the "liberal" stripe, so that all barriers to a socialized state will be removed.

Montgomery, Ala.

Here we have a different form of segregation. Older neighborhoods taken over by Negroes soon run down. The remaining whites find their properties run over, new neighbors running all into parties, vice palaces set up. Soon white women are accosted on the streets. Crime rises. In short, the Negro is not ready to mingle freely with the white. People in Detroit wonder about the bus boycott in your city—why you folks drive the Negroes to work.

These are some things you can do. First, the C.I.O. is spending a penny a month per member to promote civil rights. Why not have each C.I.O. member have his union stop sending a cent to the international union till it stopped (1) all agitation for civil rights; (2) spending one cent for civil rights.

In the key states of Michigan, Ohio and Illinois, there are as many Southern born whites as Negroes. Your people, through the intimacy of a letter, must write to your friends and relatives up here and request them to vote against all civil rights advocates and Negroes.

I say this not out of hatred for the Negro, but to prevent the South from being subjected to another carpetbagger occupation through the manipulation of the N.A.A.C.P. We whites are disorganized, the opposition is not. You have many friends up here.

For reasons of personal safety, I prefer to remain anonymous.

Highland Park, Mich. J. A. S.

North And South Differ On Racial Problem, Its Solution

Informer Houston, Tex. Sat. 6-30-

NEW YORK—The race problem, a recently-completed national survey discloses, is considered more important by the American public than the atom bomb, international hostility, juvenile delinquency, or any other problem. It is the most frequently mentioned problem in the U S today.

In the second of a series of articles based on the first national race problem survey, the July Catholic Digest reveals that North and South, Negroes and whites combined, the Negro-White problem is viewed as most important by 45% of those interviewed. Juvenile delinquency trails far behind with only 36% considering it most important, while 32% regard the atom bomb as the big problem.

While more than half of the northern whites and Negroes of both sections think of the problem in terms of white prejudice, fear, and hatred, (and the resulting discrimination and inequality), only about one-fourth of southern whites would accept a definition along these lines.

Nearly half the southern whites think that the real problem is desegregation. In response to the query "What would you say seems to be standing most in the way of solving the Negro-White problem today?", prejudice is the obstacle named by most people, even among southern whites. But, in the opinion of Negroes and nothern whites, the southern whites themselves are the second most serious obstacle.

Among southern whites although 24% see "prejudice as the major difficulty, 14% think desegregation blocks a solution, and 10% say it is "agitation and publicity".

Most people also, the Catholic Digest survey shows, think the race problem a difficult one to solve. The definition "hard problem" was given by 86% of northern whites; 88% of southern whites; 81% of the northern Negroes, and 72% of southern Negroes.

Negroes, however, are much more inclined than whites to think that progress is being made towards a solution. About one-third of the whites interviewed think the problem will never be solved. But only one-tenth of the Negroes take so sombre a view.

Informer 6-18

Asked how long they thought it would take to solve the problem, northern whites estimated 27 years as compared with the southern white estimate of 16 years. Northern Negroes estimate a solution may be arrived at in 23 years, while southern Negroes believe solution will come in 10.

Sat. 6-30-56

Additional material gathered in this first nation-wide survey of attitudes towards the Negro-White problem will appear in subsequent issues of the Catholic Digest. The survey was made for the Digest by an independent opinion- research firm.

Anti-Southern News Bias Charged by Williams

Evening Star Wash. D.C. 5-18-56

Washington, D.C. 5-23-56

SELMA, Ala., May 18 (AP).—Representative John Bell Williams, Democrat of Mississippi, said last night a form of press and radio censorship has been imposed on news which might show segregation advocates in a favorable light.

Mr. Williams came here for an address to the Dallas County Citizens' Council on the second anniversary of the Supreme Court's May 17, 1954, decision which held segregation in schools to be unlawful.

The Representative referred to of "liberals" who support integration" and said:

"So strong have they become in recent years, though, that they control a great segment of the press and radio of this country, to the extent that a form of censorship has been imposed against the dissemination of news and information which might, directly or indirectly, reflect favorably on the attitudes of Southern white people.

Distortion Seen.

"News stories that justify Southern attitudes are deliberately withheld from print; statements favoring segregation by Southern leaders are deliberately distorted to make the author appear as a bigoted fool; words are lifted from the context to make it appear that we in the South hold our Negro friends in utter contempt which is, of course, contrary to all the teachings and tenets of the Southern people.

"They seize upon interracial crimes in the South, amplify them out of proportion to their importance, and by use of half truths, innuendo, and in some cases outright lies, try to make it look as if lynching Negroes is a favorite Southern pastime among the White people."

Mr. Williams, a member of the House District of Columbia Committee, said one member of the District School Board told him repeated incidents of trouble had made it necessary to assign full-time officers at some Washington public schools since integration was ordered.

He said the District of Columbia School Board by a vote of 4 to 3 had refused to make a report to him on the number of incidents of violence occurring in the schools during the last two years.

"We're going to get that information because the committee has subpoena powers," he added.

The Mississippi Congressman also told the crowd, estimated by Citizens' Council leaders at 3,000, that educational standards have "deteriorated" in Washington since integration.

He also told the crowd that white clubwomen in Washington recently asked police for extra protection at night because of repeated attacks by Negro juveniles. Of 350 crimes such as attacks and purse snatchings reported in Washington during the last four months of 1955, Mr. Williams said, 320 were committed by Negroes.

Mr. Williams also said District of Columbia Commissioners have had to ask Congress for $10 million in additional tax revenue in the past two years because of "an exodus" of white taxpayers and a drop in property values because of racial integration.

Low Crime Rate in South

Answering charges that a "reign of terror" exists in Southern States, Mr. Williams said the lowest Negro crime rate in the United States is in Mississippi and South Carolina.

By contrast, he added, New York State has 7,000 Negroes in prison while Mississippi has only 1,500, although he said the Negro populations of the two States are approximately the same.

He mentioned Dearborn, Mich., as one community where, he said, no Negroes are permitted to live and quoted an Illinois member of Congress, whose name he didn't mention, as saying there are "hundreds" of cities and towns in that State "where a Negro can't spend the night."

Macon Telegraph

Constitution 5-4

Right or Wrong, Bus Decision Of High Court Was Ill-Timed

Atlanta Ga.

Mar. 4-30-56

Last Monday's decision by the Supreme Court outlawing segregation on public buses in intrastate travel could hardly have been otherwise in view of previous rulings on public schools, parks and recreation areas. But that does not make last week's action wise or proper, nor in line with the best interests of individual citizens in the various communities involved.

In one sense, actual desegregation of public transportation in the South will have to be determined largely by the residents of the states and cities where these vehicles operate.

Developments in Montgomery, Ala., clearly illustrate this. Officials of the bus line, which is owned in Chicago, ordered these buses integrated a few hours after the court's announcement. Yet, local officials objected and declared they would see that Alabama's laws on the subject be enforced.

Technically, laws requiring segregation of passengers in intrastate vehicles in Alabama, Georgia and 10 other Southern states have not yet been voided by the court's action. The case ruled upon involved only South Carolina.

But a case against Alabama will be heard in federal court on May 11 and Southern communities may expect that ultimately all state laws contradicting the federal decision will fall.

The paramount point for all citizens—whatever their race—to keep uppermost in mind is that habits and practices of an established social order cannot be sharply altered by edict.

History in the field of race relations shows that changes tempered with consideration and understanding are more effective in achieving real human progress.

As for the propriety of this latest Supreme Court decision and whether the court continues to exceed its jurisdictional authority, that is entirely another question.

The only way to answer it with finality is via a proposed amendment to the federal Constitution. There have been several basic suggestions for such an amendment discussed in Congress, but none of them has received any action so far.

Sixth District Congressman Carl Vinson offered one such resolution which would reaffirm the principles of constitutional government and thus, in effect, serve as a referendum by the American people as to whether they consider the court is exceeding its authority.

As Mr. Vinson emphasized yesterday, the chain of court decisions now has set a pattern of federal jurisdiction over heretofore state matters, and the chain

will continue to lengthen until there is no longer any such doctrine as states' rights.

The issue of segregation or integration on public buses is only one of many ramifications of this pattern.

As with schools, desegregation of public transport will be delayed by numerous legal methods as long as possible. It will not sweep the South with any rapidity; it will have to be decided on a local basis.

But in the meantime, the fundamental question of federal authority vs. state authority must be settled. It is up to the people themselves to do that, and they must be given an opportunity to do so.

EDITORS DEBATE RACIAL PROBLEM

Times-Picayune p. 2

Appeals Heard for Moderation on Schools

Sat. 4-21-56

By STERLING F. GREEN

WASHINGTON, April 20 (AP) — The American Society of Newspaper Editors has heard appeals for moderation, patience and objectivity in covering the problems of school integration in the south.

New Orleans

Lively and occasionally tense clashes between Northern and Southern editors marked the panel discussion and floor debate on what one speaker called "the biggest story of our time."

La.

Herbert Brucker of the Hartford (Conn) Courant declared the first obligation of the press, both North and South is to "recognize that this thing has happened and integration is coming."

Texan Begs for 'Easing Up'

"Our job is to help it happen and make the adjustment as easy as possible," Brucker said. Describing measures taken in his own city against various types of racial discrimination, he told the 400 delegates:

"The surprising thing is that when you make the adjustment the heavens don't fall. It isn't really as hard as it seems."

But editor John Q. Mahaffey of the Texarkana (Tex) Gazette and Daily News, told the session "what it is that frightens people down in the South." He declared:

"In my little town of 50,000 the Negroes already hold the balance of power.

"On the day they decide to stop selling their votes like a cotton crop every year, they are going to find out they can put in a mayor and a whole city council."

Mahaffey begged his Northern colleagues to "ease up on the pressure — be a little more moderate."

"You're all anxious for us to integrate down there, but I don't think we're ready for it."

Presidential Commission?

A proposal that President Eisenhower appoint a commission of distinguished citizens to make a serious study of the integration problem was offered by Lenoir Chambers of the Norfolk (Va) Virginian-Pilot.

Such a commission, Chambers suggested, might be able to contribute toward solutions of "these problems which at this minute seem insoluble."

He called on the newspapers to attempt to foster forces of moderation which could exert as much influence as "the extremists of either side."

"We are in a state of collision between two forces of extremists," he reported. "The consequence is that the moderate mind of the South has been squeezed out."

Harry Ayers, veteran editor of the Anniston (Ala) Star, told the editors that Alabama is fighting integration "because we are having a hard enough time trying to lift our schools up to the average of the United States." Integration has lowered educational standards wherever it has been tried, Ayers said.

Discussing Wrong Subject

"Integration cannot be accomplished overnight," he said. "The Supreme Court segregation decision was one of the most tragic things that has happened in interracial relations in my lifetime."

One speaker, Sylvan H. Meyer of the Gainesville (Ga) Times, told the meeting he was "extremely disappointed" in the debate because it centered on the integration issues rather than the role of the press in handling the story.

Meyer said he had hoped the discussion would produce some line of guidance for editors who are faced with the responsibility of averting "chaos, the disruption of law and order," in their communities.

"If you were exposed to the demagoguery of as many politicians as we are in the South, you would realize we have a highly inflammable situation to deal with," Meyer said.

Editors Not 'Integrated'

"We need a course of policy, a kind of strategy, to which we can refer when the problems arise. I am sure that the principle will be one of moderation."

James A. Wechsler, editor of the New York Post, deplored the fact that the editors' society was "sitting here talking about integration while there are no Negroes represented in our ranks." He said he hoped to sponsor the admission of some representatives of the Negro press before the next annual meeting.

ASNE president Kenneth MacDonald told the group there was no policy of discriminatior in ASNE but the society had never received a membership application from a Negro editor.

This probably is because membership is limited to daily newspaper editors and most Negro journals are weekly, he explained. If an application is received, he added, the ASNE directors would give it careful consideration and probably would accept the applicant.

Publish It Not In The Streets Of Askelon—XXIV.

Advertiser p. 2-b

It is a sorrowful but evident fact that wherever the Negro migrates in significant numbers, he encounters rejection. —Theme of the Series.

Sun. 6-24-56

LAS VEGAS, Nevada, is also located in the unexplored, uncharted Republic of Askelon.

Montgomery, Ala.

But you do not associate the somber, grievous problem of the Negro's rejection with Las Vegas, as we have come to associate it with Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Mississippi and New York. You associate Las Vegas with the West, which possesses no tradition of Negro settlement, and with the neon glitter with more candlelight power than the Aurora Borealis, with the wholesome assassination of Bugsy Siegel, the $10,000 a week paid to gambling joint entertainers, and above all—with the black lace and garter about the incomparable limbs of Marlene Dietrich and a million roscoe machines competing with the noise of the nearby atom bomb explosions on Frenchman's Flat.

But for one interested in establishing the true boundaries of Askelon, there are other attractions and these emphatically include the phenomenon of segregation, entirely non-Southern in origin and characteristics.

★

A SPECIAL Las Vegas census in April, 1955 (we learn through special Associated Press facilities) showed that there were 38,772 whites and 6,023 Negroes.

The Negroes were drawn to Las Vegas, a seemingly improbable place for their resettlement, by the magnesium works and Union Pacific Railroad employment.

As in other non-Southern cities where segregation is practiced in defiance of state and city law, there is no segregation in transportation or schools. But otherwise, the Negro is ghettoed.

It is often reported that in Las Vegas the gambling joints will pay a Negro $10,000 to sing or dance, but refuse to house him in the hotel or permit him in the dining room. This we were not able to confirm specifically.

It was denied, for example, that the Mills Brothers were forced to eat in the kitchen of the Thunderbird, or that El Rancho Vegas admitted the light-skinned Negro entertainer Billy Daniels to its bar but rejected his dark-skinned accompanist Benny Payne.

★

THE CITY EDITOR of the *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, Joe McClain, who acted as *The Advertiser's* correspondent on this exploration, wired back that the proprietors of the establishments denied the incidents (published in *Whisper* magazine).

However, Editor McClain did confirm that Negroes lived almost entirely on the West Side and that they are *"not encouraged to move elsewhere as there is plenty of area for their expansion on the West Side."*

The city fathers are doing a good deal to improve the living conditions in the West Side Negro settlement. Translated, this means that the Negro citizens of Las Vegas are segregated by the usual Northern means and that, in response to Las Vegas public sentiment, the government is trying to make them content to remain apart.

McCLAIN established the nightspot discrimination against the Negro in the Far West:

> Luxury hotels, bars, casinos *do* turn Negroes away. They have *their own* casinos, bars on the West Side. Moulin Rouge, a luxury hotel opened on the West Side primarily for Negroes, folded for lack of business. . . . The Hotel Desert Inn does not book Negro entertainers to avoid any possible incident.

What is important to recognize here is that there is no Southern influence at work. Relatively few are the Southern patrons of Las Vegas, whereas 20,000 Californians boil in over the weekend, most of them in Cadillacs. Natives of Las Vegas may be presumed to be mostly Westerners. Yet the Negroes encounter rejection.

★

THE ADVERTISER wondered if, while the world talked of and *The New York Times* was publishing an eight-page section on the South, Student Lucy and the Rev. King, if perhaps the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* had localized the story of America's race problem with a news article or editorial on what happened when there got to be 6,000 Negroes in Las Vegas.

That question *The Advertiser* asked. It got a novel answer. First, the *Las Vegas Review-Journal* had never in its life described the status of the Negro in Las Vegas. That, of course, is not the novel aspect, for that is the typical aspect of Northern obliviousness to that with which its own backyard reeks. No magnolia blossom, no race relations story.

What is novel is that the *Review-Journal*, while derelict in its obligations as reporter, has not writhed in self-righteousness over Miss Lucy and ignored its own conditions. The *Review-Journal* is a stout partisan of States Rights and has kept its mouth shut, leaving the academic aspirations of Miss Lucy to the law of the State of Alabama.

Bus Protests By Negro Students Is Suggested

Daily World Sat. 6-30-56 P.1

Atlanta Ga.

BY KENNETH G. FIELD

SAN FRANCISCO — A principal leader of the Montgomery bus protest this week suggested the possibility of Negro pupils boycotting segregated schools as a method of speeding integration.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who heads the Montgomery Improvement Association, told newsmen such a step would be an extreme measure which is a "thought rather than an actual proposal."

"The boycott is a fundamental weapon, but I don't advise its indiscriminate use," he asserted.

The self-described follower of the policy of passive resistance as extolled by Mahatma Ghandi will be the principal speaker at today's session of the NAACP convention

Dr. King said that "In his individual life, the Negro must refuse to pay to be segregated" and suffer major inconveniences, if necessary, as a symbol of Negro determination to oppose injustice."

Turning to the bus boycott itself, the 27-year-old pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, said Montgomery City Lines is losing an average of $3500 to $400 daily, directly as the result of a Negro "walkout" that began last Dec 5. He estimated that 75 per cent of the bus line's passenger revenue came from Negroes.

He touched briefly on the Tallahassee bus boycott, comparing their demands with those made in the Alabama capital. They are: more courtesy; a seating arrangement on a first-come-first served basis with whites sitting from front to rear and Negroes from the rear forward, and Negro drives on predominately Negro-served routes.

Dr. King, who received a doctorate in philosophical theology from Boston University, said that boycotts in other areas of the South would be effective if not used "indiscriminately," and only after careful examination of the target community's economic structure.

"We will win this battle," he continued. "Segregation is becoming a dead reality in Alabama."

'Minimum Position' Set Out

Post + Times Herald

3 Governors Back Integration Plank As Timmerman Tries to Line Up South

Mon. 6-25-56 Washington, D.C.

P.1

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

ATLANTIC CITY, June 24—Three Northern Democratic Governors today called for a Democratic platform upholding the Supreme Court integration decision as the "minimum" position their party can take on civil rights.

But Gov George Bell Timmerman Jr., of South Carolina called this "a lot of malarkey." Timmerman, who recently sounded out Southern leaders on a plan to "unify" Southern Democrats, said an exploratory meeting will be held in Atlanta in the next few days. He denied "third party" intentions, however.

Gov. Averell Harriman, still seeking the Democratic nomination on the theory that "a lot of ball games are being won in the ninth inning this year," told reporters the Party's civil rights plank must be as strong as its 1952 declaration and must at least make a reference to the Supreme Court decision.

Asked if Timmerman's "southern unifying" move is aimed at his candidacy, Harriman said:" I'm not the candidate of the South. I think that's been made clear . . . But I think I have a lot of friends in the South."

The two other Northern Democratic governors who came out for affirmation of the Supreme Court integration ruling as the "least" the party can do on civil rights were Gov. G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams of Michigan and Gov. Robert B. Meyner Jr. of New Jersey, host Governor of this annual Governors' Conference.

Post + Times

The three Democrats had their say on the whole gamut of 1956 Presidential politics at a series of press conferences leading up to Monday's formal opening of the Conference.

P.1

Gov. Goodwin J. Knight of California, lone Republican state executive to face a formal press conference, shared the Northern Democratic view on the civil rights issue.

Knight, long reported at political odds with Vice President Richard M. Nixon, ducked one question after another about what he thought of Nixon for President Eisenhower's running mate.

He said he had "no opinion" on whether there is a chance of Nixon's being dropped. He was asked if he would "urge" Mr. Eisenhower to nominate Nixon. He replied: "I won't have any opportunity."

Knight predicted President Eisenhower would run and be elected, however, and said he would support Nixon on the ticket if the Vice President were renominated.

The California Governor told reporters that Murray Chotiner, 1952 manager of Nixon's campaign, currently being investigated by the Senate Permanent Investigating Committee for alleged influence peddling, was one of two "deputies" designated by Nixon to act for him in dividing up 69 California Republican Convention delegates. The delegates were divided three ways, between Nixon, Knight and Sen. William F. Knowland, with each receiving 23, Knight said. He said Nixon designated Chotiner and Kyle Palmer, political editor of the Los Angeles Times, to represent him in the matter.

Asked if he had ever worked with Chotiner, Knight said:

"I never had him in any of my campaigns. I didn't want him. He never seemed to fit it."

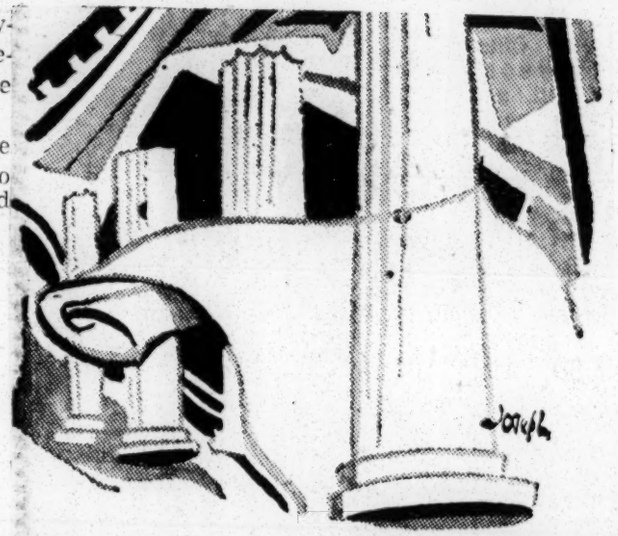
Democratic presidential politicking started early at this annual get-together of the Gov- frankly out to woo any delegates who might stray into the meeting.

Nor was Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic front runner who many expect to be nominated on the second or third ballot at Chicago, without friends and representatives here.

Stevenson's campaign manager, James Finnegan, and Stevenson's law partner, William M. Blair, were quite candidly on the scene to protect the former Illinois Governor's interests.

"We are discussing the Stevenson candidacy with a lot of the people here," Finnegan told reporters. "Many of them were attending Governors' Conferences when Mr. Stevenson was a Governor. Naturally we are seeing them."

Some seven or eight of the 27 Democratic Governors already have publicly declared for Stevenson and four or five others have hinted their interest in his candidacy. One Governor, Raymond Gary of Oklahoma, has announced for Harriman.



include nearly one million Mississippi Negroes as people, and speaking only of her 1,188,632 whites, "would not support integrated schools." And he signs into the impermanence of Mississippi law two more bills that, flouting the Constitution of the United States and the rulings of the Supreme Court, much less the teachings of Christianity to which most Mississippians subscribe, would keep the Negro in the inequality to which custom long has consigned him.

Keeping the Negro in his forcibly accustomed place is also the aim of the remarkable proceedings in Montgomery, Alabama. There a group of Negro ministers took the lead 11 weeks ago in protesting the segregated seating on buses required by Alabama statute. Thousands of Negroes since have boycotted the city bus lines, organizing car pools or walking to work rather than abandon their demand for the "first come, first served" seating policy already in quiet effect in many other Southern cities.

The Need's for Principle, Not Prejudice

Courier-Journal Sat. 2-24-56 P.12

Louisville, Ky.

WHEN any ruling society finds itself in conflict with the law and with the teachings of its own religious faith, the result is moral chaos. That is what the whites of Mississippi and Alabama face today. Whether moral chaos will lead to the anarchy of physical violence, as some men gravely warn, remains to be seen.

But that it could lead to the disintegration of the best that the ruling society has evolved is demonstrated in Mississippi, where Governor COLEMAN threatens to close the state's institutions of higher learning rather than bow to the courts and admit Negro students. The people, he says, refusing to

The boycott has been as painfully effective the economic measures taken by some of the C zens' Councils in the Deep South against Negro who dare to vote or to petition for their righ There's been no news yet of any legal acti against the councils. But in Montgomery a gra jury has now indicted 115 of the boycott leade with a bow to the state law prohibiting boycotti without "a just cause or legal excuse," and with ominous warning that "if we continue on o present course of race relations, violence is evitable."

The grand jurors, who included one Neg urged leaders of both races "to take a long a thoughtful look into the future." They can scar ly doubt that Negroes of character will contin to fight for that equality under the law which t Constitution guarantees them—and which many white Alabaman and Mississippian, for legal well as for moral reasons, is ready to accord the

Violence may indeed be on the way if the rig

of a minority continue to be repressed, for history shows that the continued repression of right and justice is impossible without violence. But it need not come if the best people of Mississippi and Alabama turn once more to their lawbooks and their Bibles and their consciences and order their society accordingly.

It need not come if the jurors in Montgomery and the Governor in Mississippi and men of good-will everywhere act on principle and not on prejudice. It need not come if they will remind themselves, as LESTER B. GRANGER reminded the Louisville Urban League Tuesday night, that the central issue "is not the righting of certain wrongs of certain individuals or groups, but setting up the kind of social atmosphere in which these wrongs will be the exception rather than the everyday rule."

Deep South Sick, Political Scientist Tells Audience

Morning Birmingham, Ala.

Sun. 2-21-56

BALTIMORE, Md. — "Most white and colored people are to be congratulated for the manner in which they are conducting themselves in the midst of the disruption and soreheadedness concerning desegregating the public schools."

This opinion was expressed by Dr. Carl Brent Swisher, chairman of the political science department at the Johns Hopkins University, as he spoke last Friday at Morgan State College during the installation of the college's new chapter of Pi Gamma Mu, national social science honor society.

21 INDUCTED

Twenty-one students and teachers who became charter members of the seventh national scholastic society to be established on the Morgan campus heard Dr. Swisher say:

"The deep South is psychotic and sick and will not get over this condition soon."

The authority on American Constitutional law said that he expects segregation to disappear from the border states, "from Maryland to Missouri in the nert 20 years" but he had no such high hopes for the deep South. He admitted, however, that segregation as a public policy is on the way out, "and has been on the way out since the 1930's in the face of consistent opinions from the Supreme Court."

CULTURAL HERITAGE

As colored Americans move upward, he warned against their "turning against your rootage, forgetting those who have not had your opportunities."

Dr. Swisher said that he, himself, had suffered because he had not kept enough rootage with his people in the mountains of West Virginia.

Negro Unity to Oust Uncle Tom

Black Dispatch

Oklahoma City, Okla.

One of the interesting facts brought out last week at the race relations conference at Norman, was the very definite conclusion that if the white man is honestly and sincerely interested in knowing the exact mind of the Negro community, he must cross a different bridge than the one to which he is accustomed when trying to guage and interpret the truth.

Dr. Paul B. Foreman, of the University of Alabama, during an earnest discussion in group 2, regarding group attitudes, under the chairmanship of Preston Valien, of Fisk university, said, "Incidents such as Tuscaloosa, Montgomery and Tallahassee should teach us that when we seek understanding between the two races, we cannot depend upon or call in Negroes when we know in advance what they are going to say. We are right now paying a terrible price for misinformation."

Tim. 6-22-56

Dr. Foreman told his group that when the riot-torn city where he lived called an informal meeting which he attended, and where, in the excitement no censorship existed, he learned in a few minutes what he had never learned before about conditions right in Tuscaloosa.

P. 6

"I did not know I was living in a town where (with all the white-owned drug stores) there was no place for a black man or woman to sit down while getting a prescription filled. There was in that informal gathering a score or more indignities blurted out, about which I previously had no information.

"The Negro who works for you is not going to tell you the truth. If we are going to settle amicably our differences in the South, and find peace that tranquility and happiness there must be positive correction of evils which we every day pass over and do not recognize."

Dr. Lawrence F. Kenney, Memphis, who spoke at the morning session Friday, touched upon this subject from a slightly different angle, and he was just as positive that those who control the South must recognize that minority groups must be taken into partnership during community planning. "It should not be settled through the folk on top issuing orders and fiats to those upon whom they look down." Dr. Lawrence told a story having to do with life's truest human values, when he said a certain man married a woman under the assumption that his wife must submit to complete and utter dictation from him, and when he discovered he had lost her love, he "right-about-faced' 'and tried to persuade her to dictate to him. He had lost completely the concept that marriage is a partnership where both parties to the marriage work together upon life's daily tasks from the same level.

Dr. Fredrick B. Routh, who made an excellent address immediately following dinner Friday, approached this same subject from another entirely different angle, when he pointed out there is a basic determination among Negro masses to seek full equality in the United States as never before. "One can find this existing upon almost every level of black society," Routh said.

We have an idea that the awakening came first in Mississippi when the governor called a conference of Negro leaders and was almost shocked out of his senses when he discovered not one of the Negroes he had called were going to go along with his idea that Negroes voluntarily accept segregation. Governor White had been fooled by the usual committee of Uncle Toms, who had told him Negroes were opposed to integration.

Another indication that Negroes are stubbornly dedicated to obtain their rights and are grimly and soberly moving in that direction stems from the announcement coming last week from Tallahassee, Florida, where the bus company admits 70 per cent of its business is in the Negro community, and that to avoid bankruptcy they will cease operation July 1 unless the bus boycott ends. The interesting thing about this boycott is vested in the fact that the students at the college did not ask that segregation end, but that a new rule be adopted which provided that whites start seating from one end and Negroes from the other. City government and state laws forbid this. It is inconceivable that the bus company at Tallahassee will close shop and the company at Montgomery will lose more than a half million dollars before the white community begins to evaluate the strength of peaceful resistance and nonconformity. Like Calvin Coolidge back in the 20's, who said, "I do not choose to run," the Negroes in the South can take the position, "I do not choose to ride." If they are free men, as the constitution provides, even Citizens Councils cannot break that resolve.

This spirit of peaceful resistance is not going to lessen; it is going to increase. Victory at Tallahassee will instantly create a score more such incidents. It looks as though jim crow in the South is going to succumb to peaceful resistance. At Tallahassee, thirty per cent of the population was forcing 70 per cent to submit to its will. To say the least, the Tallahassee episode does not do credit to our American system, which permits the majority to rule.

Since this fight for equality began, as initiated by the NAACP, the South has completely cut itself off from communication with the NAACP. No Negro connected with this group is invited for conference, and especially Negro teachers, who have previously held membership in the NAACP, have been banned. If the panelists at Norman, Friday, are to be believed, Southerners have deliberately overlooked and ignored the Negro with whom they must finally treat, if law and order returns again to the Southland. It appears that "the stone that was cast aside has now become the head of the corner."

National News in Review

Courier P. 7 5-5-6 Sat x 5

Headlines Prove U. S. Still A Nation of Contradictions

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Courier 5-9

38a General

INDICATIONS of the "state of the nation" are contained in the following headlines from the nation's daily press:

NEGRO VOTING IN MISSISSIPPI PRESSURED INTO SHARP DECLINE.
INTEGRATION WORKS WELL IN JERSEY TOWN.
NEGRO LEADER SEES GRADUAL INTEGRATION.
NEGROES STRIDE AHEAD IN JACKSONVILLE, FLA.
JOB OPPORTUNITIES EXPANDING FOR NEGROES IN NORTH.
RACIAL ORGANIZATIONS STIR TENSION IN SOUTH.
MONTGOMERY NEGROES PRAY; CARRY ON BUS BOYCOTT.
NEGRO PASTOR A SUCCESS AT WHITE CHURCH.

IT'S THE TRUTH: — Where White Citizens' Councils appear in the South, NAACP memberships SOAR! Conversely, where there are no WCC's, tensions RARELY become eruptive.

■

IN MILWAUKEE . . . political campaign of city's **"hate-mongers"** boomeranged when a 32-year-old Negro woman lawyer was **elected to Council** with the support of the mayor, liberal whites and unified Negroes.

■

CONCLUSION—*Surely this remains a nation of contradictions.*

■

CRISP—"If you want racial hatred, don't vote for Leroy Collins . . ." (Gov. Collins, Fla., won out in primaries over rabid pro-segregationists.)

In the Nation:

TROUBLE SPOTS—Baton Rouge, La. Aiken, S. C. Atlanta, Ga.

DANGER AREAS—Mississippi (entire state); Orangeburg, S. C.; rural Georgia; rural Alabama.

THERE'S HOPE in Jacksonville, Fla., Dallas, Tex., and southern Florida.

PREDICTIONS

BILL DAWSON will approve civil rights plank before it is presented at Democratic National Convention. . . . BILLY ROWE will be Joe Louis' partner in new theatrical agency. . . . NEGRO CHURCHES will not only SAY they favor complete integration, but will PROVE it.

■

WHILE NOT AS EFFECTIVE as Montgomery, partial boycotts have been waged by Negroes in a number of other Southern cities. That's one reason many lines rushed desegregation plans in 13 Dixie cities!

■

• **HEARD . . . But Not Confirmed:** A big Eastern weekly (which switched its political allegiance **four years ago,** is about ready to return to its **first love!**

Neither the GOP nor the DEMS are certain (as of this moment) how the strategic Negro vote will go . . . that **Mahalia Jackson** does have a heart-interest . . . that **Detroit** is challenging **New York** and **Columbus** as having prettiest subdebs in U. S. A. . . . that **Supreme Court** action on bus travel **did not mean** what papers first headlined.

Max Lerner says that if **Thurgood Marshall** were not such a tremendous constitutional lawyer, he would have made a superb actor and story-teller . . . **Orchids** to two Brooklyn chapters of AKA's who **cancelled** plans for spring formals. They diverted **$1,000** in dance tax money to civil rights work in the South.

'CRACKING DOWN'

—Seibel in The Richmond Times-Dispatch

"CRACKING DOWN"

West Indies

GEORGETOWN — Following last year's success of the Trade and Industries Fair, a second one will be held—Aug. 28-Sept. 1—at Bourda. Proceeds earmarked for charity.

■

PORT OF SPAIN, Trinidad — Assets of friendly societies here and in Tobago now total more than $2,000,000 as compared with $400,000 in 1941. Membership has increased from 61,000 (1941) to 150,000 (1955).

■

BELIZE . . . British Honduras will be advertising her resources this month when the Industrial Fair opens. Overseas countries are participating.

■

NASSAU, Bahamas — Sale of sponges here are expected to reach the $100,000 mark before the season closes this month.

■

HERE AND THERE—Nassauans raised **$20** for the Montgomery, Ala., **boycott** fight . . . Bahaman police force raised **$3,500** for Sports and Welfare Fund at annual ball . . . William F. Cartwright, real estate agent, went to prison for **four years** when he pleaded guilty to two charges . . . **Estate Bordeaux,** 500 acres in Western St. Thomas, recently **purchased** by the Government for $40,000 . . . to provide homesteads, building lots.

■

ST. THOMAS, Virgin Islands—A corporation headed by Glenn Graham of Michigan (financier-industrialist) will buy the **Flamboyant Hotel** here for development as a year-'round tourist hotel. A heavy **advertising** schedule is projected.

THE NATION

Times P. 2-E

Segregation Fronts

"We are committed to segregation by custom and law; we intend to maintain it."

*"We have known humiliation * * * we have been plunged into the abyss of oppression. We are tired of the conditions we experienced for so many years. And we decided to rise up * * *."*

Sun. 5-26-56 New York, N.Y.

These two statements last week—the first by a white grand jury, the second by an Alabama Negro leader—sum up the extreme position in the conflict over desegregation in the South. Last week that conflict centered in two cities: Montgomery, Ala., and New Orleans, La.

In *Montgomery,* history and tradition threatened trouble between the races. The "cradle of the Confederacy," where Jefferson Davis was inaugurated President and the Confederate flag was unfurled, Montgomery was the first Southern capital to raise the rebel cry against the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. Its population ratio—65,000 Negroes to 70,000 whites—heightened the prospect of trouble, for in areas where the Negro population is large, white resistance to desegregation is especially bitter.

Montgomery's trouble began last Dec. 1 when Mrs. Rosa Parks, a 42-year-old Negro seamstress employed by a Montgomery, Ala., department store, boarded a Montgomery bus. Montgomery bus drivers are required to segregate passengers, with Negroes in the rear and whites in the front. But the drivers are permitted to move the segregation line forward, beyond the small section normally reserved for Negroes, provided white seats are vacant. The drivers may also order Negroes to yield seats to whites when they board the bus.

SLAVE PRODUCTS BOYCOTT SOUGHT

Times-Picayune

Aimed Chiefly at Forced Labor by Reds

Fri. 5-11-56

WASHINGTON, May 10 (AP)—Secretary of Labor Mitchell has announced the United States will seek a worldwide boycott against goods produced by slave labor. P. 7

Mitchell said the plan will be pushed in the form of a proposed "convention," or a treaty - like agreement, at the meeting of the Internationl Labor Organization at Geneva in June.

It would be aimed chiefly at forced labor in Russia and Soviet satellites.

38a

The State Department said 10 days ago it favored an ILO recommendation, or policy statement, against forced labor whereas the Labor Department has favored a convention, a binding agreement requiring Senate ratification. The AFL-CIO has strongly urged the stronger convention-type of ILO action.

State Department officials said they had opposed a convention or treaty if it would be meaningless, but favored such an action with teeth in it. The planned ban on trading in goods produced by forced labor is considered the type of tough policy warranting a treaty.

Mitchell's brief announcement of this country's position said:

"The United States government has decided that at the forthcoming conference of the International Labor Organization it will favor an appropriate convention which would outlaw forced labor and which would include a provision specifically prohibiting the products of forced labor in international grade."

State Responsibilities Great In Upholding Constitutional Rights

News P. 12 Mon. 5-27-56

To be sure, the federal government has basic responsibilities in upholding the rights of citizens under the federal Constitution and in striving to bring about equality under the law in these respects. But state and local governments and citizens also have great obligations and duties in these respects.

If, in a vast and varied country like ours, the central government were to assume the duties of upholding all individual constitutional rights, what a drastic and dangerous change that would be from the system under which we have operated.

Our system has not operated perfectly. State and local governments have not always done all they could in behalf of equality under the law. But much has been accomplished toward that end and progress has been made. If our traditional system of strong reliance on local and state responsibility and sentiment were set aside in favor of far greater reliance on the federal government, problems in this field would, in our conviction, be greatly intensified.

In the controversy over the national administration's civil rights bill now before Congress, the basic question is not whether equality under the law should be steadfastly and vigorously sought, but how progress in that direction can best be furthered. While we recognize, of course, the concern and obligations of the federal government in his field, excessive federal interventions in this respect could retard rather than advance such progress.

The individual does not like to be unduly put under outside pressure with respect to his responsibilities. The same may be true of the local community; of the individual state; of the region. The South strongly feels that certain provisions of the administration's bill would constitute unwarranted and very unwise federal intervention.

The measure would set up a special civil rights commission to investigate charges that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote or put under economic pressure because of color, race, religion or natural origin. It would create a new civil rights division in the Justice Department. It would empower the attorney general to take civil rights cases to court in civil, or "preventive," action, regardless of whether state remedies had first been exhausted.

Such a broad federal program would, in our view, greatly intensify complications and feelings which impede progress in this field. A majority of the 32-member House judiciary committee has endorsed the administration bill as an effort to serve "the great American ideal of equality under the law."

But whether it would actually to that is the question. A minority of seven Southern members—six Democrats and one Republican—strongly dissents.

To seek to enforce all recent Supreme Court decisions in this field through such a program would, the minority maintains, create "a frankenstein and a constant threat to any state or local government."

We agree that in important, fundamental respects the bill would extend federal intervention too far and thus tend to defeat its own purposes by contributing to new antipathies and tensions.

Segregation Fight Aids Reds, Negro Leader Tells South

Commercial Appeal P. 21 Tues. 5-29-56 Memphis, Tenn.

By The United Press

JACKSON, Miss., May 28.—A national Negro leader said Monday if the South had obeyed the Supreme Court decision against school segregation there would have been virtually no integration in the cities.

Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, president of the Negro National Baptist Convention and a graduate of Jackson College here, said predominantly Negro-white schools would have remained, because of different residential districts," and the law still would have been kept intact."

As it was, he said, white resistance to the decision has brought about friction and misunderstanding that has greatly harmed this nation's prestige abroad.

"Russia has taken this one thing and made capital of it," Dr. Jackson said.

Visited In Russia

Dr. Jackson, who was born in Coahoma County, Miss., has traveled extensively abroad. Last summer he visited Russia, preaching to white Baptist congregations at their invitations. He delivered the commencement address at Jackson College Monday night.

The Supreme Court decision, however, "has given the lie to Russian propaganda," Mr. Jackson told a press conference, "because at least the highest court in the land has spoken differently."

He said the decision was "almost 100 years late."

Negroes, he said, "do not want to take anything from the white child, but they want the right to participate freely in cultural things."

'But Not By Statute'

Dr. Jackson said every man had a right to his prejudices, "but don't take those prejudices and write them into the statute books."

He said since 1829 this nation has had only one president from a southern state because southern politicians since the Civil War have done nothing but "defend the southern tradition."

"We will welcome the election of a southern president," Mr. Jackson said, "and a southerner can be elected when they stop defending the southern tradition and defend the nation as a whole."

There's Nothing In Bible To Justify Segregation, Scripture Professor Says

Catholic Week Mon. 5-28-56 B'ham Ala.

NEW ORLEANS (NC)—There is nothing in the Bible which justifies racial segregation, a Biblical scholar declared here.

P. 4

In a meeting at Xavier University here sponsored by the Catholic Committee of the South, Father John McKenzie, S.J., discussed "God, Segregation and the Bible." He is professor of Sacred Scripture at the Jesuits' theological college at West Baden, Ind.

In a final summary, Father McKenzie said:

"IF YOU ASK ME what the Bible says about segregation, I must answer: 'Nothing.' But since it does mention human relations, personal and social, very often—we have to look at this scheme before we can be sure that the Bible has nothing to say on the question.

"If segregation can be maintained within the unity of Christian love—if the white loves the Negro as he loves himself, and treats the Negro as he expects the Negro to treat him—if he grants the Negro the same opportunities for personal fulfillment which he expects for himself—if segregation does not deny the Negro his ambitions to make himself better than he is by improving himself and his station in life—if segregation does not exalt one man while it humbles another—if segregation does not deny that the Negro is as good as the white—if under segregation the Negro and the white are one as members of one body, as children of God the one Father—then there is no conflict between segregation and the Bible."

HARRIMAN URGES BETTER RIGHTS ACT

Times P. 76

He and Mayor Salute Labor Council Gains in Messages at Lincoln's Day Dinner

Sun. 2-12-56

Governor Harriman called last night for a strengthening of the state's anti-discrimination law.

In a message to the Central Trades and Labor Council at its annual Lincoln's Day dinner in the Commodore Hotel, Mr. Harriman declared:

"Our anti-discrimination law must be made more effective and thus more meaninful to all of our citizens."

New York,

He praised the labor council for its Americanism in having provided its members with "equal opportunity regardless of their race, creed or national origin."

Wagner Addresses Group

The gathering heard a comparable civil rights note sounded by Mayor Wagner. He criticized those who paid lip service to Abraham Lincoln and then repudiated him "with repressive laws and ideas designed to undercut our union."

Mr. Harriman's message was read by Industrial Commissioner Isador Lubin. Mayor Wagner addressed the gathering in person.

Both officials praised the labor body for having achieved union unity through the recent merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. They also praised the council for supporting progressive legislation.

Governor Harriman said the group was to be commended for "taking the lead" in the fight for slum clearance and better housing, for better schools and higher pay for teachers.

He asserted, however, that "much still remains to be done."

"We must lift unemployment insurance benefits to a more realistic level," the Governor declared. "We must wage a determined war against poverty, so that every family may be able to live under conditions worthy of our American standard."

Mr. Harriman commended the council for having opposed all forms of totalitarian government before it became "fashionable" to do so.

Mayor Wagner, in remarks obviously directed at the Republican party, charged that "those who impeded labor in its efforts to obtain its rightful status in our society are not his [Lincoln's] heirs at all."

"They defame him and all he stood for in support of the dignity of the working man," he stated.

Discussing the steps that the City Administration had taken to recognize civil service unions, the Mayor asserted that the municipal labor policy, when completed, would serve as an "example and a model for everywhere."

38a 1956

Threats Of Violence Made Against Anti-Bias Group

Birmingham, Ala.

BY LLOYD L. GENERAL

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Southern racists, who only a few months ago were reeling backward under the force of anti-segregation rulings by the U. S. Supreme Court, have rallied with surprising strength and, from all indications, are on the offensive.

First reaction to Supreme Court edicts against race bias was a maddening howl of anger and surprise, threats of secession and physical violence.

But cooler heads prevailed, and the South is now engaged in a "legal" war against the Supreme Court.

The most significant victory came in Virginia on Jan. 9, when a 2 tot 1 vote approved a plan to change the state's constitution to allow private schools.

The Virginia Assembly pressed the attack. Last week it unanimously passed a bill setting March 5 as the date for a constitutional convention which will do the actual work of amending the constitution.

It will take some time to undo this deed. Of course, the legality of the move will be challenged, but it may take years before all recourses to law are exhausted.

The only hope of avoiding a lengthy legal battle lies in the possibility that Virginia will be challenged on grounds that the state is not making a reasonable attempt to comply with the segregation ruling.

If such could be proved, the Supreme Court might order immediate integration in Virginia schools.

The many strategems employed by state officials who have vowed not to integrate their schools are obviously only delaying tactics. There is little possibility that any of them will stand in court.

Alabama's "legal" weapon, passed last week by the State Senate—again unanimously—is a constitutional amendment which would allow the state to set up three types of schools—all-white, all-Negro and integrated.

The Alabama House also passed a resolution declaring the Supreme Court's decision "null, void, and of no effect." This act might be called a show of bravery.

Georgia also followed the private school line of attack. It approved a set of bills which would create private schools and would maintain strict segregation.

The Georgia Legislature also passed bills giving the governor authority to sell or lease public recreational facilities to private concerns, thus hoping to avoid the latest rulng against segregation in such facilities.

No Georgia lawmaker raised a question about any of the bills. They all passed unanimously.

In North Carolina, segregationists have put all their eggs in a "pupil-assignment"-basket.

Army Judge for Segregation?

Herald

ATLANTA —(UP)— Maj. Gen. Eugene Caffey, judge advocate general of the Army, appeared to put himself on the record Monday on the side of Southern racial segregation forces.

The Army's top legal officer delivered a short address to the Georgia House of Representatives. He said he had dinner in Washington recently with Rep. John J. Flynt, Georgia Democrat, at which Flynt let him read a copy of a speech he made to the Georgia Legislature last week.

Jues. 1-31-56

"If I were going to make a speech I would hope to make one like that," Caffey said. The House applauded.

P.3-A

Flynt's speech to the Legislature was a bitter attack on the federal government and the U.S. Supreme Court for recent racial integration orders. Flynt also denounced FEPC policies.

A reporter asked Caffey if he were going along with Flynt's attack on the Supreme Court decision outlawing public school segregation.

Miami, Fla.

"Listen, I'm not in politics," Caffey replied.

Sound Advice To Negroes

Commercial Appeal

Above the babel created by extremists on both sides of the segregation issue there has sounded the voice of one who speaks a basic but ignored truth. He is E. FREDERICK MORROW, a Negro, and administrative officer for the special projects group in the President's Executive Office. In addressing a St. Louis press club this week, the truth he expounded is that Negroes must accept the responsibilities as well as the privileges of "first-class citizenship."

Memphis, Tenn.

He had youth particularly in mind, but what he said would apply with equal force to adults and especially those agitators of the NAACP and similar groups who talk only of "rights" and never of acceptance of responsibility which the exercise of citizenship imposes.

2-6-56

"Unless we can get every Negro boy and girl," he said, "to get his eyes off the ground, to throw off the shackles of crude conduct and coarse language, to throw away bizarre clothing and tribal headdress, to recognize the privileges of school as the path to knowledge and achievement, to develop a sense of values based on the real and not on the appearance or the material, then all the Supreme Court decisions announcing Federal policies of equality and opportunity are only mirages in a desert of despair and frustration."

A proper sense of values can be developed only within the individuals. It cannot be acquired by edict, and it must be inspired by a desire for true growth and, in its essence, it is that element on which consciousness of responsibility rests. If there was a little less noisy adult emphasis on civil rights and more on civic responsibility, some of the major vexations of the times might be quickly eliminated.

GENERAL

Integration

Dr. Gray Blasts Separate, Equal

BUCK HILLS AFLLS, Pa.—Ame ican Negroes wanti ntegration in education because "We are morally obligated to opposet he misguided efforts of the South to brin American leadership into disrepute by its insistence upon segregation," a prominent educator said.

Dr. Arthur D. Gray, president of Talladega college, speaking befo e the Midwinter Meeting of the Congregational Churches meeting last week said.

Defender

"Negro America is unanimous in support of integration ine ducation for reasons over and above self interest. We aree qually concerned about the welfare of the nation. We are morally obligated to prevent the South from committing intellectual suicide."

P. 5

WHITE VIEWS ONLY

Dr. Gray stated, "Since the historic May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court many Boards of Education and other public agencies have called conferences to consider what is best for the Negroes, but have invited no Negroes to state their views.

"This is a sad commentary upon educators who pride themselves upon getting the facts.

Because of the failure to include Negroes in consideration of school problems, Dr. Gray said, ". . .a plethora of views purporting to represent Negro opinion are circulated by citizens councils and other irrational groups.

"Some groups are trying to reacht heir educational destination by hitching the dead horse of inter-marriage to the ante-bellum buggy of segregation."

WANT DIGNITY

"Negroes," Dr. Gray stated, "do not want integration in educationt o mix with white people. They do not wanti ntegrationi n trans to ride with white people. They do not want integration in dining cars to eat with white people. Nor do they want integration in hotels to sleep with white people.

"In all these things Negroes wantt o live in dignity as citizens with no badge of inferiority pinned on their backs because of color."

The educator commended the role of church related schools in the South. "Beyond any question of doubt the majority of better Negro colleges in the South are church related schools. The public institutions of higher learning for Negroes are still int heir intellectual swaddling clothes. The colleges now beste quippedt o function in an integrated system are

amongt he schools of the United Negro College Fund."

SPECIAL TRIBUTE

Dr. Gray paid special tribute tc the six colleges of the American Missionary Association, a division of the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational Christian Churches.

While crediting the denomination with progress in integrated educational institutions, he added,

"We must hasten to get our house in order. We can no longer afford to give moral or financial support to segregated institutions. The church related college must stop conforming to what is euphemistically called 'our southern customs' and get aboutt heir central business-achieving a democratic Christian community."

Condemning the idea of 'separate but equal' facilities Dr. Gray pointed out that, ". . .there isn't enough money in the South ort he nation, to maintain a first class dual set of community institutions and public services."

Integrated educationi s not just a southern problem,t he educator emphasized. "What happens there (in the South) affects the nation andt he world," he said and add,

"At a time when the profound issue of human survival demands the most creative ande nlightened response of every social agency, education in the South is mired down in the slough of segregation.'

College President Says

Weekly P. 7

Negro Morally Obligated To Oppose Southern Bias

Sat. 2-11-56

Buck Hill Falls, Pa. (ANP).—American Negroes want integration in education because "We are morally obligated to oppose the misguided efforts of the South to bring American leadership into disrepute by its insistence upon segregation," a prominent Negro educator said here.

New Orleans La.

Dr. Arthur D. Gray, president of Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama speaking before the Midwinter Meeting of the Congregational Churches meeting here this week said, Negro America is unanimous in support of integration in education for reasons over and above self interest. We are equally concerned about the welfare of the nation. We are morally obligated to prevent the South from committing intellectual suicide."

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Solving the Race Problem

Times P. 10-E

Theory of Local Governments' Rights to Settle Issues Disputed

Sun. 2-5-56

The writer of the following letter, a New York lawyer, is a frequent contributor to legal publications.

New York

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In The Times of Jan. 22 there was published a letter from Philip M. Brown, a former Professor of International Law at Princeton, who, in presenting the view of "high-minded Southerners" concerning the racial problem, said that the heart of this problem "lies in the honest conviction that local governments under the Constitution of the United States have the right to solve their social and economic problems in their own way." This he termed "states' rights."

Resort to the Constitution to justify conduct which violates it is indeed a strange argument. The Constitution is not a document to be accepted or rejected by each locality as it sees fit.

To argue that a community may solve its "local" problems by violating the civil rights of a large segment of its population is to argue for the destruction of government by law and to permit individuals to act as they see fit, in willful disregard of the rights of others. This is an untenable plea.

The deliberate flouting of the Constitution in a single community transcends the bounds of local interest and becomes a matter of national concern. And when it becomes the pattern of many communities, resulting in depriving a large segment of American citizens of their constitutional rights; when, in addition, it becomes the basis of effective Communist propaganda and seriously affects American interests throughout a substantial portion of the world, the absurdity of the plea that this is merely a local matter for each community to consider becomes crystal clear.

Moreover, when we review the lengthy history of the struggle of the Southern Negro for his constitutional rights in the field of education and the present efforts of many leaders of the South to sabotage the decision of the United States Supreme Court, it seems to me that the plea of one schooled in the field of law should be not for forbearance but for the expressed indignation of those who believe in constitutional government.

MORTIMER HAYS.

New York, Jan. 26 1956.

Dixie Editor Says Transfer Only Solution

Advertiser Sun. 4-1-56

Sun. 4-1-56

CLEVELAND, March 31 (AP)—A Southern newspaper editor said here today that civil disorder and tax refusals in the South are a danger, but there is no possibility of a new Civil War over the segregation issue.

Zoutzman

Thomas R. Waring, editor of the Charleston, S.C., News and Courier, recommended in addressing the City Club forum that the people of the north "stop pressuring the people of the South to mix the races in public schools."

"If you really want to help," he said, "I suggest you use the only method that will alleviate the problem—migration."

He said Negroes who are dissatisfied with life in the South should be admitted to new homes in the desegregated north.

"We want to live in peace," Waring said. "We think the NAACP and other racial groups are disturbing the peace.

"The U.S. Supreme Court represents one of the three branches of our government. We will seek to change the law peaceably, as the prohibition law was changed."

The Supreme Court has ruled that segregation of races in public schools is illegal.

The Editor said many people in the South do not believe separation of the races immoral or that it should be unconstitutional.

"School integration in 11 Southern states is not likely in the foreseeable future," Waring said. "In many places we would close the schools first and we might refuse to pay taxes to support some other kind of school structure."

Court's ruling saved world from Reds—Dr. Johnson

Afro-American Sat. 2-11-56

Baltimore, Md.

COLUMBUS, Ohio —"If the Supreme Court had been different, we would have tied the world up in a red ribbon and given it to the Communists."

That was the observation made by Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, in an address before the 37th annual Ohio Pastors' Convention.

He said the court's ruling affected the attitudes of 800 million people in Asia and Africa and saved the world from Communism.

P. 13

DR. JOHNSON, who recently returned from a tour of the Near East and Africa, urged compliance with the edict and urged the Christian church to throw its full weight behind the fight to bring about conformity with the decision.

The Tennessee -born educator and son of a minister virtually preached a sermon to the church leaders, as he urged the church leaders to adhere to the Christian principle: "Take Up Thy Cross and Follow Me."

"The Communists have not said much. They do not think we have the moral and spiritual power to carry the decision through into action," he declared.

38a 1956

GENERAL

Seeks Middle Way In Controversy

Herald Sun. 4-3-56

President Is Worried By Racial Tensions

Miami, Fla.

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON—President Eisenhower is deeply concerned—in fact, very much worried—about the emotional disturbance in America today over the problem of racial segregation in the public schools.

LAWRENCE

He talks a good deal about it to some of his visitors. He tries in an unspectacular and earnest way to encourage a public understanding of the issues involved, in the hope that there will be no outbursts of passion or violence.

P. 6-A

He believes the churches can do a great deal toward this end. He is well aware of the complexities of the issue and doesn't believe the solution is simple or easy to achieve.

There's something innately conciliatory about Mr. Eisenhower's whole personality. It is his nature to search for ways to unite human beings who hold conflicting views or who nurture deep-seated prejudices against one another.

All his life that's been dominant in his makeup because he maintains an abiding faith in the power of human love in the world to reconcile differences between groups within a single nation as well as between nations.

Mr. Eisenhower has always been convinced that, where there are extremes in a controversy, there is a middle way. Sometimes this is called "moderation," but even that word sounds like "compromise" to those who are sincerely convinced of the absolute correctness of their own legal or moral position.

★ ★ ★

WHAT CAN THE President do? He has conferred with Chief Justice Warren about the question of gradual application of the court decree on desegregation in order to explore what is the best way for the executive branch of the government, which must present the matter constantly to the courts, to find a way to chart its course of action.

There are lots and lots of legal questions which have yet to be settled, and the important factor is time—to avoid precipitating emotional clashes while the American method of rational and non-violent solution of difficult questions is in process.

Thus, it may be that the South, by majority vote of the people of each state, will choose to separate the sexes in the schools so as to meet to some extent the fears about social mixing and intermarriage.

It may be that the Southern states will consider leasing some of their public-school buildings to private organizations and let the people decide whether to send their children to mixed public schools or to segregated private schools.

★ ★ ★

FOR MANY DECADES the Supreme Court of the United States has held that, as long as equal facilities for education were provided by the states, they could be separate.

But now nine men in the Supreme Court say the other judges in the past were wrong, and that segregation by race in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment which guarantees "equal protection of the laws" to everybody.

Has "equal protection" been achieved by separate but equal educational facilities or does it mean only compulsory integration? Merely to state the problem is to show how far from simple it is.

It is easy enough to say that the Supreme Court now has decided it and that all must obey. But obey what? How shall "integration" be carried out? What are its limitations? That's why the Supreme Court left all questions to be worked out in individual cases in the lower courts. This will take time.

Meanwhile, Mr. Eisenhower's role will not be to use or to threaten force but to try to bring about in an orderly way an adaptation of the school question to the circumstances which are faced in the South.

His whole concern now is how to lessen the tension between the races that has risen as never before to plague the people who for generations have lived amicably together.

'Avoid Violence,'

Herald P. 23-A

Southerner Warns

Miami, Fla.

Illegal Action on Desegregation

Sun. 3-18-56

Held Invitation to Carpetbaggers

WASHINGTON — (AP) — A Southern senator cautioned his people Saturday night to avoid any show of violence in resisting school integration lest they invite a return of "Reconstruction" government and rule by "carpetbaggers."

Sen. Allen J. Ellender, Louisiana Democrat, told a Louisiana radio audience that he and other congressional signers of last Sunday's "manifesto" against integration are committed to resistance by "any lawful means." He added:

"What the South must avoid at all costs is violence, lawlessness, hatred and bloodshed. The outside agitators who seek the subjugation of both the white and Negro races in the South are hovering like greedy vultures for the time when racial antagonisms lead to chaos, the breakdown of governmental authority, and general lawlessness.

"If this condition should occur, then I fear they will not hesitate to press for the use of force. If this should occur, then all our people could look forward to would be a repetition of the Reconstruction regimes which brought the South only oppression and self-seeking exploitation."

In "our fight to maintain the basic principles of our federal, constitutional system," Ellender said, "we must not open our gates to an invasion of our states by a new and even hungrier breed of carpetbaggers."

Carpetbaggers were Northern politicians who invaded the South after the Civil War.

By the Supreme Court decision calling for desegregation of the public schools, Ellender said, "nine men have made it possible for 165 million Americans to be made subject to a new and powerful kind of despotism."

The "Declaration of Constiutional Principles" signed by the Southern congressmen, he said, "is a sober warning" to the American people that the Supreme Court "has laid the foundation for what may yet prove to be a complete destruction of our constitutional system of checks and balances."

Dixie's Negro: A Wasted Resource

Informer P. 12 Sat. 3-24-56

THE CHARLOTTE NEWS

Broach the Negro problem" to any group of southerners today and tempers are likely to sizzle like fatback dropped in a hot skillet. But out of the emotional atmosphere surrounding this aged-in-anguish dilemma, a sobering fact emerges: The Negro is a part, both creator and creature, of southern culture, for whom the region is responsible as for all other groups.

Houston Leg.

Even those who despise the Negro will admit, if reluctantly, that he is an important factor in Dixie's economy. What is not always admitted is the fact that he will contribute more to the economic well-being of the region as he receives better education, better political, economic and social opportunities.

The South, for better or for worse, is inhabited by roughly 10 1-2 million Negroes. This figure represents a gigantic manpower potential. But it is fairly obvious throughout the southern states that Negroes are not contributing what they should to Dixie. They are not contributing because full use is simply not being made of all this human wealth.

The most regrettable aspect of the situation is the difficulty many intelligent Negroes have in securing a higher education.

At the very time a great deal of public attention has been given to the pros and cons of racial segregation in Dixie's public schools, a private philanthropic organization has centered its attention on ways to help talented young Negroes to get a college education. The National Scholarship Service and the Fund for Negro Students, sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education, has undertaken the task in an effort to make fuller use of this important manpower potential. It's principal aims: To discover more college qualified Negro students in the South; to encourage these students to develop their abilities; to provide them with information and assistance in obtaining college scholarships, and to furnish finacial aid when needed. It is known as the Southern Project.

According to Benjamin Fine, one of the nation's leading education writers, the organization's talent search in Dixie has uncovered a surprising number of Negro students of college ability. In two years some 500 students have been aided.

During this relatively short period, the project has greatly increased the number of southern Negroes enrolled in colleges, increased the number of information and testing facilities for future Negro college students and, more inportant slice of the nation's hidden manpower reserve.

Trained manpower is needed in the South and in the nation as a whole. With sufficient education, Negroes can help meet this need. Not only can they serve their own race better but they can benefit the nation's entire economic community. The aims of the Southern Project rise above prejudice. They are, in fact, more akin to **national and regional self-interest.**

Differing Views On Integration

Journal + Guide

MEMBERS OF THE American Society of Newspaper Editors (white) meeting in Washington last week discussed, among other things, the dismal school desegregation question. In one of his reports for International News Service ROBERT G. NIXON observed:

Sat. 4-28-56

Northern and eastern editors asserted that integration will take place under the United States Supreme Court decision, while southern editors insisted emphatically that the South is not ready for such a step.

Norfolk Va.

Some southern editors, it turned out however, looked calmly at the situation, and while pessimistic, were not inclined to the position that the South would eternally resist, even to the extremity of civil war.

P. 10

One Georgia editor, MR. SYLVAN MEYER, of the Gainesville *Times*, put forward a thought which we hope the editors will put into practice. He thought there was need for an "Editorial Guide" which would provide a "middle course between extremists on the racial issue."

He explained it to northern and eastern editors by saying:

If you are exposed to the demagoguery of as many politicians as are in the South you would realize we have a highly inflammatory problem. What we need is an underlying Editorial Guide to refer to from day to day. It should be a moderate course.

MR. MEYER'S proposal is a good one. From what we have read from day to day in the daily newspapers, the editorial temperature on the race issue continues to rise. On some of the papers it has reached the point of delirium. On others it is proceeding like the old fashion galloping consumption. One who moves about the South hardly recognizes the progressive, liberal newspapers of a few years ago. There are some exceptions, of course. But the unaccountable hysteria has seized about seventy-five per cent of the daily press.

We call it "unaccountable hysteria" because integration will not proceed any faster than the District Courts order it to proceed.

It stands to reason that the District Courts are going to take advantage of all of the time and the latitude allowed by the Supreme Court in its May 31, 1955 decree. It has been apparent to all who would understand, that while the Supreme Court banned segregation in public schools, the order contained all of the elements of gradualism.

The High Court did not order *immediate* desegregation. It ruled against segregated public schools, but allowed time for adaptation to change where that is necessary.

• • •

FROM THE incoherency of the newspapers and the politicians, it appears that they have not taken into consideration that under a given set of conditions integration is possible.

They have only taken the position that integration is undesirable to them under any circumstances at any time.

That position has been dramatized and emphasized by the southwide organization of groups whose business it has been to create fear where there was none; intensify fear where there was some; becloud the issue where it was clear, and so confuse the minds of the people on the Supreme Court's relation to the constitution and the law as to give all that has been done in a quarter century of litigation the appearance of unreality.

Indeed, the fantastic impression has been created that the people of the South have the choice of accepting or rejecting a decision of the Supreme Court, depending upon whether they like it or not, and at the same time remain in the Union of States.

To move out of this state of unreality and frustration, and to ease the present tensions and tendencies toward violence and disaster the South needs to invoke the methods of moderation, patience and intelligence. These elements are needed everywhere, in the press, in the pulpit, in business circles, in the schools, among people in general, and above all among the politicians, who furnish most of the demagoguery referred to by EDITOR MEYER.

Plessy Nears Its End

(From The New York Times)

Just sixty years ago the United States Supreme Court affirmed in the famous case of Plessy v. Ferguson that separation of the races in intrastate railroad cars did "not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other" and was generally recognized "as within the competency of the State Legislatures in the exercise of their police power." The court went on to point out that "the most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for the white and colored children *

Daily World P. 6

In the six decades that have passed there has been a revolution in the thinking and the customs of a large part—though by no means all—of the population of the United States, and a corresponding revolution in the thinking and the decisions of the Supreme Court. A succession of cases dealing with both transportation and education in recent years has brought the judicial doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson to its grave. Burial took place on May 17, 1954, when the decisions rejecting the constitutionality of "separate but equal" school facilities were handed down. The tombstone was set when the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond last July ruled against enforced segregation even on city buses, asserting that—in the light of the school decision—"we do not think the separate but equal doctrine * * * can be any longer regarded as a correct statement of law." An appeal from this decision was rejected this week by the Supreme Court, though on technical grounds only. Nevertheless, it now appears that if every form of public transport as well as every form of publicity supported education is not yet legally freed from segregation, it soon will be.

This conclusion will come hard to some states and cities where segregation of public transport has been practiced for generations. "I hereby defy the ruling handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court," grandiloquently declared the president of the Alabama Public Service Commission, in whose state capital, Montgomery, a Negro boycott of segregated bus lines has been going on since December. Some officials in Alabama and doubtless in other states may try to take temporary refuge in the fact that the most recent case refers specifically to a South Carolina bus line only, although it is obvious that if it means that segregation on buses will end there, it will apply to every state and city where segregated public transportation is in effect.

This is not to say that compliance will be easy. Too much must not be demanded too soon. Friends of the Negro in the North will do him no service in the South by exaggerating what is already an extremely difficult situation. In a social upheaval of this magnitude it is neither wise nor just to issue hot-headed statements quivering with self-righteousness, as so many of us in this part of the world are wont to do when it comes to segregation. But the law must and will be enforced, though the process can be expected to take time.

38a 1956

GENERAL

Who Are The Extremists?

President Eisenhower's plea for moderation for the second consecutive week sharply focuses attention on the growing number of confused public figures parroting this puzzling appeal.

The leading Democratic presidential hopeful, Adlai Stevenson, began the trend during his appearance on the West Coast last month.

It was quickly echoed by such notables as Governor Herter of Massachusetts, Governor Lausche of Ohio, New Jersey's Senator Case, New York's Representative Keating and Tennessee's Senator Kefauver.

ONLY THE WEEK before President Eisenhower carried this strange reasoning a step further by denouncing what he termed "extremists" on both sides. Afro-American P.J.

In other words, we are given the shameful picture of a President of the United States unable to distinguish between forces dedicated to defiance of the law and those whose only sin is seeking full compliance with it.

President Eisenhower thus appears to place himself in the tortured company of those "moderate" Southerners who profess to see no difference between the activities of the White Citizens Councils and the NAACP.

To pursue the matter further, we would ask who are the "extremists" the President would caution the nation against?

ON ONE SIDE would he include the 101 Congressmen who signed the rebellious "Southern Manifesto"? Sat. 3-31-56

The chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, who by his threats and slurs against members of the Supreme Court, openly preaches anarchy?

Members of the White Citizens Councils, sworn to the ugly conspiracy of depriving American citizens of their constitutional rights?

The egg-and-rock-throwing mob which deprived Miss Lucy of her legally-won right to attend the University of Alabama?

An Alabama grand jury which would pervert law to make it a criminal offense to walk? Baltimore, Md.

ON THE OTHER, would he list as "extremists" the thousands of Southern parents, who seek through legal means to obtain for their children the best possible education?

The NAACP which merely gives expert legal advice to these parents in their fight for what is lawfully theirs?

The disfranchised millions in Virginia, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia, who would exercise their American right to vote?

Montgomery's 50,000 citizens, who prefer walking to sacrificing their human dignity aboard a jim crow bus?

Or the Supreme Court, itself, which has held that no additonal time may be granted school districts until "a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" with its desegregation decree has begun?

OF COURSE, we are reasonably certain that this is not what President Eisenhower or any of the other national figures had in mind in their appeals for "moderation."

He said very plainly: "I am sworn to defend and uphold the Constitution of the United States . . . I can never abandon or refuse to carry out my own duty."

But isn't he encouraging those who defy the Supreme Court to believe that he and they mean the same thing?

The Least They Can Do

Objectors to the Powell Amendment all sing the same song.

"Put erection of schools through Federal appropriation above every other consideration," they say.

Every lawful consideration, yes, but not every consideration.

Compliance with the U.S. Constitution as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court is of first importance.

Under the Powell Amendment no state would fail to get Federal aid if it complies with the Constitution which now requires integrated schools.

The 43 states which have taken steps to comply with the law cannot afford to support the five small states which wilfully defy the Constitution.

We suggest that the Powell Amendment is the least Congressmen could enact to be in accord with their oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States.

No Troops Needed–Yet

"You wouldn't call out the National Guard to enforce integrated schools, would you?"

That's the newest question which Alabama segregationists are asking, hoping timid Republican and Democrat politicians will say no.

We call out troops in cases of rioting during labor disputes, where the public safety is endangered by floods or fires and when any community cannot preserve law and order.

Why not when citizens are terrorized by mobs defying the law of the land?

Where law and order are in danger because local police are inadequate, what is one good reason why troops should not be used?

We don't think troops are necessary to preserve order in Alabama and Mississippi—yet.

Where mobs threaten peaceful citizens admitted by the courts to the polls, to jury service or to tax-supported institutions of higher learning, the first step is to require local police and local courts to arrest mob members and put them in jail.

Secondly, under U.S. Civil Rights Statutes 241-242, the Federal judges are compelled to imprison police officers and local magistrates who conspire among themselves or with others to prevent citizens from exercising their civil rights.

Third, put in jail school officials and segregationists who disobey Federal court injunctions forbidding interference with pupils, students, teachers or schools, or voters.

The first time these three steps are taken in any locality where courts show they really mean business, violence will end immediately.

It is remarkable what influence a jail sentence has upon bullies and gangsters.

It's high time to quit coddling those who break the law.

Our Job Is Here

Bishop D. Ward Nichols, member of a group of American ministers, just back from a 10-day tour of Russia, has been the target of considerable criticism for his remarks in Moscow concerning race relations here.

The Associated Press quoted Bishop Nichols as telling the Russians that "Negro life in America is like the life of any other people.

"We have our problems like any other people," he reportedly added, "but we are working them out in the spirit of Christian fellowship."

Of course, we would have been happier if Bishop Nichols had found it possible to give a more accurate picture of what is going on here, but we are not too perturbed.

What we tell Russia isn't really so important.

Our battle is over here. Our big job is to convince our government that it ought to go ahead more rapidly than it is.

There is no necessity on the part of any of us to explain our position in the United States to Russia.

There is nothing the Soviets can do for us that we can't do better ourselves within our own borders.

The South's Real Fear

Many outsiders, puzzled by the South's emotional hysteria over the racial question, have suspected that behind it lay genuine fear that colored people were not the inferiors noisy white supremacists would lead the outside world to believe.

Their every action points to this overriding phobia.

The white majority framed Jim Crow laws, upheld tradition and established custom to shackle the colored minority into an inferior status quo.

Justice was held beyond their reach. Education was denied or severely restricted. The right to vote was withheld. Job opportunities were limited to the back-breaking, low-paying, menial occupations.

They were rigidly segregated in all phases of public, civic and social activites.

Any possibility of the colored minority's competing on an equal basis with the white majority was zealously guarded against.

All this was done, not because white Southerners believed colored people were inferior, but because of a real fear that they were actually superior.

Confirmation of this fact came last week from William Faulkner, the bewildered and ofttimes contradictory Noble prize winning novelist of Oxford, Miss.

He frankly admits to the London Times that the colored Southerner is "calmer, wiser, more stable than the white man. To have put up with this situation so long with so little violence shows a sort of greatness."

"The poor white man," confesses Faulkner, "knows that although the Negro can

only buy the worst land, has bad tools and inferior livestock, he can make a living better than white men could.

"With a little more social, economic and educational equality the Negro will often be the landlord and the white man will be working for him.

"And the Negro won't come out on top because of anything to do with the race but because he has always gotten by without scope; when they are given scope they use it fully.

"The Negro is trained to do more than a white man can with the same limitations."

There it is from a man who has been hailed the world over as an expert in race relations in the South.

Contrary to what the loud manifesto-signing Congressmen and other Dixie politicians say, the fear is not over "intermarriage," "invasion of states rights," or any of the other absurd reasons assigned to the South's resistance to the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

The real fear stems from the Southerner's secret knowledge of his colored neighbor's innate ability to achieve if given the opportunity and the South's blind determination that he shall not be granted that opportunity.

Missouri's New Judge

Missouri's liberal Gov. Phil M. Donnelly last week wrote one more chapter in the continuing story of democratic progress.

His appointment of 37-year-old Theodore McMillan as a St. Louis circuit judge was not only unprecedented in Missouri because of Mr. McMillan's race.

It also set a refreshing new pattern of according opportunity to Missourians, not on the outmoded basis of race, but on the healthy new level of ability.

Mr. McMillan, born in a St. Louis tenement, the eldest of 10 children, demonstrated superior ability from elementary schools through high school where he maintained an average of 93 per cent.

He ranked first in the class of 1949 at the St. Louis University School of Law, although compelled to work at night as a janitor to pay his way through.

Appointed in 1953 as assistant circuit attorney, he has tried more cases than any other prosecutor in that office and has made the enviable record of obtaining convictions in about 90 per cent of the felony prosecutions before juries.

Senator Lehman And His Attacks On South

Advertiser P. 3-B
Montgomery Ala.
Sun. 4-8-56

By C. M. Stanley
Editor-in-Chief, The Alabama Journal

THE question has been asked: "Is Senator Lehman, of New York, a native of Montgomery?"

The answer is "no."

STANLEY

Senator Lehman is one of the most severe critics of the South and most ardent defenders of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision.

Though he was not born in Alabama it is somewhat surprising that the New York Democratic senator should take this position in view of his southern background. Observers of the Washington scene have felt that politics and political connections with New York City's Democratic machine may have influenced him in being so intense in his anti-Southern position on desegregation in the Senate.

HIS speech a few days ago in criticism of the "Declaration of Constitutional Principles," signed by more than a hundred United States senators and representatives in Congress, was the most intemperate attack yet made by a responsible official upon that epochal document. The Lehman speech, however, has been fully and completely answered by defenders of the declaration, including Senator Robertson of Virginia.

FOR years after the Civil War the Lehman family occupied a prominent place in the business and financial life of Montgomery.

A group of old time Montgomery photographs presented to me some years ago by the late Algernon Blair recalls the Lehman place in business life. One of the photographs is taken from Court Square looking northward out Court Street where the tower of the Old First Baptist Church on Bibb Street looms up.

Buildings facing Court Square itself and occupying the site now occupied by the First National Bank building are shown in this 1874 photograph. On the ground floor of the three-story building is a huge sign "J. J. Cox & Company." Across the second floor is another large sign "Lehman, Durr & Company." The third floor sign reads: "Odd Fellows Hall."

ANOTHER of the photographs in the Blair collection is what is labeled "The home of Joseph Goetter on South Court Street, as of 1894." This is the home later known as the M. P. LeGrande place and was located where the Walter Bragg Smith Apartment building now stands. It was occupied by the Lehman family at the time of their residence in Montgomery and later became the home of Joseph Goetter a prominent Montgomery merchant on Dexter Avenue in the early days.

AN Alabama State Gazeteer and business directory of 1887-88 in my library contains the following listing:

"Lehman, Durr & Company (Emanuel Lehman, Meyer Lehman, John W. Durr, Joseph Golker) bankers, cotton factors and commission merchants, 17 Court Square." No Lehman is listed as resident of Montgomery in that volume. Mr. Durr is also listed as president of the Tallassee Falls Manufacturing Company.

In Powell' rectory of Montgomery in my library dated 1888, under th. ow g "Bankers," Lehman, Durr & Company are listed as being located at 17 Court Square. Mr. Durr's residence is given as 237 Molton Street.

THE Montgomery banks listed in the old 1888 Powell directory are three: First National, Merchants and Planters and The State National.

In the same volume is a list of "bankers" in Montgomery in 1888. The list includes:

Adams & Company, 16 Commerce Street.
Commercial Fire Insurance Company, 12 Commerce Street.
Farley, Spear & Company, 12 Commerce Street.
Lehman, Durr & Company, 17 Court Square.
Moses Brothers, 10 North Court Street.
Josiah Morris & Company, 10 Commerce Street.
W. S. Reese and Company, 17½ Commerce Street.

WHAT has all this to do with Senator Herbert H. Lehman, the man who entertains such intense bitterness toward the South? The New York senator is a son of Mayer and Babette Newgass Lehman and Mayer Lehman was one of the partners in the Montgomery firm of Lehman, Durr & Company. Senator Lehman was born in New York City, March 28, 1878. He was married April 28, 1910 to Edith Altschul. Their children are: Peter G. Lehman (deceased,) John R. Lehman, Hilda Lehman and Paul Lehman.

He began his business life with J. Spencer Turner Company, textile manufacturers, and advanced to vice president and treasurer. In 1908 he became a partner in Lehman Brothers, bankers in New York, and retired in 1929 after being elected lieutenant governor of New York in 1928, the year that Gov. Alfred E. Smith ran for the presidency on the Democratic ticket and was defeated by Herbert Hoover. In that contest, incidentally, Alabama went for Hoover for president, voting Republican for the first time after reconstruction days.

MR. Lehman served as lieutenant governor of New York from 1928 to 1932 and in the memorable Franklin D. Roosevelt year of 1932 he was elected governor and served in that office until 1942. After serving as director of foreign relief and rehabilitation operations in the Department of State, and director general of the United Nations Rehabilitation Administration until 1946, he was elected United States senator from New York in 1949 and has been there ever since.

THE senator has an imposing list of honorary degrees from various institutions of learning, one of them from Oglethorpe University, a southern institution. He is also an official and director in many welfare and promotional organizations, being a director of the Welfare Council of New York City and of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People. He was awarded the war department's Distinguished service medal for his work during the war where he became a colonel on the general staff and was assistant director of purchase, storage and traffic.

The senator is a member of many clubs in New York, Albany and Washington. His residence is 820 Park Avenue, New York, and his office, 41 East 57th Street, New York, in addition to his offices in the senate office building in Washington.

THE WHITE MAN'S PARTY

Globe P.4 Fri. 4-13-56

It is very gratifying to note that the NAACP is becoming more realistic on one issue than most of its leaders in the past 25 years have been. That is they are beginning to see that there is no salvation for the Negro in his fight for civil rights by becoming "unanimous" for ONE political party, especially in national elections.

Eric F. Goldman's "Rendezvous with Destiny has in it a paragraph from which we quote a passage, dealing with the policies of the Populiat Party which was very much of a "going concern" more than 50 years ago. The party quickly repented for making the attempt to unite the Negro masses with the masses of whites Down South. The paragraph says:

Nashville, Tenn.

"The attempt of the Southern Populists to form a poor-white, poor-Negro coalition proved politically disastrous. As a group, low income Southern whites were harsh enemies of the Negro, and the Southern conservatives seriously injured Populism by calling it the "nigger's party."

"That everlasting and overshadowing 'Negro Question,' Tom Watson believed, was the explanation of his own failure to achieve greater political power, and the day was not distant when he would shift to a frantic anti-Negro position in an attempt to out-racist his enemies. In most Southern states the race issue thoroughly stifled Populism. Impoverished but anti-Negro farmers clung to the white man's party, the Democratic, and turned to the leadership of demagogues like South Carolina's Ben Tillman and Mississippi's James Vardaman, who combined reform and racist attitudes in a formula similar to the one Adolf Hitler was to perfect."

Northern Negroes committed a major blunder when they adopted their policy of fighting to get Negroes Down South registered as Democrats EXCLUSIVELY, with the promise they would be empowered thereby to move in and take over the Southern "Democracy" and with the aid of the Democrat "liberals" create a new party. Their strategy only made the Eisenhower victory in 1952 much greater and the future for the Democrats very dark, indeed. Negro Democrats, from Up North by their advice to Negroes Down South and the pitiful contribution they made in asserting their boasted "balance of power" strength, rendered Negro Democrats nonentities in the party of Roosevelt and Rankin.

The Democrat Party is "the white man's party" and Northern Negroes who pretend it is not so, are only kidding themselves when they pretend that the "liberal" Northern Democrats can and will deliver anything tangible in the shape of civil rights for Negroes when the Democrat Party controls the government.

LET RIGHTEOUSNESS PREVAIL

Gradually, but truly, nevertheless, colored and white citizens of the South, are beginning to take a sane view of the problem of compulsory racial segregation in public schools.

It is the voice of wisdom and of experience being heard in the South-land. And it is an array of citizens capable of getting things done rather than to waste money unnecessarily fighting to change what is "the law of the land" under a new dispensation. The (new) law of the land prescribes, the Supreme Court decision delivered in 1954 that compulsory racial segregation in schools is now null and void. It specifically set aside, not only the "separate but equal" edict of the "Old Court" which spoke in 1896, but said that compulsory segregation violates the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

That was a revolutionary decision. The Court in 1954 recognized this to be true and that is why it appealed to all concerned to study the implications of the May 17, 1954 decision and to return to the Court at a later date with suggestions for carrying out the law of the land under the new dispensation.

Very naturally, colored citizens almost unanimously hailed the 1954 decision as one that would be as promptly carried out as was the decision in the Plessy v Ferguson case of 1896. But the Court, itself, had no such opinion. It virtually said that carrying out the decision would be a gradual process and that it could not be carried out as speedily in some areas as in others. It indicated that the "mark of high calling" for patriotism would be given to those states which admitted the Court had the power to set aside the Plessy v Ferguson decision but had done so.

But even so, the Court made it plain it would be lenient with those states which showed a righteous willingness to respect and obey the Court. It at the same time let it be known that nobody would be permitted to disregard the Supreme Court's edict.

In 1955, the Court spoke again, after learning the views of lawyers, politicians and others. The Court set forth in plain language that it expected only "good faith" from all states and school districts. It refused to name a target date for putting desegregation into effect. Messrs. Turgood Marshall and associates pleaded for such a date, but failed to convince the Court that this would be advisable.

Now we hold that colored Americans are challenged to obey the edict of the Supreme Court in 1955, which prescribes "gradualism" for getting desegregation completely carried out and white Americans are challenged to respect the fact that the "old order" which permitted bigots to ignore the 14th Amendment is dead and gone.

Therefore, faced by the fact the Supreme Court now commands all states that have assumed that state laws can over-ride supreme law, fairminded Southerners can be depended upon to take their new responsibility seriously. We believe the fairminded colored citizens, knowing it cannot possibly be "as long as it has been," will show patriotism to work for a peaceful settlement of the desegregation, devoid of costly lawsuits, seeking to get the 14th Amendment enforced, something we know is going to be enforced as surely as was the 13th Amendment, which abolished human slavery.

Great progress has been made in most all of the states to get the desegregation issue settled peaceably. President Eisenhower has made a notable contribution to that end in carrying the issue directly to the people of good will of both races. He thus has ignored politicians who have thus far been the hindering cause to a just and fair settlement of the problem. It is now up to the people to do likewise —that is ignore the politicians and in their place put patriotic Americans in charge of working out a desegregation plans that will be generally acceptable to lawabiding citizens everywhere in the South.

It is the "righteousness, that exalteth a nation," which must be called in to preside over future deliberations dealing with desegregation.

And what could be a more inspiring admonition to all concerned than what Holy Writ teaches us:

"Except the Lord build a house, they labor in vain that build it."

SCHOOLS

Sunday Star Washington, D.C. Aug. 5-1956

Louisiana, Virginia Hear 'Bad News' on Segregation Laws

Two doubly damaging blows were directed last week at the system of segregated schools in the South when three Federal judges and the Attorney General of Virginia took swipes at legal maneuvering designed to stave off integration.

L 26-A

The effect was doubly damaging because all four officials are native Southerners.

In Louisiana, a Federal judge ordered New Orleans to integrate its schools "with all deliberate speed" and the same judge and two colleagues, sitting en banc, ruled that all of the State's segregation laws which were re-enacted and strengthened in 1954 are unconstitutional. In Virginia, an advisory opinion by Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, jr., held that the Legislature's interposition resolution does not suspend enforcement of the Supreme Court's desegregation directive in Virginia.

Mr. Almond noted that he himself is opposed to the principle of integration. But he added that interposition cannot be used by the State in carrying on the fight in the Prince Edward County school case, which was one of five decided by the Supreme Court in May, 1954. Mr. Almond's opinion was clear-cut: "The District Court is bound by the mandate which was issued (by the Supreme Court) on May 31, 1955. The decision of the Supreme Court and its mandate is the law of the case...."

Louisiana Rulings

The Louisiana judges' ruling against the State's 1954 omnibus segregation statute upset the State Legislature's act which had made the problem of racial segregation a "police" matter for public safety.

In his opinion, which took note also of "the problem of changing a people's mores," Federal District Judge J. Skelly Wright concluded: "But the magnitude of the problem may not nullify the principle. And that principle is that we are, all of us, free-born Americans

with a right to make our way unfettered by sanctions imposed by man because of the work of God." (Skin color, in Judge Wright's view, is God's work; segregation laws are man's invention.)

Meanwhile, a critical fight was brewing in Louisiana between the Roman Catholic Church and segregation leaders in the Legislature. Four members of the Legislature from New Orleans, where more than half the students attend Catholic parochial schools, asked for an amendment to the 1954 segregation laws which would cover private schools as well as public schools. Catholic Church officials had announced recently a plan for integrating church schools next September.

The controversy was certain to revolve around the issue of separation of church and state. It also would directly affect the consciences of many Louisianans who are both Catholic and segregationist.

In Alabama, officials of the University of Alabama announced that the order opening the institution to Negroes would be appealed to the United States Supreme Court. The university last month admitted its first Negro student, a Birmingham co-ed, but then excluded her from the campus after three days of violent demonstrations.

And in Washington, the Sidwell Friends School, a private institution, announced that it will begin integrating its classes next year. Included in the student body at Sidwell are the three children of Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, Congress' most vociferous and outspoken enemy of racial integration at any level.

ALL CHICAGO Hour of Prayer and report meeting at the Coliseum Wednesday night featured speeches and reports on the fight for racial equality in the South. Among the 100 clergymen and speakers who participated were, left to right, the Rev. Archibald J. Carey, pastor, Quinn Chapel AME church; Willoughby Abner, president of the Chicago branch, NAACP; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, NAACP; the Rev. Augustus Bennett, pastor, Grace Presbyterian church; Rabbi Eric Freedland, president, Chicago Rabbinical association, and the Rev. Morris H. Tynes, pastor, Monumental Baptist church.

Patterns Of Resistance To Race-Mixing In The South

Advertiser
Mon. 2-13-56

. . . While Jim Crowism on city transit systems in the border states and in some cities of the "upper" South has been disappearing gradually, cities of the "deep" South appear ready to fight to the last ditch to retain the long practiced seating arrangement.

Montgomery, Ala.

Thus concludes *The Baltimore Evening Sun* in a survey of city transit and segregation in the South, a survey which included Montgomery's stalemate over the "first come, first served" demand of Negro boycotters as well as a number of other conflicts. P.4-A

With the glaring exception of Mississippi, and parts of Louisiana, *The Sun* reports, the South has by and large accepted "with good grace" the Interstate Commerce Commission's order affecting segregation practices in interstate commerce — waiting rooms and rest rooms. What *The Sun* does not bring out, however, is that this compliance is in more instances than not a token gesture to appease the all-powerful ICC. While signs have been changed in so-called "interstate" waiting rooms, the conventional patterns of segregation continue in most instances.

Broadly [*The Sun* continues] the degree of difference between interstate travel and intracity travel seems to be analogous to the difference between a municipal golf course and a municipal swimming pool. Quite a few cities in the South where the Negro ratio of population isn't particularly large have recently been dropping the color ban on the golf links, voluntarily or by court order. But this is not true in respect to swimming pools or wading pools and other facilities in the public parks.

Now before the U.S. Supreme Court is a suit involving city bus segregation in Columbia, S.C. The Circuit Court of Appeals, overruling the district court, decided in favor of the Negro complainants. Presumably, the Supreme Court will uphold the appellate court, if it follows the logic and precedent of the school segregation cases. Other significant developments:

¶ By direct Supreme Court order, Atlanta has just recently opened its golf courses to Negroes, but other recreation facilities are still strictly segregated. And, *The Sun* suggests, the issue of racial commingling at municipal swimming pools and the like, soon to be faced, will generate considerably more heat.

¶ A federal district judge has ruled in St. Petersburg, Fla. that the municipal swimming must admit Negroes, but the order has not been put into effect, and *The Sun* says, most cities in the Deep South are prepared to dispose of such facilities if race mixing is forced In Greensboro, S.C., for instance, not "deep" but "upper" South, the city has ordered the sale of the city golf course and moved to close a nine-hole course built a few years ago expressly for Negroes.

It appears to us that *The Sun* has correctly assessed Southern resistance as directly proportional to the degree of intimacy involved in any given issue. Thus resistance is palpably greater to integration in classrooms, swimming pools and buses than to token removal of signs in interstate waiting rooms. The line is vague, but as the contact ceases to be commercial expediency (as, for instance, the integration in Montgomery elevators) and becomes something approaching a social relationship, resistance is immediate and resolute.

South threatens American survival

Afro-American P.11 Sat. 4-21-56

NEW YORK—Denial of complete equality to colored Americans threatens the integrity and the existence of our democracy, Mrs. Agnes Meyer, author and educator of Washington, and Dr. Arthur D. Gray, president of Talladega College, Ala., told 800 delegates, here, Wednesday.

The two were speakers at the national convention of the American Jewish Congress' Women's Division, held in the Biltmore Hotel here.

Mrs. Meyer received the Women's Division's first Convention Citation of Honor for her "leadership in preserving the unique American experiment of separation of church and state and the freedom and integrity of our system of public education."

In her address, Mrs. Meyer warned that the survival of American democracy is threatened by two factors — internal corrosion caused by fear, insecurity and moral confusion; and the growing Communist success in exploiting both the ferment among the colored races of the world and our own recalcitrance in granting equal rights to our fellow colored citizens at home. She deplored American complacency "while our domestic and foreign problems go from bad to worse."

Baltimore, Md.

"THE MOST serious threat to this nation today," she said, "is not the existence of a powerful totalitarian enemy but rather the appearance of many of the same symptons which made the rise of totalitarianism possible in other lands." Among them, she said, is a "childish faith in the indispensable man and the magic power of a great personality.

"Americans must awaken to the fact that we are confronted not by one but two major revolutions — communism and the ferment throughout the world among the yellow, black and brown races," Mrs. Meyer declared. "We are united in our opposition to Communism," she noted, but sharply divided in our attitude toward the races with skins of a different hue.

"It is not surprising that the Communists, ever since our peaceful assurances at Geneva gave them a free hand, are successfully exploiting to the peoples of Asia and Africa the white man's false sense of superiority, and capitalizing on our own recalcitrance in granting equal rights to our colored fellow citizens here at home."

* * *

THE MOUNTING hostility in the South in implementing the Supreme Court's ruling on segregation is not an isolated phenomenon, Mrs. Meyer asserted. "It is a more acute form of the irrationalism, insecurity, distrust, suspicion and disregard of law and justice with which we have been contending in every area of American life for several years.

"It is precisely this disrespect for law, justice and equal rights—this illegal use of governmental powers to control the freedom of the individual and even to control thought, this same totalitarian principle which he characterized in the government's security program—that we now see reflected in the conduct of many political leaders in Southern States.

"The administration forces that backed our unprincipled security program can scarcely criticize the rebellion against the Supreme Court by the politicians of the South," Mrs. Meyer commented. "For they themselves set the example of lawlessness which is now being imitated by various Southern individuals and groups, and by many of our people throughout the land."

The new organization, the Federation for Constitutional Government, now in formation in the South, Mrs. Meyer warned, "may create havoc in both major political parties in the next election. The leaders of this movement are looking beyond the South.

"They expect to appeal to the extreme right-wing elements in both major political parties, dissident people who are fanatical isolationists, who see Communist subversives everywhere and who oppose all social progress as a menace to free enterprise."

* * *

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, Mrs. Meyer continued, "must be made to realize that his reputation as the leader of the nation is at stake in this grave southern upheaval. He has belatedly made a few statements to curb the rising passions of the extremists and given encouragement to the silenced forces of moderation. But this paternal admonition is not enough.

"The art of government is foresight. Never was it more needed, if the President is to make the contribution which only he can make to quench the fires of wrath that threaten to sweep through the whole nation. A White House Conference should be called at once of the most reputable white and colored leaders who could be counted upon to seek pragmatic and rational approaches to justice."

* * *

DISCUSSING THE NAACP, Mrs. Meyer said: "It takes great statesmanship on the part of the NAACP to practice patience, especially in the light of the vicious activities of the White Citizens Councils. But the price of impatience is to create a condition which would repeat the pre-Civil War tragedy.

"Justice to the colored American," Mrs. Meyer concluded, "will inevitably bring about greater justice to all our economically marginal citizens.

"Therefore, if we now proceed to carry out the mandate of the Supreme Court, we shall gradually release in all of our people the essential force behind the concept of equality. This irresistible spiritual force cannot fail to overcome all the material ideologies that are now hostile to human freedom. We stand before a moral choice of the first magnitude. We have to choose now. We have to choose between freedom and slavery, not just for the colored American but for mankind."

* * *

IN HIS ADDRESS to the AJC Women's Division, Dr. Arthur Gray, who heads one of the South's integrated colleges at Talladega, Ala., declared: "We talk a great deal about the American way and the free world, but are strangely blind to a sterner truth: the impossibility of achieving a free world through a segregated society.

Dr. Gray noted that "many sincere people counsel moderation to the NAACP and to colored Americans. But they have exercised moderation for 300 years in America. It's about time others also practiced moderation.

"Colored America is virtually unanimous in support of integration in education for reasons over and above self interest," Dr. Gray stated. "We are equally concerned about the welfare of the nation. We are morally obligated to oppose the misguided efforts of the South to bring American leadership into disrepute by its insistence upon segregation.

"We are morally obligated to support and defend the Constitution of the United States; to prevent the South from committing intellectual suicide; to confront ourselves and our southern brothers with the requirements of our Judaeo-Christian faith. We cannot and will not be equivocal with the democratic and moral principles involved."

* * *

DR. GRAY scored the "separate but equal gospel" being proclaimed in parts of the South. "In spite of the money being put into equalizing programs we know that there is no such thing as separate but equal. There isn't enough money in the South, or the nation, to maintain a first class dual set of community institutions and public services."

Referring to William Faulkner's recent statements on the problems of segregation, Dr. Gray asserted, "His dilemma is the dilemma of the nation. He sees clearly 'the simple incontrovertible immorality of discrimination by race'—but becomes hesitant and fuzzy about the implementation of this premise. He appears blind to the fact that the South is also inhabitated by 12 million colored Americans. The South does not belong to white people alone. What happens in the South as well as in the North is the concern of all. Democracy will reign over all or it will reign over none.

"No section of this country can decide which decisions of the Supreme Court it will accept and which decisions it will flout," he said. "This is not a permissive matter. The continued existence of the nation—not the customs of the South—is the basic issue at stake."

Herter Urges Moderate Moves to Desegregation

Post + Times Herald P.28 Washington, D.C.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 20 (UP) Gov. Christian A. Herter of Massachusetts today said he believes moderate but steady progress is the best path toward desegregation.

Sun. 2-21-56

Herter, addressing a Brotherhood Week lunch of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc., said the Supreme Court decision posed questions that cannot be easily or quickly resolved.

The Supreme Court itself recognized this fact, he said.

"At this moment, however, the Nation is faced with a problem of utmost seriousness," he said. "Hotheads, and some who are deliberately trying to make political capital out of the issue have jumped into the arena and have made progress more and more difficult."

He said there is room for "a great difference of opinion, and very honest ones, with respect to how and at what pace the high court decision could be implemented."

"I am a strong believer in moving steadily, though slowly," Herter said. "Certainly the use of force as an immediate instrument of implementation is, I believe, abhorrent to all of us.

"If there ever was a time when calmness and moderation should prevail, it is on this issue at the present time."

Herter said the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People set, in 1953, a 10-year period in which it hoped to achieve its goal of complete equality of opportunity and desegregation.

We'll make them obey court, Waring

Afro-American P. 6 Sat. 4-14-56 Baltimore, Md.

NEWARK

"Tension in a good cause is not only necessary, but it is the best thing that can happen.

"Jesus produced the greatest tension in history.

"Don't be afraid of tension, don't be afraid of controversy; don't be afraid of doing right.

"The force of taking a position and sticking to it (as they are doing in Montgomery, Ala.), is the greatest thing we can do."

* * *

AN INTERRACIAL audience of 1,200 persons which taxed the Elizabethan Room of Hotel Essex House in Newark, greeted these admonitions with spirited cheers last week.

They came from the lips of former U. S. Judge J. Watries Waring whose decision in his court in Charleston, S. C., outlawing the old White Primary and whose dissent against a three-man court's ruling upholding school segregation, was upheld by the Supreme Court.

The occasion was a rally based on the theme, "Tension in Alabama," sponsored by 20 organizations as a climax to the city-wide observance of "National Deliverance Prayer Day."

THE RETIRED judge hailed the Supreme Court's decision on school desegregation as a "monumental milestone" in our history.

"That decision does not mean just schools," he emphasized—"it means that legal segregation is dead.

"Those who struggle against desegregation are on the minority side.

"We are knocking down old, outmoded, unjust laws."

* * *

TAKING NOTE of those who are fighting the Supreme Court's decision, Judge Waring said:

"Many of us are worried about the Communists and the subversives.

"But what about the subversives led by Eastland, Talmadge and others who come out and openly flout the Constitution and say they'll not obey the mandate of the court?

* * *

"WELL, WE'LL make them obey."

The audience gave him a resounding ovation.

Dr. E. Fanklin Frazier, head of the department of sociology at Howard University, gave a scholarly review of the historical backgrounds out of which came colonialism, imperialism and centuries, emphasizing that racial discrimination and the evils of economic and political power. He traced the fight for freedom slavery. by all races down through the ages and had their roots essen-

Dividing the Southern People

Courier Sat. 3-31-56

A recurrent theme in discussion of the difficulties in the Southern states about desegregation is the division which has been widened between colored and white because of the issue.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

From President Eisenhower down, spokesmen have deplored the extremism which they say so alienates leaders of both sides that any solution has been made much more difficult, if not impossible.

P. 12

There is in these statements a general tone of abhorrence to any instigation of violence and accordingly a sincere desire to soften feelings to make possible a moderate approach.

The inference to be drawn from these statements is that prior to the efforts of the NAACP and the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, the two racial groups were very close together and that the gap remaining between them was slight and about to close.

The fact of the matter is that the two racial groups were divided as much before the Supreme Court decision as they became afterward, if not more so.

The difference is that previously the white people had everything their own way, and, because they heard no great objections from the bulk of Negroes, they assumed that they were very close to them, and completely understood them.

It was thus a shocking and hurtful surprise when they found themselves confronted with Negroes who challenged their deepest convictions and institutions, and openly demanded that such be ended, not gradually but at once.

Many of the Southern whites who sought within their limitations to be friendly and helpful were amazed to encounter this opposition to hallowed institutions and sorrowfully declared that the two races had been divided by propaganda from outside their communities and states.

Actually, whatever division exists between white and colored in Dixie is due not to any alien-inspired efforts but to the very attitudes and institutions which a certain element of whites in the South is determined to defend.

The Montgomery bus boycott did not originate in the fertile minds of Negroes outside the South but in the insult and humiliation of Negro bus riders in Montgomery, against which they finally rebelled.

The boycott of other white businesses in the South (which is now causing growing concern) was not a sudden idea of a few malcontents in New York and Chicago but arose from the campaign of White Councils and their ilk to intimidate Negro business and professional persons favoring desegregation by withholding credit and deliveries.

The Negrophobic South is, in sum, suffering from cultural lag, incapable of understanding that as the times and environment have changed, so has the Negro changed; that while it was dreaming of the way it thought the Negro had been in the past, its traditional victim had also undergone a great revolution.

How long the two groups in the South will be divided, depends in largest measure on how soon the Negrophobes decide that the division must end, and make the necessary concessions.

It is as simple as that.

Writer Says Racial Crisis May Hurt Growth of South

News & Observer P. 1 Sun. 3-25-56

Raleigh, N. C.

By SYLVIA PORTER.

One of America's largest manufacturers of electrical equipment was set a few months ago to open a new plant in Georgia. When the engineers and technical employes concerned were informed of the planned transfer, a large percentage strongly objected. "They all have families," said my informant, "and while they liked the area, they didn't want to move into a mess about schools, social segregation, etc."

The company — which would close down if it couldn't count on the engineers and technicians it must recruit in the North—has decided not to open any more plants below the Mason-Dixon line . . .

A world-famous corporation in the business machine field found, after months of scouting, a top spot for a new plant in Kentucky. Then it ran headlong into segregation of social facilities.

The company abandoned its plans to move South, is now expanding in New York State . . .

A prosperous pencil company was deeply intrigued by a location in North Carolina. "But the tax situation in the area was getting out of hand because the community was spending so much money to provide separate but equal schools," my informant continued.

This company—well aware that an industry in a community is a major taxpayer — is staying North . . .

An electronics company actually built its new plant in its chosen Southern city. Then, the racial tensions began to mount.

It has sold its building. It isn't moving South.

When I was in the booming, industrializing city of Charlotte, N. C., last week, I glimpsed the first signs that the Southern businessman is awakening to the increasing danger that the violent conflict over integration could slow down the surge of industry to the South and thus be a major threat to his pocketbook.

As soon as I returned to New York City, I called on L. Clinton Hoch, a partner in Fantus Factory Locating Service, the largest plant locating consulting organization in the world, to check the facts.

"It's happening," he said flatly. The examples you have just read are real and are just illustrative of others. And Hoch revealed:

"At least 20 corporation moving projects" on which Fantus is currently working are "being seriously reconsidered in light of the situation in the South." That figure is not to be minimized: tens of millions of dollars and tens of thousands of jobs are involved.

Of course, the racial problem in the South always has been a consideration in corporation moves to the region.

Advantages.

But the problem has been more than offset by the South's great advantages — climate, ample labor, lower wage levels, special tax exemptions, other incentives, cheap power, etc. — and since World War II, the South has gone through a profound industrial revolution.

"Now it's a question whether the problem is serious enough to slow down the South's industrial growth," said Hoch. "Maybe it's only temporary, but if they don't find a solution, it'll be more than temporary."

All over the South, plans are being made on the premise that Northern industrial firms will continue to move and expand in the area. In every Southern city, projections are being made on the basis that this movement will vastly broaden markets, boost employment, raise incomes.

I am not venturing into the emotional, social, moral, political, legal aspects of the situation in the South today.

Here, I am submitting only a hard-headed, cold-blooded report in my field of economics. And this report that racial tensions already are affecting the expansion plans of corporations deeply wanted by the South should be read by hard-headed businessmen in a cold-blooded way.

Often through our history, a few stark dollars-and-cents figures have had more impact than millions of emotion-arousing words. This is one time when the pocketbook's power could be a power for good beyond measure.

(Editor's note: This is a second article by Sylvia Porter dealing with theme that the South's industrial growth may be hampered by the trouble growing from the desegregation of schools)

CHARLOTTE — A new fear is beginning to emerge among the intelligent, aggressively industry-minded citizens of this, the key and largest city of the Carolinas—a fear that as it spreads coud, in itself, be vital in helping to avert unmerciful tragedy in the South.

Put in simple, yet superlatively significant dollars-and-cents terms, it is:

That the increasingly violent conflict over integration of the Negro will, if it continues, seriously set back the plans of industries all over America to expand in and move to the Southeast.

If this happens—AND IT IS ALREADY STARTING TO HAPPEN —then:

The strong industrial upsurge upon which the development plans of Charlotte and every other leading city in the South are based—

Mrs. Hobby's Speech Read at TSU

Prejudice Called 'Stumbling Block

Courier P. 1 Sec. 2 Sat. 4-14-56

HOUSTON—"Prejudice against anything untried has been mankind's stumbling block since history began," said Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, president of the Houston Post and former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in a speech read for her by Marguerite Johnson, Houston Post columnist, at the Women's Day program at Texas Southern University.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mrs. Hobby, who was the main speaker, was called to Washington for a conference at the last minute.

She told the students to "do your part to fight prejudice by greeting each new idea or project, person or opportunity with an open mind . . . Functional illiterate persons (those unfortunates who can neither read nor write) . . . are not equipped to check fiction against fact or to check propaganda against truth. They are . . . vulnerable to the forces which would undermine our system of Government. They offer a weakness within . . . our democracy."

Miss Johnson was introduced by Barbara Jordan, editor of the TSU yearbook, "The Tiger."

Ray D. Oliphant is president of the Women's League which each year brings an outstanding woman speaker for the program.

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Cites Sins in 'Our Own Community'

Herald Tribune P.4

Donegan Asks Prayers for Integration

Mon. 3-19-56

By Charles Quinn P.4

Prayers during Holy Week for the end of segregation were urged yesterday by the Right Rev. Horace W. B. Donegan, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York, in an unprecedented appeal to the clergy of his Diocese. New York,

In a pastoral letter he read at St. Bartholomew's Church, Park Ave. and 51st St., Bishop Donegan asked that during the week before Easter "we acknowledge before God our own sins of segregation in our own community and pray daily that God will reveal to us more clearly 'the Biblical truth that all men are made in the image of God, and are of eternal worth in His eyes, and that in Christ all men are one.'" N.Y.

Although Bishop Donegan was not available for comment late yesterday William J. Moll, director of public relations for the Bishop, said "our own sins of segregation in our own community" meant "any social injustices" that might occur. He said it was not the Bishop's policy to cite specific instances of segregation in a letter of this sort.

Mr. Moll, who described the letter as the "strongest formalized" statement the Bishop has made on racial problems, said it would be read in the 210 parihes and missions of the diocese next Sunday and prayers would be continued through the week.

The Bishop reaffirmed the church's opposition to racial discrimination but added the problem was one "in which all of us are involved, and, particularly, those who claim to be members of the Body of Christ ministering to thi world."

The Christian Church, by its preaching and teaching, has inspired all efforts in the area of race relationships, Bishop Donegan continued, although non-Christian groups often appear to lead "in pleading on behalf of causes which are really the concern of Christians."

Bishop Donegan denied racial problems were regional and indicated the sincerity of this country's "statement on the Rights of Man must of necessity by subject to suspicion when our actions belie our words. Our influence for good and our leadership in world affairs suffers to the exact degree to which we fail to practice what we preach."

He noted progress had been made "in this section of our country" toward improving social, economic and educational conditions "for many of our brethren" but asked whether this had been achieved by legal action more than by application and practice of faith.

"Do our parishes maintain a degree of mutual acceptance of human beings as persons, people for whom Christ died, absolutely irrespective of race, class or ethnic background?" the Bishop asked. ". . . there is only one answer acceptable to God and that is a general and humble acknowledge of our failure in our bearing personal witness to the love of Christ—that same Christ who charged us that we should love one another as He loved us."

SOUTH WILL LOSE RACE WAR, OHIO EDUCATOR SAYS

Butler County American Jul. 3-10-56

Hamilton, Ohio

Central State President Speaks To Cleveland City Forum

P.4

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GENERAL

Cleveland—"The southern states which refuse to drop the color bar in education cannot win their rebellion against the Constitution of the United States," Dr. Charles H. Wesley, president of Central State College, Wilberforce, O., told the Cleveland City Forum in an address here.

"If they defy the United States Supreme Court and win, our whole idea of a federal government is destroyed," he told his distinguished audience top city leaders.

"Equality under the law will win eventually, if not immediately. Someone may go to jail in Montgomery, Ala., someone may be killed, but equal rights for all Americans are guaranteed by the Constitution and will prevail.

"The battle lines are forming again at Tuscaloosa and Montgomery, Ala. just as surely as they did at Ft. Sumter in 1861, and the issues are just as clear cut. Then it was slavery; now it is segregation. Then it was nullification; now it is interposition.

The historian and educator who holds a number of honorary degrees as well as a Ph. D. degree from Harvard University counselled his audience, "We need men with educated hearts as well as educated heads. In this respect I believe our schools have failed to do their full job.

"If the segregationalists get away with this rebellion the way will be open to challenge the Government's authority by people who don't like to pay taxes or be drafted into the Army.

He observed, "There are many sincere people in the South who do not go along with the blatant segregationalists, but they are mostly silent just as the anti-slavery voices in the South were silent just before the Civil War.

"Events must determine whether Washington should interfere," he added, "the Federal Government must keep a close watch to see whether the situation can be adjusted through action by the states themselves.

"Those who believe in the Constitution should take a stand calmly, quietly without the beating of drums.

"The North," he opined, "cannot point the finger of derision at the South. Prejudice is not sectional. It is more subtle in the North—in admission to professional schools, housing, jobs. We have a lot to clean up here first."

Disintegration

Post-Herald P. 14

Dangerous steps toward disintegration of the Federal Union are being taken these days with a recklessness that ought to arouse deep concern in the heart of every American devoted to the preservation of the United States as a nation. The direction and the accelerating pace of these steps ought to sound, in the ears of the President of the United States above all, a call to action. For these steps, once taken, will be extremely difficult to retrace. Washington D. C.

The latest of these steps has been taken in North Carolina—commonly counted among the more advanced and enlightened of the Southern states. The North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education, following the lead of the Gray Commission in Virginia, has filed a report recommending that state constitutional changes be made authorizing financial grants "to be paid toward the education of any child assigned against the wishes of his parents to a school in which the races are mixed." Here is another transparent effort to evade a decision of the United States Supreme Court.

"I do not think the United States would come to an end," Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once said, "if we (the Supreme Court) lost our power to declare an Act of Congress void. I do think the Union would be imperiled if we could not make that declaration as to the laws of the several states." The truth of this seems almost self-evident. If every state Legislature could construe the Constitution in accordance with its own lights and without deference to any final constitutional authority, disintegration would be the inescapable consequence. Fallible as it may be, the Supreme Court is the final authority established by the Constitution to determine the constitutionality of legislative acts. Wash. 4-16-56

It cannot be doubted that there are men in the South as well as in the North who, for the sake of maintaining a Nation to which they are devoted, are prepared to submit to duly constituted Federal authority even when they disagree with it. A nation can endure only so long as it is guided by such men. But they are submerged in the South today by those who shout defiance of Federal authority while pretending that they are patriots. The South is not monolithic. It does not speak with one voice, however much its zealots may assert that it does. And the task of national leadership is to give the more sober voices a chance to be heard.

It is with this in view that we urge again that the President call to a conference in the White House distinguished Southerners, white and colored, who, whatever their differences of opinion about race relations, share a common devotion to the Nation and a common willingness to compound their differences for the national welfare. The beginning

of statesmanship in this situation is to give status to those who recognize Federal authority and seek a solution within its terms, and to isolate those who would destroy the Union rather than submit to it. The President's own immense prestige and the respect in which he is held in every part of the country can be a wonderfully healing and unifying influence. But to be influential, he must assert leadership.

South May Suffer

Herald P. 21-A
Miami Fla.
Mar 3-26-56

Racial Tensions Scare Industry

By SYLVIA PORTER
Financial Analyst

One of America's largest manufacturers of electrical equipment was set a few months ago to open a new plant in Georgia. When the engineers and technical employes concerned were informed of the planned transfer, a large percentage strongly objected. "They all have families," said my informant, "and while they liked the area, they didn't want to move into a mess about schools, social segregation, etc."

MISS PORTER

The company—which would close down if it couldn't count on the engineers and technicians it must recruit in the North—has decided not to open any more plants below the Mason-Dixon line . . .

A world-famous corporation in the business machine field found, after months of scouting, a top spot for a new plant in Kentucky. Then it ran headlong into segregation of social facilities.

The company abandoned its plans to move South, is now expanding in New York State.

A prosperous pencil company was deeply intrigued by a location in North Carolina. "But the tax situation in the area was getting out of hand because the community was spending so much money to provide separate but equal schools," my informant continued.

This company — well aware that an industry in a community is a major taxpayer—is staying North.

An electronics company actually built its new plant in its chosen Southern city. Then, the racial tensions began to mount.

It has sold its building. It isn't moving South.

★ ★ ★

WHEN I WAS in the booming, industrializing city of Charlotte, N.C., last week, I glimpsed the first signs that the Southern businessman is awakening to the increasing danger that the violent conflict over integration could slow down the surge of industry to the South and thus be a major threat to his pocketbook.

As soon as I returned to New York City, I called on L. Clinton Hoch, a partner in Fantus Factory Locating Service, the largest plant locating consulting organization in the world, to check the facts.

"It's happening," he said flatly. The examples you have just read are real and are just illustrative of others. And Hoch revealed:

"At least 20 corporation moving projects" on which Fantus is currently working are "being seriously reconsidered in light of the situation in the South." That figure is not to be minimized: tens of millions of dollars and tens of thousands of jobs are involved.

Of course, the racial problem in the South always has been a consideration in corporation moves to the region.

But the problem has been more than offset by the South's great advantages—climate, ample labor, lower wage levels, special tax exemptions, other incentives, cheap power, etc.—and since World War II, the South has gone through a profound industrial revolution.

"Now it's a question whether the problem is serious enough to slow down the South's industrial growth," said Hoch. "Maybe it's only temporary, but if they don't find a solution, it'll be more than temporary."

All over the South, plans are being made on the premise that Northern industrial firms will continue to move and expand in the area. In every Southern city, projections are being made on the basis that this movement will vastly broaden markets, boost employment, raise incomes.

I am not venturing into the emotional, social, moral, political, legal aspects of the situation in the South today.

Here, I am submitting only a hard-headed, cold-blooded report in my field of economics. And this report that racial tensions already are affecting the expansion plans of corporations deeply wanted by the South should be read by hard-headed businessmen in a cold-blooded way.

Often through our history, a few stark dollars-and-cents figures have had more impact than millions of emotion-arousing words. This is one time when the pocketbook's power could be a power for good beyond measure.

State Rights Need An American Objective—

State Press Fri. 3-16-56

S. S. Taylor, Associate Editor

A hundred congressmen issued a statement denouncing Supreme Court desegregation, a daily paper reports. The group was said to have been composed of southerners, with the notable absence of Tennesseans. Inspiration for the procedure is said to have come from a meeting held by Senator Walter George of Georgia, the state of Marvin Griffin and Eugene Cook.

Little Rock, Ark.

There are 435 representatives in Washington and 96 senators. This makes a total of 531 law makers. To pass any measure, it will be seen that a majority of 218 representatives or 49 senators is needed. It will be seen therefore that the number of objectors shows the weakness in the nation.

It also shows the reason for the recent howl about state rights. It is not state rights which really disturb these gentlemen but the possibility of Negro rights. A small group of 5 to 8 states is against the extension of legal equality to the Negro. A larger group of 40 or more states is in favor of granting legal equality to the Negro. To defeat the will of the national majority and to oppose the announced and unanimous decision of the Supreme Court, the only resource left is to say, "No, no, the nation can't do this; the STATE is boss."

P. 4

Of course, the southern senators and representatives are a unit. They have always been noted for their solidarity. We could imitate this. All that had been done in the past to get a movement opposed is to call it favorable to Negroes. A number of white papers and a number of politicians have taken to labelling everything that advocates application of the democratic principles to Negroes as Communistic.

But this unified group is dwindling in size. Less than 6 years ago, there were 20 or more states practicing segregation. Now there are less than half that many. The states which have embraced integration show no tendency to turn back to segregation. The Supreme Court has gone on from one decision to another, constantly enlarging the explication and implication of its meaning. The judges of the lower courts have adhered to the precedent set by the judges of the Supreme Court.

Only by advocating the overthrow of the decree of the Supreme Court can those who stand for the legal oppression of an entire race have their way. And if you really want a manifestation of Communism, where can you find a better example? This is a constitutional government. The Supreme Court is the authorized supreme law-declaring agency of that government. To oppose its decree, except by constitutional means, is subversive.

The group of segregation senators and representatives are said not to have championed "interposition" by name. This, however, is the form opposition is taking in extreme segregation states. A short time ago, five Arkansas men were sent to Virginia to study the Virginia plan. They came back and stated they liked it. The essence of the plan is that the state say the Court ruling is unconstitutional, and disobey it till three-fourth of the states say, "Obey". Of course, three-fourths of the states would say it finally because that is the way three-fourth are going. But filibustering would take time in the senate, and there is no doubt that the segregationists would gain some time - - although they would make themselves look small to the rest of the world.

The Christian Science Monitor quotes the Charlotte, N. C. News as saying "Interposition has a fetching label and a history full of bluff and bluster, but it represents a futile inappropriate gesture . . . It is an error which has led to trouble in the past and promises nothing better in the future."

The attitude of these segregation legislators is at striking variance with the attitude of the party leadership. At the recent "Civil Rights Rally" in Washington, D. C., Paul M. Butler, Democratic national chairman, and Representative Hugh Scott, Pennsylvania Republican, vied with each other to claim party credit for Negro integration gains. The NAACP, credited with staging the rally, certainly was in distinguished company. State Rights need an American Objective.

Racial Bias Costly Item, Three Leaders Disclose

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. P. 4

Wed. 11-28-56

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Three national figures said Saturday night that religious and racial discrimination is forcing the United States to pay a heavy price in internal economic and social strength and in its relations with other countries.

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell blamed such prejudices for adding to critical shortages in skilled labor for defense industry and in the armed forces.

Sharing the platform with Senator Herbert Lehman of New York and Mayor Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati, Mr. Mitchell said a Labor Department survey of 200 major firms doing scientific research showed that one out of three have major shortages of research scientists and engineers.

The Strategic Air Command, he asserted, competing with "the frantic demand" of private industry cannot retain a sufficient number of electronic technicians and aircraft mechanics.

FOUR DAY MEET

The three spoke at the Freedom Forum of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, who opened the League's four-day annual meeting here at the Hotel Mayflower. The Forum discussed "The Social and Economic Consequences of Discrimination." The League is a leading human relations and civil rights organization.

Speaking on international aspects of the problem, Senator Lehman declared that "the so-called backward peoples who were formerly considered inert elements in world affair, have now become active forced in the power structure of the world," and that the denial of equal rights in America "has become a topic of household debate in Tibet and Kenya" that damages the nation's prestige abroad.

Mayor Taft said prejudice is heightened when "fear is added to dislike" of "outside" groups by the "beneficiaries of the status quo."

"OUTSIDE" THREATS

"The ignorant and those uneducated in the Jewish-Christian inhertance always fight for a code of hatred," he said, and their efforts grow to the degree that "the success, numbers or competition" of the "outside" threatens them.

Predicting that shortages of skilled labor "will be intensified" with the further developments of the guided missiles and atomic energy progress, Mr. Mitchell blamed such shortages not only on discrimnatory hiring practices and job upgrading, but also on the failure to provde minorties with equal opportunites for education and training.

He declared that "covert quotas still exist in some colleges and schools. Some businesses drasticaly restrict the level to which persons of certain minority groups may rise .... Some private employment services still accept job orders that say 'gentiles only' 'white only' or 'no non-Caucasians.'"

"Scientists, capable of doing independent research," he added, "are not available in sufficient numbers. There are also particicular shortages of physicists and mathematicians, and well qualified chemists, biologists and geologists. In addition, we need more teachers, doctors, nurses, social workers, librarians and other kinds of professional workers."

THE SKILLS

Declaring that the nation cannot afford the "dreadful waste of racial and religious discrimination" the Labor Secretary said the United States needs "the skills, talents and abilities of every single American man and woman no matter what he looks like, where he lives, where he goes to church or where he comes from."

Citing a recent estimate by a public opinion analyst, Secretary Mitchell said discrimination in nemployment wastes $10 out of every $75 pay check and its annual cost to American business and industry is $30 billion a year.

He emphasized that in a world that "is one-third yellow, one-third brown, and one-third white," America cannot maintain its position of leadership "if any sizable portion of of people consider inferior the non-white two-thirds of the world's peoples....It is clear that as a nation, both domestically and internationally, we are injured by prejudice and intolerance."

Henry Edward Schultz, the League's national chairman, open-Forum, Philip M. Klutznick, president of B'nai B'rith, was chairman.

Secretaary Mitchell, Senator Lehman and Mayor Taft were presented the 1956-57 America's Democratic Legacy medallions Sunday for their "contributions to the enrichment of America's democratic legacy". The award ceremonies were nationally televised on the NBC network.

Robert Sarnoff, president of the National Broadcasting Company accepted on behalf of NBC, the League's 1956 TV award for "the most dramatic and forthright television program of the year bringing the message of democracy to the American people." The award went to "Tragedy in a Temporary Town," by Reginald Rose, which was rebroadcast as part of the award ceremonies.

MAINE EDITOR EYES SEGREGATION ISSUE

Commercial Appeal Memphis Tenn.

Says South Should Recognize Superior Negroes

Wed. 11-20-56

BOSTON, Nov. 19.—(UP)—A New England newspaperman told the New England Council that the South's greatest mistake in the segregation fight is that whites are failing to recognize even superior Negroes and are denying them the right to vote.

Albert A. Rowbotham, general manager of the Rumford and Wilton, Maine, Times, said the solution to the segregation problem must "come from the inside and not by compulsion from the outside."

Mr. Rowbotham, one of 19 New England newspapermen to tour Mississippi last month as guests of the state, spoke to the annual convention of the council here during the week end.

He said he found most people in the South to be moderates but declared unless well-educated Negroes are given full citizenship "the large numbers of Negroes who are being educated in the excellent schools now being built some day are going to get voting privileges.

"And when they do they are going to vote in a block which is going to end white supremacy or lead to more bloodshed than all the White Citizens Councils and the NAACP organizations realize."

$30 Billion Bias Cost U.S. Yearly, Sen. Mitchell Says

Defender Chicago Ill. Sat. 12-8-56

WASHINGTON — (INS) —Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell said Saturday night that racial and religious discrimination costs U. S. business 30 billion dollars a year.

Mitchell told the 43rd annual convention of B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation league that "covert quotas" in colleges and prep schools are still denying many Americans the education that would develop their full technical and scientific skills.

He said this discrimination against race and religion is hurting national defense as well as U. S. industry, adding:

"It is public kowledge that the strategic air command is having difficulty in retaining a sufficient number of electronic technicians and aircraft mechanics.

REFLECTS DEMAND

"This shortage reflects the frantic demand on the part of private industry for skilled workers."

Mitchell, a Catholic, was one of three persons of different religious faiths awarded the league's "America's Democratic Legacy" medallions.

The other two were Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D) N. Y., a Jew, and Cincinnati Mayor Charles P. Taft, a Protestant.

President Eisenhower told the convention delegates in a message that "faith is the beginning of good works."

The Presidet said: "America has grown strong through the contributions of believing men and women who serve the public as they would serve their God and neighbors. Best wishes for the success of your work."

Formal presentation of the medallions took place at a nationally-televised ceremony on Sunday.

Mitchell said, "The dreadful waste of racial and religious discrimination" is a drawback to America's efforts to combat the spread of Communism.

He said: "With only six percent of the world's population, we are substantially outnumbered by the Communist nations. We must give every single individual the fullest possible opportunity for self development in order that we can grow in strength."

Lehman, who is retiring from the Senate, also addressed the convention on "The Social and Economic Consequences of Discrimination."

He said that ay denial of equal rights in the U. S. damages its prestige abroad.

Taft warned of religious or racial "hatred" declaring. "The ignorant and those uneducated in the Jewish-Christian inheritance always fight for a code of hatred."

'We can not stand still,' says Sidney Hollander Sr.

Afro-American P. 18

By J. D. WILLIAMS

"America stands for equality for everyone, and until we have equal opportunity for everyone we can not stand still."

If another man said these words a cynic might believe that they were pompous and devoid of real meaning.

But when they come from Sidney Hollander Sr., the words have the compelling ring of sincerity that leaves no doubt that here is a man who believes in what he says.

Now nearing his 76th birthday Mr. Hollander has devoted most of his adult life to an unceasing fight for equal rights for minority groups, particularly colored citizens.

His uncompromising stand has made his name synonymous with liberal causes in Baltimore, and has earned for him the reputation of a man who has never been afraid to speak his mind when others around him were silent.

* * *

FOR THE past half century, every good movement has had his support, and even now at the age where some men would look forward to a graceful retirement, Mr. Hollander believes that his job is still not complete, and there is more to be done.

In the Greenmount Ave. office of his drug manufacturing firm, which produces the cold remedy "Rem," Mr. Hollander is the picture of a successful senior business executive, handsome and polished.

But when he speaks of equal rights for all people his eyes take on the fire of a crusader and the years seem to slip away from his shoulders and he is a young man again, trading blows with the forces of intolerance and discrimination.

"I don't want any privilege for myself or my family that other people do not have," he says in explaining why he has fought so hard and so long.

"It makes me uneasy in my conscience to have opportunities that are denied to other people.

"I've done what I have, not because of any special interest in colored people as such, but because I have never felt comfortable knowing that other people were second class citizens."

* * *

THERE HAVE been many pleasant moments in Mr. Hollander's life, moments in which he has tasted victory.

Another of these moments will come on Wednesday, Nov. 28, when the ninth annual Sidney Hollander Foundation Award is presented to the Housing Authority of Baltimore for removing racial barriers in public housing projects.

The award will be made at noon in the community hall of Lafayette Courts, 201 N. Aisquith St. It carries with it an honorarium of $250.

The award is close to Mr. Hollander's heart because it was originated by his four children (Sidney Jr., Edward D., Mrs. Edith Furstenberg and Mrs. Emily Kunreuther) as a birthday present.

"They knew of my interest in equal rights and instead of giving me diamonds they gave me this award because they thought it would please me," he recalled.

Then he smiled and added almost shyly:

"And it was pleasing to me."

MR. HOLLANDER was born here in Baltimore, Dec. 29, 1881. He attended City College and the University of Maryland.

He was married in 1908 to Miss Clara Lauer. They celebrated their 48th wedding anniversary last June 3.

He knows Baltimore as only a native can know his own hometown and he has seen his city change.

"When you look back 10 or 15 years you can see the changes and they have been tremendous. When people come back they hardly recognize Baltimore. The theatres, the downtown stores and the FEPC have all made Baltimore a better city," he says.

Even with these things, the job is not finished by Mr. Hollander's standards.

"The big stumbling block now is the hotel situation but I think that this, too will change.

"In fact," he added, "I think we are going to live to see every overt form of segregation wiped out."

* * *

AND IF HIS dream comes true, then some of the credit must belong to him and the work he has done.

He has been president of the local Urban League and the Americans for Democratic action. He has been a member of the National Urban League board since 1944.

His memberships number such organizations as the American Council on Race Relations, the American Jewish Congress, the President's Committee on Contract Compliance and the National Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds.

Mr. Hollander is also president of the National Social Welfare Assembly.

He is one of the persons who worked for the passage of the Baltimore Fair Employment Ordinance, and in his business and personal associations he has often spoken out against segregation and discrimination.

A MEMBER of the Jewish faith, Mr. Hollander knows personally of the problems of minority groups and this, too, has inspired him to do what he has done.

Mr. Hollander doesn't like to dwell at length on his own achievements. He would rather look back over the years and see how bit by bit the walls of prejudice have crumbled and then look to the future with hope that they will disappear altogether.

A few days ago his work was recognized by the Philadelphia Fellowship when it cited him as a Southern pioneer in the field of human rights and described his life with these words:

"Faith and work in the service of his fellow men of every race, religion and nation."

* * *

AS HIS office grew dim with the arrival of night, Mr. Hollander restated his simple philosophy that has guided his life:

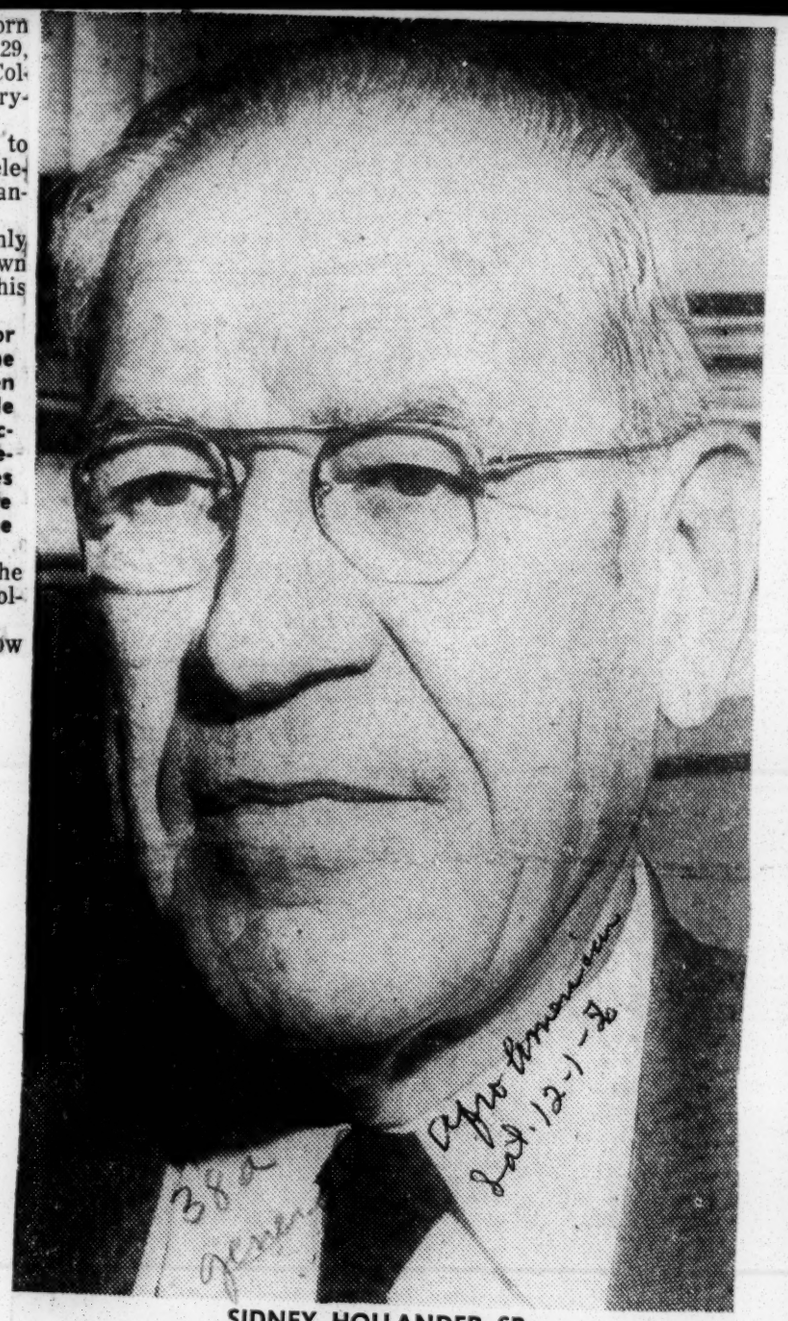
"I can't be satisfied when other people do not have the same opportunities that I have."

Then he added, almost wistfully:

"I hope I don't sound sappy, but that's the way I feel."

Rising from his desk, tall and erect, he looked out of the window with the smile of a happy man.

"Baltimore is a better town," he said, and his sincerity left little room for doubt.

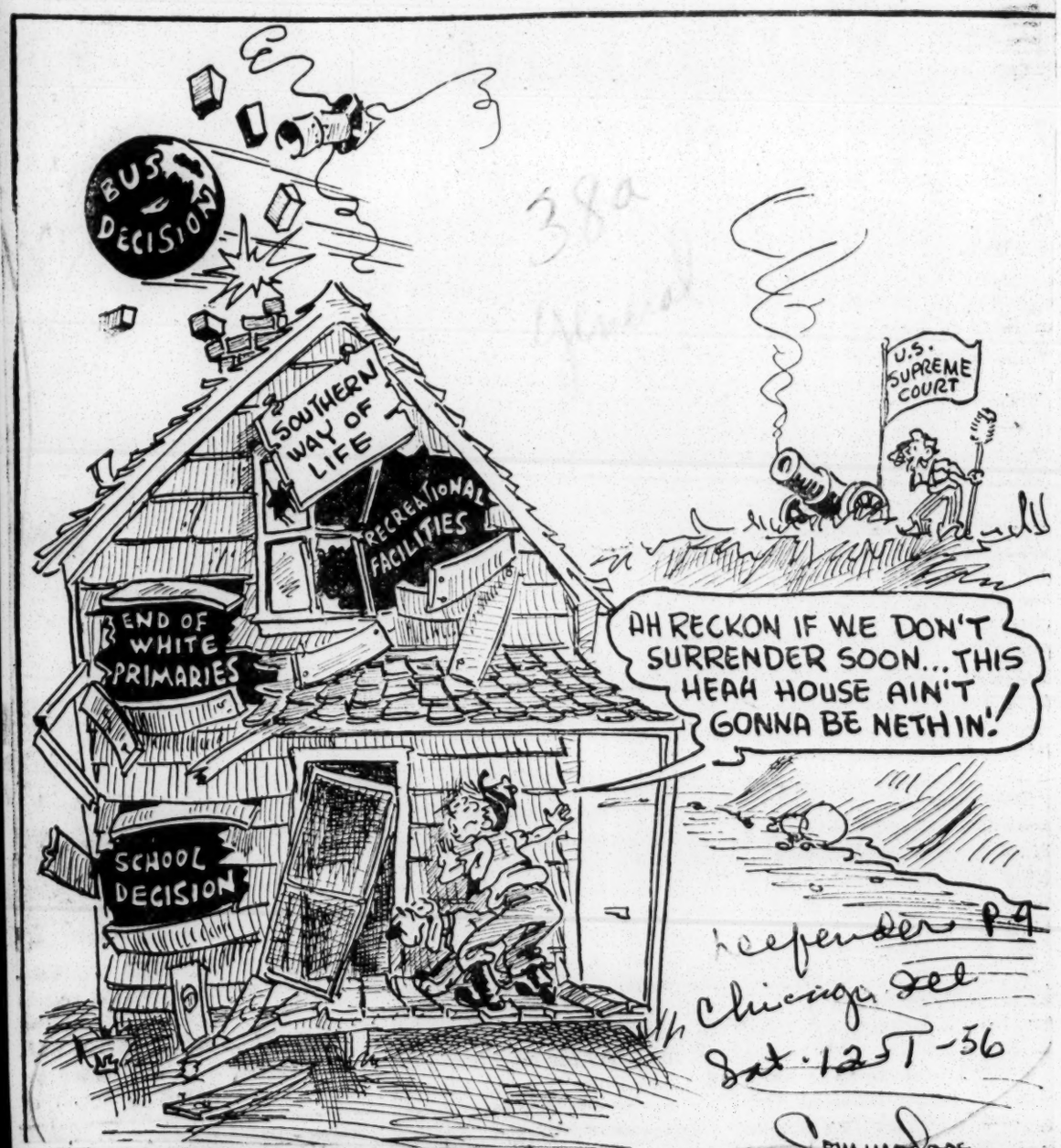


SIDNEY HOLLANDER SR.

"I don't want any privilege for myself that other people do not have . . ."

38a 1956

This Ole House



BUS CONTROVERSY SPREADS

House Unit Suggests Return To D.C. School Segregation

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Restoration of racial segregation in Washington, D.C., schools was recommended by a House subcommittee Friday while in the South the controversy over segregation on city buses was spreading to additional cities.

The report of the subcommittee, dominated by Southerners, which conducted a controversial investigation of Washington school integration last September, said the public school system in the District of Columbia has been "seriously damaged."

Signed by Chairman James C. Davis (D-Ga), and Reps. John Bell Williams (D-Miss), Woodrow W. Jones (D-NC) and Noel T. Broyhill (R-Va), the report said the evidence at the investigation "taken as a whole, points to a definite impairment of educational opportunities for members of both Negro and white races, as a result of integration, with little prospect of remedy in the future."

When integration of Washington schools was started in September 1954 President Eisenhower expressed hope it would become a model for the nation. But it is not a model, the majority report said, and "cannot be copied by those who seek an orderly and successful school operation."

The report contended that white and Negro students were mixed too abruptly and said integration has brought higher costs and "an appalling increase in disciplinary, sex and educational problems."

Two Northern Republican members of the subcommittee, Reps. Miller of Nebraska and Hyde of Maryland, rejected the recommendation to return to segregated schools as unconstitutional.

But in a joint statement they said "the facts brought to light by this invesigation seem to indicate that Negro leaders, and those actively interested in the advancement of the Negro people, have much work to do among the Negro people, and that all the difficulties atended with integration are not caused by the seemingly uncompromising attitude of the white people."

Violence over the race issue was reported in Camden, S. C. Police protection was promised a high school band director, Guy Hutchins, who said he was beaten by hooded men.

Hutchins, 52, said the attackers accused him of making a pro-integration speech. He denied it.

The Camden Hospital said a 65-year-old man was treated about a week ago for gunshot wounds he said hooded men inflicted after criticizing his personal conduct. Police would not disclose his name.

In Tallahassee, Fla., the Rev. W. W. Woods, a Negro minister, said a white woman and her teenage son were taken off a city bus by the driver after they occupied a seat behind the minister and his wife.

Woods said he and his wife took a front seat on a bus serving the all-White Florida State University and "a white woman and her boy got on the bus and took a seat behind us."

The driver got off and talked with a policeman and another man and then "said to us, 'I can't leave until you get in your rightful place.' We didn't say anything and he got off and talked to the policeman again," the minister said

Finally the driver got back on and told the "white woman, 'You get off the bus. We've got a man who'll take you,'" Woods said. The woman and her son got off and went across the street.

Bus company officials were not available for comment on the report and Police Capt. Wayne Todd said he had not heard of the incident.

An integrated bus riding demonstration by Negroes was canceled in Tallahassee Thursday. Lawsuits over validity of state and city bus segregation laws were filed but no action is expected before Monday

Meanwhile, Baton Rouge, La. and Tampa, Fla., appeared to be the next targets of efforts by Negroes to end racial separation on city transit systems.

In Baton Rouge, the Rev. T. J. Jemison, Negro Baptist minister, said the Baton Rouge Christian Movement soon will make an effort to test the city law requiring segregated seating on buses.

The announcement came after Negro leaders met with officials of the Baton Rouge Bus Co. and were told they must comply with city and state laws. City Atty. Gordo Kean has said the city plans to continue enforcing the city bus segregation ordinance.

Tampa Mayor Nick Nuccio said he is instructing the city's legal staff to "be prepared" for attempts to desegregate buses there.

The arrest of 22 Negroes headed Birmingham, Ala., bus segregation laws for a court test and Police Commissioner Robert E. Lindbergh promised a court battle every step of the way. "We are determined to stay with it (the segregation fight) until it ends," he said. "And we hope it will end peacefully. We cannot retreat."

GENERAL

Fisk Dean Cautions Races to Cooperate Or Face Destruction

The dean of Fisk University's chapel warned a Harlem congregation yesterday that the light and dark-skinned peoples of the world must advance together. Otherwise, he said, "they will both go down into pitiful destruction."

The Rev. Dr. William Lloyd Imes said that he was sorry to see the revival of the world's dark peoples occasionally taking "violent forms." But he went on to say that "sometimes I think the West has deserved it, because it has knocked down and dragged out the people of darker skins for so long." The clergyman is Visiting Dean of the Nashville school for the current academic year.

Dr. Imes preached at the Holy Cross Pro-Cathedral of the African Orthodox Church, 122 West 129th Street.

He said the world must never forget that, although Europe has been the world's "proud mistress" for the last few centuries, the torch of learning had been passed to her originally from the dark-skinned peoples of North Africa.

"Prime Minister Nehru's recent visit to this country was more than a mere courtesy call," Dr. Imes said. "He came as a representative of the world's darker people, perhaps with the hope that he could shake some sense into Western heads."

The clergyman said he could understand the violent feelings of the Arabs in the Middle East when the West had appropriated all their oil for its own uses without regard for the well-being of the natives.

The dean said the "best" people are not determined by their color, their address, their wealth, or their ancestry. "The best people are those who labor for God," he said.

PEACEFUL RESISTANCE TO SEGREGATION SEEN AS HUGE BLOW TO BIAS

Most Americans Seen In Rally To Integration

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Thurs. 12-13-56

NEW YORK — (INS) — Chester Bowles, former U. S. Ambassador to India, has predicted the majority of Americans will "ultimately" rally to end racial discrimination in the United States.

Bowles said the movement to "remove the ugly stain of racial discrimination" is gaining strength because of the Negro's use of peaceful resistance to segregation. He added:

"Evn'ally the day will come, and I do not believe it is now far distance, when American law will protect all Americans against discrimination on the basis of race, creed, or color and we may live with each other in understanding and peace."

In a speech prepared for delivery at the United Negro College Fund symposium in Nw York's Hunter college, Bowles declared that discrimination in the U. S. based on color is highly criticized in Asia and Africa.

"However, he ponted out, the "peaceful movement" by the 50,000 Negroes in Montgomry, Ala. to liminate segregation on the city bus lines "is beginning to ease this resentment and offer us a new opportunity."

The former envoy and governor of Connecticut said the tactics of "dynamic but peaceful resistance to Communism" now followed by the people of Budapest and the nonviolent anti-discrimination movement in Montgomery both symbolize the "deep seated determination of individuals" to achieve a life of dignity.

Praising the Rev Dr. Martin Luther King, who is leading the Montgomery Negro boycott against segregation on buses, and likening him to Mohandas K. Gandi, Bowles said:

"No group in America has struck a more vigorous or more effective blow against the Communist ideology during these past few years than Martin Luther King and his Montgomery associates." May their accomplishments in behalf of the dignity of man be increasingly understood and applauded throughout the world.'

Dr. King, who also took part in the symposium, "the Negro southerner speaks," declared that the Negro in the South has taken a new look at himself and is "no longer cowed by threats and intimidations.'

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, a member of the Atlanta Board of Education who was the first Negro elected to public office in the city since reconstruction, stressed that the Negro has made all his gains in the U. S. within the framework of the law.

South Feels Only Dixie Grasps Its Way of Life

Post + Times Herald
Sun. 12-16-56
Washington, D.C.

Subordination Of Negro Held Only Method for Bi-Racial Peace

By Bem Price

CHARLESTON, S. C., Dec. 15 (AP)—The South, from Virginia to Texas, focuses much of its thinking on what has come to be called "the Southern way of life."

38a

This sometimes puzzles the rest of the Nation. Boiled down, it appears to amount to this:

The white man in the South who governs the area, owns its biggest farms, runs its biggest banks and businesses, is torn between his often very genuine affection for the Negro as an individual and his belief that Negroes, as a race, should "keep their place."

In effect, this often amounts to political, economic and social subordination for the Negro. The white man explains he believes this is the only way the two races can live together harmoniously.

The Southern white man is convinced that no one outside the South really understands—or can understand—his position.

State Senator's Views

Ask State Sen. Sam Engelhardt of Macon County (86 per cent Negro) in southern Alabama to explain his conception of the Southern way of life and he says a person would have to live in the South and learn the Negro for at least a year to understand.

Is the Negro innately inferior to the white man?

"Yes," says Engelhardt.

If you educate the Negro, what are you educating him for?

"Let him have his own society," he replied. "We ought to raise him morally and economically."

Can the South maintain separate white and Negro cultures of persons of equal education without conflict?

"The vast majority of Southerners think so. There might be some conflict, but the white folks would be working hard and trying to head off that conflict."

Businessman Speaks

Ask Harold A. Petit, vice president and regional manager for the South Carolina Electric & Gas Co., at Charleston, why he stands for the Southern way of life.

"The Negro is irresponsible in every degree," he will say. "I think it is a basic trait, although other conditions—environment, economics and education—contribute to his so-called lethargy."

Asked whether the Southern way of life is not in some measure based on fear, Petit answered:

"Yes. The basic fear in mongrelization of the races. I just can't visualize a South which is predominantly mulatto."

In defending their way of life, Southerners have re-developed the doctrine of states' rights to protect white supremacy. It holds that the internal affairs of a state, including segregation and voting, should be left to the state and not be subject to Federal interference of any sort.

In no other region since the Civil War have state governments taken such steps to circumvent a high court ruling as did the Southern states in the aftermath of the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court decision holding segregation in public schools unconstitutional.

Editor's Stand

With this attitude on states' rights goes another attitude, one which permits a newspaper editor to say for publication:

"Democracy cannot and will not work indefinitely. Sooner or later in a democracy special interest groups gain control and you have oligarchy. When this occurs there is economic chaos. A strong man—a dictator—emerges, and you start all over again."

This firm belief, that not all persons are necessarily qualified to govern themselves, permits Thomas Waring, editor of the Charleston News and Courier, to say of himself and his newspaper:

"We have always taken a dim view of small 'd' democracy. We stand by an older form of government, small 'r' republicanism" (under which the vote is restricted to those deemed fit to use it).

Generally speaking, these views, not uncommon in the South underlie the widespread reluctance in the Deep South to give the Negro the vote unfettered by literacy tests, poll taxes and other restrictions.

RIGID RACE VIEWS OF SOUTH SCORED

New York Times 12-1-56

Georgian Says Diminishing of Middle Ground Can Lead to Disaster'

Sat. 12-1-56

By WILLIAM G. WEART

Special to The New York Times.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 30—The rapid disappearance of the middle ground as an approach to the race question was cited today as the South's most crucial problem by Morris B. Abram, of Atlanta.

"Much of the fire of the racial extremists is directed at the annihilation of the temperate point of view," Mr. Abram told the tenth annual conference of the National Association of Intergroup Officials.

"There is a consistent and insistent attempt to force all white Southerners into a rigid pattern of defiance of the courts and to a position of rigidity on every aspect of the race question," he declared.

Such an "inflexible approach can lead only to disaster," Mr. Abram warned. Nevertheless, he said, reasonable middle-ground leadership is becoming more and more silent under the "enormous pressures and the field is being pre-empted by the extremists."

As a result, he continued, the issue is becoming not integration versus segregation, but "force and defiance versus law and order and reason."

Mr. Abram, who served on the United States prosecution staff at the trials of Nazi war criminals in Germany, spoke in Congress Hall at the closing session of the three-day conference.

The problems of American minority citizens, civil rights and intergroup relations were considered during the meeting by some 350 delegates from all sections of the country. "Equality America's Moral Imperative' was the theme of the conference

Mr. Abram said he doubted that the courts, the legislatures, the school boards and the municipal councils could of themselves restore the middle-group approach to the racial problem in the South.

When informal institutions, such as civic vlubs, and church organizations "are silent and fail to givel eadership," he said, the formal institutions of power "are crippled and their decisions become distorted."

In urging that the informal institutions of the South be encouraged to seize and exercise their responsibility and capacity to lead, Mr. Abram said President Eisenhower could provide moral guidance along democratic lines.

"In these times the President of the United States, who is held in deep affection by the most responsible leaders of Southern society, could exert a powerful influence against the drift and chaos," he said.

Civil Rights Meeting Set For Federal Hall Stirs Fire From South

Advertiser 3/1
Montgomery, Ala.
Sun. 3-4-56

Congressmen Send Protest To President

WASHINGTON, March 3 (AP) — The General Services Administration, rejecting protests of 30 Southern congressmen, ruled today a government auditorium here could be used for a civil rights meeting beginning tomorrow.

However, the 30 Southerners, all Democrats, appealed to President Eisenhower to forbid use of the interdepartmental auditorium for a three-day national assembly on civil rights. They called the meeting "political in nature."

ANSWER LATER

The White House took no immediate position on the controversy but promised the Southerners an answer "shortly." Murray Snyder, White House press secretary said the answer would not be today.

The GSA is the government housekeeping agency with supervision over some buildings.

Rep. John Williams (D-Miss), one of the protesting congressmen, released a letter from Charles K. Ford, acting GSA regional director, which said officials were advised the meeting was not political but rather "one to discuss nonpartisan social problems."

GROUNDS QUESTIONED

It added that the Labor Department, in whose building the auditorium is located, decided use of the auditorium for the meeting was proper, "not in violation of our regulations" and that there were no grounds for canceling the meeting.

The assembly is sponsored by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the chairman of which is Roy Wilkins, head of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. The protesting Congress members said rules forbid use of a federal auditorium for a sponsored meeting.

They described the planned meeting as "a mass lobby meeting which is avowedly political in nature."

After receiving Ford's letter, Williams fired back a telegram saying that "it is quite evident that your agency is surrendering itself to the political pressures of the NAACP and its fellow traveling affiliates."

21 INDUCTED

Twenty-one students and teachers who became charter members of the seventh national scholastic society to be established on the Morgan campus heard Dr. Swisher say:

"The deep South is psychotic and sick and will not get over this condition soon."

The authority on American Constitutional law said he expects segregation to disappear from the border states, "from Maryland to Missouri in the next 20 years," but he had no such high hopes for the deep South.

He admitted, however, that segregation as a public policy is on the way out, "and has been on the way out since the 1930's in the face of consistent opinions from the Supreme Court."

Deep South Sick, Scientist Tells Students

Baltimore Sun 3/5/56

BALTIMORE — "Most white and colored people are to be congratulated for the manner in which they are conducting themselves in the midst of the disruptions and soreheadness concerning desegregating the public schools."

This opinion was expressed by Dr. Carl B. Swisher, chairman of the political science department at the Johns Hopkins university, as he spoke last Friday at Morgan State college during installation of the college's chapter of Pi Gamma Mu, national social science honor society.

NEGROES FLEE SOUTH WHILE ADLAI PREACHES "MODERATION"

Black Dispatch

While Adlai Stevenson sits in his ivory tower and talks about "moderation," around ten thousand displaced black folk are fleeing monthly from the terror-stricken sections of Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia, for which Adai mourns.

Oklahoma City, Okla.

Negroes are fleeing from their homes, firesides, and the tender recollections of their childhood, because the marble-hearted people who live in that section are determined when integration comes there will not be more black folk in Dixie than white. This is the manner in which white people have arbitrarily decided the question of democracy will be equated.

Thurs 3-1-56

"We'll terrorize and drive them out" is the final decision reached by those who consider themselves socially superior. "If the rule of the majority is to prevail, we'll take our guns, clubs and hemp rope and scare enough blacks away from the graves of their parents so that we will be numerically in the majority when we go to the polls."

Understand now, this is not the low country in Western Europe following Hitler's putsch. This is what is going on Dixie fashion, while Stevenson sheds crocodile tears about Southern traditions and the preservation of the un-American social patterns of segregation and jim crow.

A subscriber to the Tulsa Tribune has just written a letter in which he says:

> "I get sick and tired of such silly ideas as 'Let's move the Negro from places where they outnumber the whites, to places where conditions are the reverse.'"

The fellow, irrespective of his color, who argues "move 'em," unquestionably has no concept of the meaning and significance of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. He is still impressed with the idea that white people have rights not possessed by Negroes, and that majority rule must be preserved by white people, not by the ballot but by force and violence. This is one opportunity when white people may now look at themsedves, naked and bare, and realize that not only Communists believe in force and violence, but the natives of that section of the United States who voluntarily chose slavery as a domestic institution, also seek to retain their traditional mores, with terrorism, murder and slaughter, in defiance of the federal charter.

Not only Stevenson believes in "moderation," but apparently President Eisenhower believes in the same thing so far as Negroes' rights are concerned. Despite the fact Mississippians and Georgians are boldly shooting innocent Negroes down in the street and cold bloodedly denying them the right to vote, President Eisenhower has not even mentioned moving federal troops into that area. Our honest opinion is, right at this moment, if Harry Truman were in the White House, he'd stop playing golf long enough to make every living soul in Alabama and Mississippi respect the Constitution of the United States. Federal troops were moved into the South during the Whiskey Rebellion. Is it more important to protect federal taxes than to protect human life? Here is a wide open opportunity to have the South to understand and know a black man's life is just as precious as that of a white citizen, which the President seems

to be entirely overlooking.

Terrorism and murder are displacing thousands of black families from the canebrakes of Louisiana and the cottor fields of Mississippi, in order that the white man can have the type of democracy in which he believes. Equal rights do not mean the right to run for a public office if the black man is in the majority. In Mississippi, the right to vote is a prerequisite to voting, and yet no black man can vote in the county where Emmett Till was savagely murdered. At this writing candidate Harriman seems to be the only man who halfway talks like Harry Truman. A lot of folk said that Vice President Nixon was playing politics when he referred to Earl Warren as a "Republican" chief justice. We wonder what they characterize as the attitude of the president of the United States, and the other candidates for that high office, who seem a bit chary in saying anything about the seditious and disloyal conduct of mobbists and murderers who are running the state government today in Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi.

If Adlai Stevenson would borrow our eyeglasses, as he gazes at the American scene, we believe he would see the importance in advising Southerners to be more "moderate" in their treatment of the black citizen's fundamental rights. The fellow who shouts "Move 'em," today has probably not read the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, or he would understand and know that Negroes have just as much right as white people to remain on their property, vote, hold office and go to school as any white person in that section. This "Move 'em" idea is the law of the Medes and the Persians.

Coming in Sunday News—

The Negro in the North

Heavily criticized for racial segregation in the South, Southerners often assert the Negro, by and large, doesn't escape discrimination just because he crosses the Mason-Dixon Line.

The life of the Negro today in such metropolitan centers as New York, Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles still is restricted by many racial barriers, Southerners point out, even though schools and public housing projects are integrated.

And, the argument goes, some of the most notable incidents of mass racial violence have occurred not in the South, but in the North.

HOW MUCH TRUTH is there in these assertions? What do Northerners say about the problem? How does the Negro actually fare in the big Northern cities to which he is going in ever-increasing numbers? What restrictions does he experience?

Bem Price, an AP newfeatures writer who has specialized in the coverage of the segregation story since the Supreme Court's history-making dcision in 1954, has just completed a personal tour of Northern centers where the issue is said to be most acute.

He tells what he found in a special report coming up in this Sunday's Birmingham News.

HAVING STUDIED the effects of the Supreme Court ruling first-hand in the South, including moves by Citizens Councils to thwart it and steps taken by other groups to implement it, Price is well equipped to assess the position of the Negro in the North and to put into perspective the accusations and counter accusations involving his status.

Watch for this informative account in . . .

The Birmingham News

Councils continue to mushroom—

Alabama not alone in tradition fight

BY BEM PRICE, Associated Press writer

Here in the self-styled "Heart of Dixie," the time of racial crisis is now.

In the past three months sub-surface racial tensions repeatedly have broken through the thin crust of apparent peace.

Alabama, of course, is not alone in battle against any shift in the South's racial patterns.

There have been riots at the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa over the admission of a Negro woman.

In Montgomery, a Negro boycott of the public transportation system is now in its 14th week, through 99 of the movement's leaders were indicted under an old labor law.

Councils grow

THE NUMBER of strongly pro-segregation Citizens Councils has grown from about 40 to more than 60 in Alabama in the last eight weeks.

The Alabama Legislature now has pending before it a resolution to seek federal funds to transplant Negroes from the state to places outside the region where they are "needed or wanted."

This resolution is indicative of the developing pressures in the Legislature for action against those who would disturb the traditional segregation laws and customs.

The Legislature already has approved a resolution declaring ing the U. S. Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, to be "null, void and of no effect."

In that now historic decision the Supreme Court held that segregation in public schools on the rasis of race was unconstitutional.

Voices of moderation few

THE VOICES of moderation in Alabama have been few. Gov. James E. Folsom called the nullification resolution "hogwash." He also has appealed for an interracial committee to seek means of lessening racial tensions.

Another Alabama House resolution asked for an investigation to determine whether the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, is Communist controlled.

The NAACP has been the guiding hand behind the fight against segregation throughout the South.

The running fight to maintain racial barriers was not confined to Alabama during the past week.

Mississippi protests

FOR EXAMPLE, in neighboring Mississippi last week the state Legislature adopted an "interposition" resolution protesting the school ruling.

The Mississippi legislators also called on Congress to submit a constitutional amendment to the 48 states, declaring that the states alone had the right to regulate public schools.

In addition, the Mississippi House set up a $5000 library fund to acquire books on the races of mankind. The floor debate specified they should be books indicating the white man's superiority over the Negro.

Before this measure was sent to the Senate, however, Rep. Walter Phillips from Hancock County, warned that such a measure would border on "thought control." He said Hitler had advocated a master race "and paid the consequences."

Virginia is another state which has protested the court decision in a legislative resolution. Georgia has declared it to be "null, void and of no effect."

Asks NAACP ban

IN LOUISIANA the state brought action to dissolve the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People under an old anti-Ku Klux Klan law.

The suit, filed by Atty. General Fed S. LeBlanc, asked the state court's also to ban NAACP meetings.

The law under which the suit was filed requires every type of organization to file annual membership lists with the secretary of state. This, the state charged, the NAACP has failed to do for the past three years.

LeBlanc's action came after the NAACP twice had shaken Louisiana in a matter of days. Actions brought by the NAACP ended with a Federal Court ruling knocking out the state's 1954 laws designed to get around the U. S. Supreme Court ban on school segregation.

The NAACP followed this decision with a suit last Wednesday asking for integration in New Orleans public schools.

Two Alabama cases

THE TWO ALABAMA CASES which have attracted world-wide attention, of course, are those of Autherine J. Lucy, a 26-year-old Negro secretary and ex-school teacher, and the Montgomery bus boycott.

For 29 months Miss Lucy sought the right to enroll at the University of Alabama through the federal courts. She won and became the first Negro ever admitted to the 125-year-old school.

It was a short-lived victory. Riots broke out on the school's campus. The board of trustees suspended the Negro woman. She sought a contempt of court motion against 13 trustees and University officials. Federal Dist. Judge H. Hobart Grooms rejected the contempt motion, but ordered Miss Lucy returned to school by Monday.

Lucy expelled

WITHIN HOURS after that court action, the trustees met again in secret session and ordered Miss Lucy "permanently expelled" on disciplinary grounds.

The tensions developed over the Lucy case were indicated by the fact that three University officials and an Alabama Circuit Court judge testified in federal court she might be killed if she tried to return to the campus.

Further complicating the Lucy case was a damage suit by three construction workers and a truck driver for $4 million.

The four civil damage suits, filed in a State Circuit Court Friday, stemmed directly from charges made by Miss Lucy and her attorneys in the federal court action which were dropped on the day of the hearing, last Wednesday.

Montgomery boycott

THE MONTGOMERY BOYCOTT began almost immediately after the arrest Dec. 1 of a Negro woman for refusing to take a seat in the section of a bus reserved for Negroes upon orders of a bus driver.

Car pools were organized with donations from church funds. Negro taxi drivers set up regular routes. Many Negroes walked to work.

The transportation company's busines sfell off an estimated 60 per cent. Bus fares were hiked from 10 cents to 15 cents to meet the increasing deficit.

FINALLY, a Grand Jury in Montgomery, a town of 125,000 with a Negro population of 46,000, indicted 99 boycot leaders for violation of a 1921 law making it illegal for two or more people to conspire to hinder a business operation. Originally, the law was adopted as the result of a labor union dispute. Hearings on these boycott cases will be held March 19.

38a 1956

GENERAL

Don't Push Us Too Hard, Southerner Tells NAACP

Defender Sat. 3-10-56 Chicago, Ill. P. 10

NEW YORK — (INS) — Nobel Prize winning novelist William Faulkner warned "forces outside the South" Thursday to "go slow" in their efforts to force compulsory integration upon southerners.

In a "letter to the North," published in the current issue of Life magazine, the Mississippi-born novelist made it emphatic that he is against segregation.

But he advised the NAACP and "all the organizations who would compel immediate and unconditional integration":

"Go slow now. Stop now for a time, a moment. You have the power now; you can afford to withhold for a moment the use of it as a force."

Faulkner pointed out that he took a stand from the beginning that he was against the forces in his native South which would keep the Negro segregated and still maintains this view.

But he added that he is firmly against compulsory integration because of "principle. . . and because I don't think compulsion will work."

The 58-year-old author said the northerner and the liberal "does not know the South." Faulkner continued:

"He can't know it from his distance. He assumes that he is dealing with a simple legal theory and a simple moral idea. He is not. He is dealing with a fact; the fact of an emotional condition of such fierce unanimity as to scorn the fact that it is a minority and which will go to any length and against any odds at this moment to justify and, if necessary, defend that condition and its right to it."

Senators Map Dixie's Stand On Race Issue

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. Tues. 3-8-56

WASHINGTON, March 8 (AP)—A bloc of Southern senators completed action today on a policy statement dealing with the South's fight against integration.

An announcement concerning this policy is expected to be made Monday. N.Y. 3-9-56

Sen. George (D-Ga), chairman of the group, said the language of a committee report was "considerably changed" during the several hours the group worked on a final draft today.

The word "interposition," he told a reporter, does not appear in the manifesto, or policy declaration.

POWER TO REJECT

Those who support this theory contend the states have the power to reject the Supreme Court's decision calling for de-segregation in the public schools.

Referring to the language changes, George said some states have acted and others have not since the Supreme Court handed down its decision.

"We didn't want to tell the states what to do," he explained.

George said the manifesto will be signed by between 18 and 20 senators and probably by many house members.

Sen. Russell (D-Ga), chairman of a committee named to formulate a report, said "considerable revising" was done because of different views concerning the language in the report.

Russell served with Sen. Ervin (D-NC) and Stennis (D-Miss) on a committee to survey the legislative field and report back on attempts being made to avoid integration.

Norman Thomas Says U. S. Handles Race Issue Poorly

Call-Leader Kansas City, Mo. Fri. 3-9-56

ST. LOUIS.— (INS)— Norman Thomas, a six-time Socialist candidate for president, lashed out in St. Louis last week at the way the United States is handling its racial relations.

He charged that such incidents like the University of Alabama—Autherine Lucy case are defeats for America as bad as the loss of a battle.

Thomas, who addressed a dinner meeting of the Ambassadors club, observed:

"The fact that one woman is not safe going to college, despite our constitutional safe-guards, is enormously hurtful to us. White supremacy is a dangerous doctrine in a world where white people are in the minority."

He termed "regrettable" the fact that President Eisenhower has not followed up his own suggestion for a bi-partisan commission to inquire into voting in the South.

And Thomas said Adlai Stevenson, Democratic presidential aspirant, also made a good suggestion when he proposed that the chief executive call the southern governors to a White House conference. He added:

"But since this is an election year, I am afraid neither suggestion will be put into effect."

Stevenson Fears Civil War

Black Dispatch P. 6

They say it is the woman of the species who can stand on the brink of disaster and say, "I told you so." Anent that forecast, we rise to point out that Thomas L. Stokes, famed Washington commentator, last week, in his syndicated column, avers the Democratic party is disintegrating from the impact of the civil rights issue.

This was our prediction six months ago. Adlai Stevenson, the man whom the Democrats at this moment consider their outstanding candidate for the presidency, stands paralyzed before the issue, while Kefauver and Harriman stutter in trying to make an evasive statement that will be a little more subtle than Stevenson. Thurs. 3-8-56

When questioned down in California recently about the Autherine Lucy turmoil in Tuscaloosa, and whether he would call the troops to halt the incipient civil war down in Alabama, Stevenson averred:

> "I think that would be a great mistake. That is exactly what brought about the difficult Civil War, and division of the Union." Okla. City, Okla.

We are sure our good friend Adlai was completely confused in his answer to the Californians, for he imposes the idea that the North attacked the South during the civil war. Our information turns the story just the other way around. When General Beauregard started his two-day assault upon Fort Sumpter from his rendezvous in an adjoining fort, the South was attacking the central government, and not the federal government attacking the state structure. The trembling Mr. Stevenson needs to get his history straightened out before he talks any more to the American people.

Calhoun, however, and his cohorts in sedition, were talking about the same thing as Eastland when he talks about "Interposition." Lincoln thought like Daniel Webster that the Constitution is an instrument of government for a nation, and formulated by the people and not by the several states, and that the United States government is answerable to the people, and not to the states. Looks as though Adlai Stevenson wants to rely upon the John C. Calhoun theory of government, which the nation resolved in a sea of blood almost 100 years ago.

Unless Democratic candidates for the presidency can think of some other course of direct action to compel the states to observe national law, we suggest there is no need for the people to change horses in the middle of the stream. While we do not give Eisenhower credit for the anti-segregation ruling, we do know that the executive power is, and will be in his hands if he is re-elected in November. There is also the fact that he cannot succeed himself, and therefore would be beyond the wrath of Southerners, if next year he should demand the strict observance of law. It may be that in this national crisis, Eisenhower is the best bet to carry out a program of implementation, for if Stevenson were elected he would always have before him the idea of another term, and all of his acts, by reason of this coveted goal, would be colored with a political tinge.

Eisenhower has to his credit implementation of a program of desegregation in the District of Columbia, and he may, during his last term in office seek to make an enduring record in the democratic ideal. It could well be his ambition, immediately following a November triumph, to leave to posterity a reputation similar to Lincoln. Knowing this is his last term, he will not be provoked by the thoughts that would dominate Stevenson every time reaction showed up at the White House.

It is possible that, as Stokes suggests, this issue of integration may cause the Democratic party to disintegrate right before our eyes. A lot of sensible folk down in Dixie realize if integration actually comes, there are a world of current issues that will become instantly dead and that we will need a new party to carry forward the new nation, dedicated to indivisibility and equality.

The Black Dispatch suggests this is the most important idea and determination of Negro leadership should be to forget party lines just now and try, as best we can, to place the Negro vote in November behind the candidate who is most pledged to insist upon the states following the letter and the spirit of the law, with reference to integration.

Public Relations Men Told They Can Help Desegregation

Post + Times Herald Washington, D.C.
F.M. 4-6-56
P. 27

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

Public relations men were told yesterday that they could help the South toward school desegregation by establishing "two-way communications" between Negroes and whites.

A. D. Albright of the University of Kentucky College of Education, said:

"The issue has no one solution. Each community must work it out for itself. There is now a serious block to working out a harmonious solution—the lack of two-way communication.

"Neither side understands the views of the other. Public relations has the job of establishing two-way communications. And if we are really concerned in getting a basic understanding ,it can be done most efefctively in small groups. That is a public relations job — getting the small groups together."

Albright participated in a panel discussion at the 12th annual National Conference of the American Public Relations Association.

He warned against holding a mass meeting on desegregation in the South "unless you want to tear things up." He advised against taking a vote at meetings, "because that aligns the ayes and the nays across the aisle."

Miss Irene Osborne of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, another panel member, said school boards should work out desegreation plans privately, then announce them with conviction and with proper timing.

In opening the panel discussion, Robert L. Gray, of the Home Builders Association, noted: "The panel accepts the reality of the Supreme Court decision and will not discuss the merits. That would be like trying to squeeze toothpaste back into the tube."

Fourteen Silver Anvil awards for top public relations programs will be presented in a closing session tonight. Included will be the cities of Hagerstown, Md., and Wesel, Germany, for their "sister city" program; the Handwriting Foundation, Washington, D. C.; Capital Airlines, Inc., with headquarters here, and the U. S. Department of the Army.

Thirty-three certificates for outstanding programs will be awarded. Among the winners are the Hecht Co., Woodward & Lothrop, Emergency Hospital, the Equal Job Opportunity Conference, U. S. Civil Service Commission, National Association of Food Chains, National Association of Home Builders and National Lumber Manufacturers Association, all of Washington.

Other Silver Anvil awards will go to the Radio C[illegible]tion of America, General Mills, Inc., Shell Oil Co. and Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co.

South's Racial Disputes Attacked

World P. 5
Birm, Ala.
F.M. 4-6-56

ATLANTA—(U P S)—The president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce suggested Friday that the South is becoming too preoccupied with the racial question, when some of these energies might be put to other uses.

Boyd Campbell, president of a Jackson, Miss., school supply firm, said he had found no evidence that controversy over segregation has as yet affected the South's efforts to attract new industries.

But he said, disputes over the racial question "might, if not controlled," affect the South's industrial growth.

Because of a growing preoccupation with the racial question, he said, more important objectives in the South might be ignored.

Campbell criticized power politics, name-calling and weight-throwing, as factors creating dissention in the South. These tactics re being employed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he said. He added that segregation cannot be ended, or the problem solved in this manner.

The NAACP's tactics, Campbell said are "doing the Negro a great disservice."

Clergymen Ask Ike To Tour South

World P. 5
Birm, Ala.
F.M. 4-6-56

NEW YORK—(ANP)— Some 400 white and Negro clergymen have called on President Eisenhower to tour the troubled areas of the South in an attempt to case the tensions which have been built up in some states over the issue of racial segregation.

The ministers made their plea in a statement circulated by the interdenominational Fellowship of Reconciliation, headed by the Rev. John M. Swomley, Jr.

Most of the signers, pledging their support to Negro ministers who went on trial last week for leading a boycott of buses in Montgomery and direct services in churches of ministers who might be jailed.

The number of signers of the statement is increasing by more than 100 names daily, officers of the fellowship announced from its national headquarters in New York City.

"The statement was sent to only some 1600 clergymen," reported Rev. Swomley, national secretary of the group. "Our impression is that something like 90 per cent of them will have signed it by the end of this week. and half of them will be prepared to go to Montgomery. They obviously share our conviction that the non-violent campaign represents the most hopeful and significant development that has come out of this struggle so far."

In their statement, the ministers also called on the Christian church in both North and South to "repent of its own sinful practice of segregation," and urged President Eisenhower to exercise the "special responsibility" they assert rests on him.

Calling the President the "recognized spokesman of the 'free world!" the group called on him to "speak out against segregation in every form" and to "consider personally going to Alabama and Mississippi" on a mission of peace and good will.

The ministers' statement began with the assertion that "we rejoice in the leadership our brother pastors in Montgomery, Alabama are giving to the non-violent campaign for racial brotherhood." It is fitting that such leadership should come from those whose Master was a living demonstration of unarmed love and brotherhood."

The list of clergymen who signed the statement include some of the country's outstanding religious leaders.

Negro Leader Says President 'Too Slow' On Desegregation

Advertiser Thurs. 4-5-56
Montgomery, Ala.

NEW YORK, April 4 (AP)—A Negro leader said tonight that President Eisenhower is going in the right direction on racial integration—but too slowly.

"I think Mr. Truman would have been very much more forthright and direct in this matter," declared Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

P. 5-A

On a panel interview over the city-owned radio station, WNYC, Wilkins was asked if he was satisfied with Eisenhower's efforts in behalf of integration.

"I couldn't say that I'm satisfied with it," he replied. "But I am satisfied that the President is going in the right direction. These things are tinged with politics or political expediency. Mr. Eisenhower, I believe, wants to do the right thing—he wants to enforce the Supreme Court opinion. He has said repeatedly that it is the law of the land.

"Where I find fault is that so little of the prestige and so little of the machinery available to the White House . . . has been brought to bear to influence public opinion on this matter and to secure speedier compliance."

Wilkins was asked if, in his opinion, things would be better under a Democratic administration.

EXCEPT TRUMAN

"I'm not able to say," Wilkins responded. "I feel Mr. Eisenhower is doing as well as any other occupant of the White House would have done, whether Democrat or Republican, except, perhaps, for Harry S. Truman."

As for Adlai E. Stevenson's proposal for gradualism in desegregation, Wilkins said of the Democratic candidate for the presidential nomination:

"Mr. Stevenson made an unfortunate remark in California in using the world 'gradual.' It has a bad connotation, because 'gradual,' for some Negroes means 'never,' or so slowly as to be 'never.' I feel Mr. Stevenson did not mean that, but didn't know when he said it that it would have the overtones it did."

Davis Warns South Will Stand Firm

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.
Mon. 5-7-56

WASHINGTON, May 6 (AP)—Rep. Davis (D-Ga) said today the South is applying political pressure in behalf of racial segregation and cited last Tuesday's Alabama primary as an example.

P. 24

Appearing with Rep. Keating (R-NY) in a debate on NBC-TV "American Forum", Davis said the Alabama outcome "demonstrates that there is a firm intention on the part of the people of the South to retain our present way of life."

The segregation question was the prime issue in Alabama's Democratic primary and was a factor in the defeat of Gov. James E. Folsom for national committeeman.

After denying accusations by critics that he is "soft" on the racial issue, Folsom was beaten handily by state Rep. Charles W. McKay, an outspoken segregationist.

Davis, who did not elaborate on the Alabama situation, said leaders of both parties "are trying to outbid each other for the colored vote."

This statement was quickly challenged by Keating, the House sponsor of the civil rights proposals of the Eisenhower administration.

WASHINGTON BACKGROUND

Parties Face Problems On Racial Integration

Inquirer p. 4
Philadelphia, Pa.
Sat. 2-11-56

By JOHN C. O'BRIEN
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10.

BOTH major political parties will be bidding fiercely this fall for the millions of Negro votes concentrated in the big Northern States. In several of these States the Negro vote may spell the difference between victory and defeat for the rival Presidential candidates.

The Negro voters, lured by the New Deal into the Democratic Party, are no longer anybody's property. Thoroughly aroused over the racial integration issue they will be throwing their support to the party whose candidate and platform promises the most in the direction of implementation of the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision.

For aspirants for the Presidential nominations, however, taking a stand on the racial integration issue cannot wait until the national conventions. Whether or not they win the nominations of their parties may depend, in large measure, on the position they take. In his quest for convention support the candidate or each party must weigh the risk of offending the powerful Negro minority in the North against the possibility of alienating the support of the convention delegates from the South.

* * *

NEVER since the Civil War has the South been so stirred up over the Negro question as it is right now. Many of the Southern States are sternly resisting efforts to wipe out segregation in the public schools.

A candidate for the Presidential nomination of either party who comes out for extreme measures to force implementation of the Supreme Court decision probably would find the delegates from the Southern States lined up solidly against him on the convention floor.

On the other hand, a candidate whose views on integration fall too short of the demands of the Negro voters of the North might lose the support of delegates from the Northern States who regard the support of such voters essential to the success of their tickets in the fall election.

Of course, no candidate for the Presidential nomination in either party is going to espouse the extreme Southern view that the decision of the Supreme Court may be flouted. The candidate's problem will be to find—if it can be found—a median line acceptable to all but the extremists on both sides of the issue.

* * *

UP TILL now, Adlai E. Stevenson, the front-running candidate for the Democratic nomination, and President Eisenhower, who may or may not be the Republican candidate, have taken positions on the integration problem that are in some respects not dissimilar.

Both have opposed the Powell Amendment to the Federal-Aid-for-Schools Bill, which would deny States which refused to integrate their schools Federal money for school construction.

Both have advocated a gradual approach to the implementation of the Supreme Court decision. At a recent news conference, Mr. Eisenhower pointed out that the Supreme Court, in reaching its decision, provided specifically that there be gradual implementation and entrusted enforcement of the decision to the United States District Courts.

When he was asked if he believed the Federal Government should intervene in Alabama, where a Negro student has been suspended because of campus rioting over her admission to the State university, the President said he would certainly hope to avoid any Federal interference as long as the State authorities were trying to straighten out the situation.

* * *

DURING his campaigning in California, Stevenson has been saying much the same thing. He told a group of Negro leaders in Los Angeles:

"We have to proceed gradually in these matters, not with troops or bayonets. You do not upset the tradition of generations overnight. To use force would be a great mistake. It would be a revival of the Civil War. It's the spirit of men that will change things for the better.

"I hope very much the North and the South can live together. That's the kind of America I believe in. I don't believe in a Balkanized America. I'll do everything to bring about unity."

This is the kind of a position that would not alienate Southern States delegates from Mr. Stevenson in the convention. Yet, when it was suggested that he might be trying to appease the South, Stevenson entered a firm denial. He said he wasn't trying to appease anybody.

But some Negro leaders of California, which has a Negro population of about 500,000, were reported to be leaning toward Sen. Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.), who apparently told them he favored speedier enforcement of the anti-segregation decision.

The final position of the two parties on the segregation issue, however, will not be written until the platform committees meet. And the job won't be easy.

Ministers Lead The Way In Desegregation Effort

Journal & Guide p. 1 Sat. 3-24-56
Norfolk, Va.

By STAFF WRITERS

NORFOLK — The nation's ministers are giving their full in spiritual support for the efforts of the nation's 15 million Negroes in their efforts to gain full citizenship.

News reports from Guide writers from all parts of the nation show Men of Cloth stepping into the forefront of the fight and making their presence felt. Some of the stories, in brief, follow:

★ Urges Negro Police For Birmingham

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — A minister has urged the Birmingham City Commission to employ Negro policemen to help "cement good faith and establish better relations."

The Rev. George Rudolph, in a letter to commissioners last week, called attention to other southern cities that effectively use Negro policemen.

Birmingham is the only major city in the South where Negroes have been barred from jobs on the police force.

★ Exchange Places To Show Unified Stands

NEW YORK — White and Negro members of two Presbyterian churches in New York exchanged places Sunday for religious services in a demonstration of racial desegregation.

More than 100 white members of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church intermingled with Negro members of the Church of the Master. At the same time, the Harlem church sent an equal number of its congregation to the white church.

The Rev. David H. C. Read, former chaplain of Queen Elizabeth in Scotland, preached to the mixed congregation in his own church. At the Church of the Master, the Rev. James Robinson, preached the sermon.

★ Ministers See New Boycott In Making

NEW ORLEANS — More than 1,000 Negroes staged a fund-raising meeting in New Orleans Sunday in support of the Montgomery bus boycott and threatened a similar anti-segregation demonstration.

Speaking at the Union Bethel AME Church, the Rev. A. L. Davis Jr., president of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance warned that the Montgomery boycott may spread to New Orleans. He declared:

* * *

"I'VE BEEN tired a long time of having to sit in the back of our buses."

The Rev. Morris Burrell, chairman of the meeting, told the group: "Those people in Montgomery are making a death struggle for us, even though we do not feel the immediate brunt of hardship those people are going through. It may well be us tomorrow."

The two ministers called for an organization of 100,000 Negroes to help fight segregation on the city's buses and in hotels.

General

★ "We'll All Go To Prison Together"

CLEVELAND, Ohio — "Perhaps you've heard that Negroes will not stick together. Well, if you hear it again remember Montgomery, Ala."

This was the admonition given here last week by one of the 24 ministers indicted in Montgomery in February for their participation in a mass Negro protest against discrimination on Montgomery city buses.

* * *

ADDRESSING a crowd of 2-100 persons at a prayer-protest rally, sponsored by the Cleveland NAACP, the Rev. L. Roy Bennett recounted that "we decided to go to jail together instead of one by one." A total of $3,301.64 was donated by the audience to aid the Montgomery group in its fight against segregation and to help in the legal defense of those arrested there.

★ Volunteer To Take Montgomery Pulpits

NEW YORK—The Fellowship of Reconciliation said Sunday that more than 200 white and Negro clergymen have expressed willingness to go to Montgomery, Ala., and take the pulpits of 25 Negro clerics facing bus boycott charges.

The Fellowship group, in a statement said more than 400 ministers throughout the nation responded to an appeal for support of the non-violent campaign against segregation on Montgomery's buses.

It said more than 200 of these volunteered to fill the pulpits of any clerics who may be jailed.

Opposing integration—

Senators huddle over segregation

WASHINGTON, March 8—(AP)—Southern senators held their second segregation seminar today, reportedly to receive a committee's views on what action they might take to help their section's fight against racial integration.

The meeting in the office of Sen. George was a follow-up to a similar session held Feb. 7. At that conference, Sens. Ervin (D., N. C.), Russell (D., Ga.) and Stennis (D., Miss.) were designated as a committee to survey the legislative field and report back on attempts being made to avoid integration.

ERVIN HAS said the committee's assignment was not limited to the question of the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in schools and might involve a statement condemning a wide span of decisions by the high tribunal.

In advance of the second meeting, Sen. Robertson (D., Va.) said it was his understanding the three-man committee would deliver its report.

One items the report might involve is approval of the theory of interposition. Supports of this contend the states have the power to reject the Supreme Court's school decision and refuse to enforce it within their boundaries.

A few Southern state legislatures have adopted or are working on various forms of such a declaration.

Vote-restricting law backfires in Louisiana

MINDEN, La., March 8—(AP)—A carefully-planned Louisiana law, designed to restrict Negro voting, is backfiring on pro-white forces in this segregation stronghold.

The statute requires that all prospective voters be able to read any clause of the U. S. Constitution and "give a reasonable interpretation thereof."

Mrs. Winnice P. Clement, Webster Parish (county) registrar of voters, said since she received a mandate to enforce the law, about two dozen prosepctive white voters have flunked their tests, while only two Negroes failed to make the grade on technicalities.

Mrs. Clement, who has held the registrar's post for 16 years, said last night she considered the law made for all—whites and Negroes alike.

"They want Negroes to interpret the Constitution," she said. "That's all right and it's the law. But if the Negroes have to do it, so do the white people. That's only being fair."

She said more Negroes have registered this year than ever before.

But, she quickly added, "So did more white people.

Speedy hearing asked on school admissions

SHREVEPORT, La., March 8—(AP)—Attorneys for 19 Negroes seeking admission to Northwestern State College asked for a "speedy hearing" on a request for a temporary federal injunction restraining the school from using race as an entrance barrier.

The new move yesterday asks the court for a three-judge tribunal, issuance of a temporary restraining injunction, a swift hearing and a permanent injunction against Northwestern.

The original suit was filed last April 25, but A. P. Tureaud Sr., of New Orleans, one of the group's attorneys, asked that the action be deferred.

The complaint now names college President John S. Kyser instead of H. Lee Prather, president at the time of the original suit.

The suit also names as defendants Registrar O. R. Crew and the State Board of Education.

Southern Manifesto

It is regrettable that at a time when our Nation is involved in so many delicate international situations demanding the concentrated thoughts and efforts of every citizen to help keep the world on even keel, it should be torn with racial strife and misunderstanding and that persons who, because of their official position, should be expected to show the way to peace are themselves becoming a problem.

Those who were consoling themselves that some ugly spots on the body politic were caused by the irresponsible, who love nothing better than confusion, were shocked when 96 Congressmen, lawmakers for the Nation, came forward with a segregation manifesto which placed them in the vanguard of the troublemakers. Their stand seriously complicates the efforts of sympathetic people in every community, and their attack upon the Supreme Court and their defiance of the decision which it declared add nothing to their stature.

Even a lay citizen should know that to claim protection under the law, he must obey the law. However unjust the law is, he complies with it wherever he can, and protests it and works for its change where he cannot comply with it. And his willingness to comply is proof of his "good intentions" to obey it. These Congressmen show no proof even of good intentions, but publicly denounce the Court and proclaim in a manifesto their intention to defy this law.

I wonder if these Congressmen would advocate their course as a law-abiding course, to American citizens and say to them "disobey the laws which you do not like and seek by every lawful means to reverse them," or would they say that our right of protest is inherent in our obedience to the law? If this latter is true, then the first step for them is to encourage the communities which are trying to obey the law.

The second step is to take themselves in hand and say to themselves "this is the law; I do not like it, but as a law-abiding citizen I must obey it; but at the same time, I will use my legal right to have it changed."

If equal opportunity is the right and privilege of every citizen of a democracy to enjoy the full fruits of that democracy and share its responsibilities, and if education is the instrument by which citizens become proficient in the right and privilege, then the best education should be offered to each citizen without any disabling factors. They do not deny this.

If the maltreatment of second-class citizens is the United States' most crippling handicap in its opportunity for world leadership, then this should be remedied. They do not deny this.

Segregated education with all of its concomitants causes a psychological injury to the segregated which only integrated education can heal. They seem to take these things for granted and do not deny that they should be remedied. But because the Supreme Court has usurped power—"substituted naked force," in declaring segregation unconstitutional in the states, they will repudiate the Supreme Court, and continue segregation, regardless.

In support of their contention that the state alone has jurisdiction in this area, they cite Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania which, "exercising their rights as states through the constitutional processes of local governments, changed their school systems."

This observation creates the opening for which they are sparring. Why do they not follow suit and move in, especially since the Supreme Court has declared the way? I earnestly pray that these men will not push their contention any further. This is no time for national leaders to give any encouragement to the enemies of progress, justice and national unity. A house divided within itself cannot stand.

COLBERT H. PEARSON,
Minister, Berean Baptist Church
Washington.

IT'S COME HOME

Passive Resistance Dates Back To Thoreau's Idea

By RAYMOND J. CROWLEY

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (AP) — A Yankee mystic sat in a do-it-yourself shack near a Massachusetts pond and thought about "injustice" in government.

That was 110 years ago, but today the remedy he proposed has become a rallying cry in the South's monumental struggle over race segregation.

The man was Henry Thoreau and his remedy was passive resistance, or "civil disobedience" as he called it.

In the past 110 years the idea has traveled around the globe—helping topple the British in India as it went—and now it has come home to America.

Negroes refuse to ride segregated buses in Montomery, Ala., cradle of the Confederacy. Their leaders, indicted on charges of illegal boycott, call for continued "passive resistance." In New York, a group of Negro clergymen urge a one-hour work stoppage of all the nation's Negroes March 28 as a sign of sympathy.

On the other hand, opponents of the Supreme Court's order against school segregation call for "massive resistance." They do not trace their doctrine to Thoreau, claiming instead that it stems from ideas expounded by the founding fathers. But in essence, it seems akin to "passive resistance" — refusal to go along when the government is considered wrong.

Thoreau was a rural philosopher in the little town of Concord, Mass. A master prose writer, naturalist and rebel against the demands of organized society, he wanted to be left alone to engage in mystic communion with nature.

He built a cabin with his own hands on the shores of Walden Pond near Concord. The cost, as itemized in his book Walden, was $28.12½ cents — not counting the lot, which he borrowed from Ralph Waldo Emerson. He lived there two years and two months, cultivating nature, his garden and himself.

But organized society did not leave him alone. A foe of slavery and the Mexican War, he had decided to protest those "evils" to a representative of government, the tax gatherer. He refused to pay his Massachusetts poll tax.

One day in 1846, when he went into Concord to get a mended shoe from the cobbler's, he was arrested and clapped into jail. He spent one night there, conversing with an alleged barn-burner. The next day, much to his chagrin, an aunt paid his poll tax and he was released.

He thought it over, and the result was the famous essay on "Civil disobedience." Its central theme is that if the government is wrong, the least a man can do is refuse to cooperate with it.

"It is not a man's duty, as a matter of course," he wrote, "to devote himself to the eradication of any, even the most enormous, wrong; he may still properly have other concerns to engage him; but it is his duty, at least, to wash his hands of it, and, if he gives it no thought longer, not to give it practically his support."

And again:

"Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison."

Years later Mohandas KI. Gandhi of India used Thoreau's essay as a text for his campaign of nonviolent opposition to British rule. Boycotts of government service, the law courts, government schools and foreign goods marked the movement — which sometimes led to violence. Gandhi was repeatedly jailed but eventually the independence drive, of which he was one symbol, succeeded.

What Thoreau would say about all this—and about the current struggle in the South—cannot be known with certainty. But it is pretty sure that he would join neither the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People nor the white Citizens' Councils.

He was always an individualist, never a joiner. He had appointed himself inspector of rainstorms and snowstorms in Concord, and that job kept him busy.

As Four Governors Feebly Uphold Segregation

Engineer p. 8

There is painful contrast between the actions of one Southern Governor, Frank G. Clement of Tennessee, on the issue of race segregation in the public schools, and those of the Governors of Virginia, Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina.

Faced by a mob of segregationists, Governor Clement rejected their demands that he call a special session of the Legislature to nullify the Supreme Court's integration decree.

Philadelphia Pa.

But the other four, Governors George Bell Timmerman, Jr., Thomas B. Stanley, Marvin Griffin and J. P. Coleman, needed no extremists to prod them into defiance of the Supreme Court. They agreed on a program aimed at preserving separate schools for whites and Negroes.

Times 1-26-56

They would do this by pressing resolutions of "interposition" in the various State Legislatures, by attempting to gain Congressional aid, and by "other appropriate legal measures."

Interposition by the States on the segregation question would constitute an effort to proclaim the Supreme Court ruling invalid.

The hoped-for assistance from Congress might take the form of a resolution holding that a Constitutional amendment is required to force racial integration in the public schools.

The "other appropriate measures" referred to will doubtless include proposals such as that already advanced in Virginia to make State tuition funds available for private schools.

That the courses recommended by the four Governors come perilously close to outright nullification of the law of the land is obvious. So is their impracticality.

The States can "interpose" until their officials are exhausted, but that will not alter or abolish the declared law. Getting Congress to agree that the Supreme Court performed a lawless act in banning segregation in the public schools, and then backing an unneeded constitutional amendment, would not be easy.

So far as the private school tuition plan is concerned, that is destined to run into all sorts of difficulties, of a practical as well as a legal nature, before it gets very far.

Governor Clement not only displayed courage in his encounter with the segregationists, but he refused to turn away from facts and realities. His was the course of leadership and it is too bad the other Governors did not take it also, instead of uttering their childish defiances.

Says South Will Bow To 'Rights'

Defender Sat. 3-24-56

Chicago, Ill.

NEW YORK — (ANP) — The New York Times said last week that its survey of compliance with the Supreme Court's desegregation decision shows that school integration "seems inevitable in most Southern states — perhaps in all."

P. 4

The newspaper said that it is the over-all impression" gained by 10 of its reporters who spent five weeks investigating the progress of Negro-white school integration in 17 states and the District of Columbia.

Results of the Times survey were published in a special eight-page section last Tuesday under the heading "Report on the South: The Integration Issue."

DISAVOW VIOLENCE

In general, the survey revealed that most white southerners want to deal with the problem of integration by legal means.

"They usually disavow violence and are afraid of it, although there still may be sporadic outbreaks," the Times said.

"Generally white southerners seem more troubled, confused and resentful than rebellious. They are troubled by the demand that they make a radical change in their settled and preferred social patterns. . ."

The confusion has led the southerners to resist the change by various devices to nullify, delay or moderate the impact of desegregation, the newspaper said.

Time reporters found that where the ratio of Negro population to white is low integration is proceeding; where it is high there is resistance.

SOME RESENTFUL

Southern Negroes likeswise were found to be troubled and sometimes resentful.

"In the main," Times said, "they want the rights vouchsafed to them by the highest court in the land. In some cases hesitantly, in others resolutely, they are demanding the admission of their children to mixed schools."

The survey catalogued the southern areas as follows:

Integrating — District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia.

Divided or delaying — Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas.

Resisting — Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia.

Ellender Cautions South On Reconstruction Peril

Evening Star p. 4-A

Washington, D.C.

A Southern Senator cautioned his people last night to avoid any show of violence in resisting school integration lest they invite a return of "reconstruction" government and rule by "carpetbaggers."

Sun. 3-18-56

Senator Ellender, Democrat of Louisiana, told a Louisiana radio audience in an address recorded in Washington that he and other congressional signers of last Sunday's "manifesto" against integration are committed to resistance by "any lawful means."

Defiance of South Likened to Wet Stand in '20s. Page A-27

Southern Writer Finds "You Can't Go Home Again." Page A-27

He added:

"What the South must avoid at all costs is violence, lawlessness, hatred and bloodshed. The outside agitators who seek the subjugation of both the white and Negro races in the South are hovering like greedy vultures for the time when racial antagonisms led to chaos, the breakdown of governmental authority, and general lawlessness.

Fear of Force

"If this condition should occur, then I fear they will not hesitate to press for the use of force. If this should occur, then all our people could look forward to construction regimes which would be a repetition of the rebrought the South only oppression and self-seeking exploitation."

In "our fight to maintain the basic principles of our Federal, Constitutional system," Senator Ellender said, "we must not open our gates to an invasion of our States by a new and even hungrier breed of carpetbaggers."

Carpetbaggers were Northern politicians who invaded the South after the Civil War.

Sober Warning

By the Supreme Court decision calling for desegregation of the public schools, Senator Ellender said, "nine men have made it possible for 165 million Americans to be made subject to a new and powerful kind of despotism."

The "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" signed by the Southern Congressmen, he said, "is a sober warning" to the American people that the Supreme Court "has laid the foundation for what may yet prove to be a complete destruction of our Constitutional system of checks and balances."

"We have served notice that the people of the South, both white and Negro, are not going to be used as either whipping boys or political pawns in order to fulfill the Supreme Court's new doctrine of sociological justice," Senator Ellender declared.

Voice Of The People

News P. 14

Time To Examine Racial Conditions

Birm. Ala. 3-7-56

In attempting to orient ourselves and determine conduct amid the confusion of the present crisis it may be not amiss to examine briefly and to compare the conflicting viewpoints from which the North—and perhaps the world in general—and the South consider present racial conditions in the South. To be of real service this examination must be undertaken in an impartial spirit, thinking with the mind rather than the emotions and remembering that there may be some truth and virtue in both positions.

Briefly, the position of the North—and perhaps the world in general—is that the Negro is being deprived of rights guaranteed him by the Constitution and that this injustice must be corrected pronto.

Speaking generally the Southern position is a feeling of friendship and kindly regard for the Negro. He is with us in large numbers, good-natured and carefree, happy-go-lucky and easy to get along with when not swayed by extraneous influences. Under the 1896 decision he has made phenomenal progress both in education and in the assumption of civil rights. His schools are progressively becoming better, he is voting in increasing numbers, his influence in the political arena is far from negligible. In brief it is indeed a far cry from the servile, too humble Negro of 1870 to the independent, upstanding urban Negro of today and the Southern idea is that this progress should continue gradually as in the past and that it is to the best interest of both races that segregation be maintained at least for the foreseeable future.

There is a large element of truth in both these positions. The Negro and his forebears have been discriminated against since their arrival in this country 300 years ago and is in fact even now being discriminated against all over the world except perhaps in Liberia. It may be assumed as an indisputable general fact that the Negro and all other backward races have ever been discriminated against under the domination of the white race. Leaving, therefore, the Negro republic out of consideration, the condition of the Negro is better in the U. S.—and that includes the South—than anywhere else in the world. Indeed it is a question whether his condition is not better here in the South than in some of the great industrial cities of the North. He has his own schools—which were confessedly of very poor quality at first but which are rapidly being improved—his own teachers, his own lawyers and physicians, some hospitals of his own though more are needed and, of course, the Negro forms a large part of the clientele of other hospitals. Much improvement

is still needed in housing though that also is on the upgrade. And the great majority of Negroes, if left free from outside prodding, have little or no desire to mix with the whites in schools or socially. All they ask is complete equality civilly and politically and all this was in process of gradual attainment even before the Supreme Court decision of 1954. But it will require some time, these much desired ends cannot be attained overnight and human nature being what it is there is much danger of the present agitation causing calamitous deterioration in racial relations.

But however events may shape out, it behooves us all, black and white, to conduct ourselves as mature and reasonable children of the Most High God. As professed Christians let us use those qualities enjoined by the Christ. It is said that you may bolster any proposition by a quotation from the Bible, but forget the Old Testament, live by and apply the teachings of Jesus. Quoting Matthew 22-36 "Master, which is the great commandment in the law?" Jesus said unto him, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." Who is my neighbor?

J. MELANCON,
4235 Fifth Avenue, South.

Declaration Of Treason

Defender P. 9

Ninety-six members of the Congress of the United States have signed a manifesto calling for a reversal of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools. Sat. 3-24-56

By so doing, they have irrevocably pledged themselves to the overthrow of the highest judicial body in the land. This, as we see it, is the same as advocation of the overthrow of the government by violence, if necessary, and that is treason.

According to their spokesmen, the manifesto was re-worded several times so as not to reflect the bitterness of most of its signers. Nevertheless, hate was the guiding spirit behind the framing of the document. Chicago, Ill.

A restrained statement of a basically immoral belief and intention does not in any way alter it. It is un-American no matter what language it is couched in.

We do not recall reading in our history books about any outburst from the South when the Supreme Court ennunciated the separate but equal theory. None of the legal, judicial, or legislative minds of the South at that time called it an invasion of state's rights or sociological spoutings of the justices.

It is strange that the court, now existing in the climate of a new and brighter day in human relations, should be condemned.

These signers no longer have any usefulness as legislators. They are admittedly so blind with racial prejudice and hatred that they cannot consider any proposed piece of legislation with the balance required of a law maker.

While it is too much to expect that they would be ousted from Congress because of their un-American views, or at least stripped of their powers, it is certain that they cannot command respect in any other legislative body in the world.

The brazen announcement of their traitorous intentions is a reflection upon Congress as a whole and a blow to American prestige.

Open Season?

Defender Sat. 3-24-56 Chicago, Ill. P. 9

Eastland, McCarthy Flay Top Court Sedition Ruling

Constitution Sat. 5-12-56 Atlanta, Ga. P. 2

WASHINGTON, May 11 (AP)—The Supreme Court came under sharp attack at a Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearing today for its ruling that the federal government has sole jurisdiction in sedition cases.

The decision, handed down April 2, had the effect of upsetting state laws against subversion.

Sens. Eastland (D-Miss) and McCarthy (R-Wis) criticized the Supreme Court as "politicians instead of lawyers." McCarthy said, "They don't understand what they are doing."

ASSAILS WARREN

McCarthy singled out Chief Justice Earl Warren for attack, saying:

"We made a mistake in confirming as chief justice a man who had no judicial experience and very little legal experience . . . His only experience is as a politician."

Eastland, who has denounced the court repeatedly for its ruling against segregation in the public schools, commented that 'there are some very bad influences in the Supreme Court," and McCarthy said:

"It's not that they are knowingly helping the Communist cause. It's just that they don't understand what they are doing. They don't understand the function of the court . . . They apparently feel the court should make laws and not interpret them."

WOULD NULLIFY RULING

Eastland presided as subcommittee chairman and McCarthy appeared as a witness for legislation which would nullify the effect of the court's April 2 decision, which was to suspend sedition laws in 42 states, Alaska and Hawaii.

In its 6-3 decision, the court set aside the conviction of Communist leader Steve Nelson, who had been prosecuted under a Pennsylvania sedition law. The court held Congress intended to give the federal government sole jurisdiction in such cases when it passed the Smith Act and other laws.

"The fact of the matter is," McCarthy said today, "that Congress had explicitly declared its intent to the contrary."

McCarthy and Sen. Bridges (R-NH), who also testified, have offered bills restoring to the states the power to prosecute under their own sedition laws.

Desegregation

Judge Hamstrings Integration Foes

GREENSBORO, N. C.—Segregation received a good legal kick in the pants here when Federal Judge J. Hayes ruled that the county education boards of this state are, in fact, state boards. The ruling nipped in the bud plans to keep de-segregation in the courts by forcing Negroes to fight each local board, individually.

Courier P.2* Sat. 4-14-56

Council's Plea Goes for Naught

CORPUS CHRISTI, Tex.—With only one municipal swimming pool in town, the local White Citizens Council has asked the city's Park and Recreation Board to build a "separate-but-equal" pool for the city's Negro population. After hearing the petition the board voted unanimously to open the city's only pool to Negroes on an unsegregated basis.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

SSN Claims Segregation Gaining

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—The Southern School News, self-termed "non-partisan" monthly publication published by the Southern Education Reporting Service, claims that opposition to integration in the South's schools is spreading. Negro publisher P. B. Young of Norfolk, Va., recently quit the organization in protest against its editorial policies.

38a General

* * *

Ohio Town Keeps Jim-Crow School

HILLSBORO, Ohio—Negro children, attempting to enroll at the Webster-Washington Elementary School here, were turned down by Principal Harold Henry. The City Solicitor, James Hapner, told the mothers of fourteen children that the board had received no official word of the Supreme Court decision which upheld integration in Hillsboro's schools.

* * *

Chattanooga Wary of Integration

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn.—The Chattanooga School Board has announced there will be no integration in local schools for at least five years. The board asserted, "We are firmly convinced that any measure of integration within the foreseeable future would do the community irreparable damage."

* * *

Louisiana NAACP Keeps On Fighting

NEW ORLEANS, La.—Federal Judge J. Skelly Wright has referred the NAACP to the State Supreme Court in the latter's fight against prosecution by the State of Louisiana. Louisiana is seeking to stop the NAACP from functioning in the state.

* * *

Hot Springs Embraces 'Gradualism'

HOT SPRINGS, Ark.—A 28-member special advisory committee has recommended an immediate start on a program of gradually integrating local schools. The group includes five Negro members.

GENERAL

Dixie: The Democrats' Dilemma

Courier P.9 Sat. 3-10-56

With the lines now definitely drawn for the 1956 Presidential election and the Republicans strengthened by an almost unbeatable candidate, the embattled Democrats find themselves confronted by the dilemma of Dixie.

Shall they, in search of every possible vote, make another bid for the Negro's favor with a weasel-worded civil rights plank (and thus alienate the almost-solid Southern Democrat vote), or shall they kowtow to the Dixiecrat-White Council ferment to wean back the allegiance lost and almost-lost to Eisenhower in 1952?

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Occurrences in Mississippi, Alabama and other areas in the past year (which have shocked not only the United States but the entire civilized world) have alienated many Democrats outside the South who will certainly be dissatisfied with anything less than a forthright party position on implementation of civil rights and obedience to the dictates of the U. S. Supreme Court.

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Failure to write a strong civil rights plank will, additionally, lose the Democrats the decisive Negro vote which gave the Democrats control of the Congress in 1954, and upon which the powerful Democrat party city machines outside the South depend.

General

Already the Negro Democrat leaders are in panic because of the revolt of their followers against the current Southern savagery, which is wholeheartedly supported by loud-mouthed and vindictive white Southern political leaders of their party, and these boss Negro Democrats and their white superiors anticipate a break-up of the hitherto solid ranks of their followers.

Moreover, even if the Democrats do write a tongue-in-cheek civil rights plank in the party platform, how many Democrat Negro voters (and their liberal white associates) will credit its sincerity?

Having sampled the fleshpots of Congressional control with all of its benefits such as committee chairmanships, many Southern Democrats are loath to imperil their position by backing another Dixiecrat ticket as many did in 1948; but they rightly fear that agitation of the Southern lunatic fringe may force them to do so or risk defeat.

Northern Democrats realize full well that even at best the task of defeating the Republicans led by President Eisenhower will be most difficult, if not impossible, but they know even better that they simply cannot win without the support of the jim-crow South.

So, from now on, the adherents of the Donkey party are going to spend many sleepless nights and worrisome days trying to figure out what to do and say to hold both the White Council and the Negro vote without which they cannot win.

Former President Truman has said that the Democrats can win without the Dixiecrat vote, but this is simply whistling in the dark because he knows that more of the South than the four states that voted Dixiecrat in 1948 is involved and that, in addition, the Negro Democrats are about to wave the Stevensons, Sparkmans, Kefauvers and Eastlands goodbye.

It is surely a real dilemma that faces the Democrats in 1956, and from now on they're going to be singing the Till-Lucy-White Council Blues.

Good To Be Right; Better To Be Wise

Journal & Guide

Editor's Note—The following is printed as information. The Journal and Guide expresses no opinion on it. However, Mr. Muse is a close student of Virginia affairs and has made some valuable contributions to the improvement of race relations in years past. He is a native Virginian. The Journal and Guide feels that Mr. Muse is deeply sincere, and reprints his statement as a contribution to the general discussion of the issues.

Norfolk, Va.

By BENJAMIN MUSE
In The Washington Post and Times-Herald

IN MY COLUMN of Feb. 19, the writer criticized the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Repercussions reached me over the telephone within a few hours after the column appeared and still continue.

The NAACP carries the hopes and fears, and the confident loyalty, of many thousands of Negro citizens of Virginia and of the South. It has also, of course, white members and many white admirers, among whom this writer likes to be counted.

Post 3-10-56

It is unfortunate, however, in my opinion, that the NAACP should have become immune from criticism on the one hand or the object of unmitigated execration on the other. A far healthier atmosphere would prevail if this great organization were subject to regular across-the-board criticism in the manner in which one criticizes the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Young Turks or the Byrd machine. This kind of integration in the family of social and political forces should itself be pleasing to leaders of the NAACP.

MY ADVICE TO THE NAACP was that it should shape its program of legal activity in a manner not to precipitate explosions in areas of tension, but to promote a gradual process of compliance with the Supreme Court decision, by beginning in some county or counties where Negroes are few and where public school integration could be effected without difficulty.

To bring about the integration of 100 Negro pupils in a county of western Virginia which is now sending them 50 miles from home to attend a segregated Negro school would be a vastly greater accomplishment than to win a court decision where nothing but confusion would result.

I am saying something here which is in the hearts of thousands of white Virginians who would like to see this state turn from fruitless pyrotechnics and begin the inevitable process of adjustment to the law of the land.

Many Virginia Negroes also share this view. A number of NAACP leaders have expressed their agreement with me and have joined in my appeal for this kind of moderation.

The attitude of Thurgood Marshall, the chief legal counsel of the NAACP, however, is deeply disturbing. Marshall has written me a long and courteous letter, marked "personal," from which I shall not quote. But I can only conclude from it that the head of the NAACP's legal staff does not recognize the overwhelming difficulties in certain localities.

VIRGINIA officials and politicians are grievously at fault in the matter of compliance with the Supreme Court decision. I have not minced words in this column about that. I agree also that the NAACP is legally and morally correct in its position. But we are dealing here with a problem in which abstract justice and rectitude of purpose are not enough. What is needed now is something that can best be called simply wisdom.

Back of this state's sensational pro-segregation gestures of the past year—Gray Plan, interposition, etc.—is a conception of desegregation as something to be forced abruptly upon all sections of the state. This is inspired in no small measure by the insistence of the NAACP upon desegregation in the extremely difficult section of Southside Virginia—especially in Prince Edward County. NAACP attorneys now are again threatening to ask the Federal court to order the prompt desegregation of Prince Edward County's public schools.

I visited Prince Edward County recently and talked earnestly with people there, both white and Negro. The Negroes of Prince Edward are not in the slightest hurry for mixed schools. As for the white people, I can say with complete assurance that they will close up the public schools rather than take the first step toward racial integration now. If a crisis is precipitated in Prince Edward County, it will be a disastrous setback for the cause of racial integration and race tolerance in Virginia.

Dixie's Negro: A Wasted Resource

Journal & Guide

From The Charlotte (N.C.) News (White)

Norfolk, Va.

BROACH the "Negro problem" to any group of southerners today and tempers are likely to sizzle like fatback dropped in a hot skillet. But out of the emotional atmosphere surrounding this aged-in-anguish dilemma, a sobering fact emerges: The Negro is a part, both creator and creature, of southern culture, for whom the region is responsible as for all other groups.

Even those who despise the Negro will admit, if reluctantly, that he is an important factor in Dixie's economy. What is **not** always admitted is the fact that he will contribute more to the economic well-being of the region as he receives better education, better political, economic and social opportunities.

The South, for better or for worse, is inhabited by roughly 10½ million Negroes. This figure represents a gigantic manpower potential. But it is fairly obvious throughout the southern states that Negroes are not contributing what they should to Dixie. They are not contributing because full use is simply not being made of all this human wealth.

Post 3-10-56

The most regrettable aspect of the situation is the difficulty many intelligent Negroes have in securing a higher education.

At the very time a great deal of public attention has been given to the pros and cons of racial segregation in Dixie's public schools, a private philanthropic organization has centered its attention on ways to help talented young Negroes to get a college education. The National Scholarship Service and the Fund for Negro Students, sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education, has undertaken the task in an effort to make fuller use of this important manpower potential. Its principal aims: To discover more college-qualified Negro students in the South; to encourage these students to develop their abilities; to provide them with information and assistance in obtaining college scholarships, and to furnish financial aid when needed. It is known as the Southern project.

According to Benjamin Fine, one of the nation's leading education writers, the organization's talent search in Dixie has uncovered a surprising number of Negro students of college ability. In two years some 500 students have been given aid.

During this relatively short period, the project has greatly increased the number of southern Negroes enrolled in colleges, increased the number of information and testing facilities for future Negro college students and, more important perhaps, increased professional and public awareness of an important slice of the nation's hidden manpower reserve.

Trained manpower is needed in the South and in the nation as a whole. With sufficient education, Negroes can help meet this need. Not only can they serve their own race better but they can benefit the nation's entire economic community. The aims of the Southern Project rise above prejudice. They are, in fact, more akin to national and regional self-interest.

Birmingham News

Constitution

Extremists Must Recognize Racial Issue Is Dynamite

Sat. 2-18-56 P. 4

Atlanta, Ga.

This paper, in commenting Supreme Court's decision against repeatedly has stressed that the South in conflict with that ruling efforts to deal with the situation. be changed by force.

We also have asserted repeatedly that we believe in respect for law and that the reality of the decision must be faced.

Wisdom and moderation are needed on all sides in meeting complex difficulties. Extremism from any quarter is dangerous.

Such shameful disorder and perilous violence as occurred on the University of Alabama campus a few days ago can only intensify problems and dangers.

Disregard of deep Southern sentiment sincerely opposed to desegregation also is bound to increase tensions.

These realities, we think, should be evident to all.

Recent events at Tuscaloosa should emphasize anew the need for humility and moderation as well as conviction and courage in seeking solutions of our problems.

If we of the South should seek the way ahead with humility and moderation, so should people in other areas of this country and abroad seek full understanding of Southern viewpoints and problems.

Adlai Stevenson, speaking to Negro leaders in California, advised proceeding gradually on matters on problems growing out of the segregation in the public schools, reality of strong sentiment in the must be recognized in constructive

Of course such sentiment cannot such as segregation. "You do not upset the tradition of generations overnight," he said. He said it would be "a great mistake" to try to enforce segregation in schools and travel. 'We must go about these things gradually," he said. "It's the spirit of men that will change things for the better; it will not be troops or bayonets. . . . I don't believe in a Balkanized America. I'll do everything to bring about unity."

Mr. Stevenson also told a group of labor leaders that he opposed the proposed amendment to the federal school aid bill which would make desegregation essential before a school could receive federal aid. "The administration of schools is a local matter," he said. Mr. Stevenson described discrimination and segregation as obsolete heritages which "will yield quickest of all to the spread of education." Vast numbers of Southerners do not consider segregation an "obsolete heritage," but, though they differ with Mr. Stevenson on that point, will be glad that he calls for moderation and understanding in meeting problems in this perplexed and troubled field.

Eisenhower Parley On S

Advertiser

Sun. 3-31-56

Caucus Eyed If Congress Fails To Act

Montgomery Ala.

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, March 31 (AP) — President Eisenhower, calling anew for "moderate and responsible" leadership to solve racial problems, said today he may set up conferences on the subject if Congress doesn't act.

He said he was still hopeful Congress will follow his recommendation that it set up a bipartisan commission. As outlined in his State of the Union message Jan. 5 this commission would investigate charges that Negroes are being deprived of the vote in some localities and are "being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures."

Eisenhower made his remarks today in a letter to Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida, who had called on the President to convene a conference of Southern governors and attorneys general for a discussion of racial relations.

COLLINS FEARFUL

Collins, in a wire on March 22, had told the President that as a result of the Supreme Court's school integration decision and of activities of extremists on both sides "we are experiencing what well may be a deterioration of racial relations. We are fearful that progress we have made over many years may be dissipated."

Eisenhower replied that Collins' wire "has my thoughtful attention" and added:

"I am deeply cognizant of the difficult adjustments confronting some localities in complying with the school decision of the Supreme Court. It seems to me, however that the progress already made in certain regions of the South before and since this decision is a clear indication that we can look forward to even greater progress if we can look to moderation and responsible leadership supported by a spirit of patience on the part of all of our people.

WELL AWARE

"As you and your associates are well aware, the recommendation I have already made to the Congress requesting the creation of a bipartisan commission to study and make recommendations in this area has not yet been accepted. It is my belief that this commission could provide the means for helpful discussion, and the restoration of a clearer understanding on the part of all of our people of the real nature of the problems you mention.

"I am still hopeful that the Congress will act favorably upon my suggestion. However, should they decline, I will have to consider other types of conference, including the kind you suggest. I trust that the responsibilities that lie primarily with state and local governments, as indeed the responsibilities of the federal government, may continue to be accepted, understood, and discharged by every official with an understanding of the deep human values which underlie this problem."

Gov. Collins said: "The President obviously has given careful consideration to our problems. He has indicated a willingness to be cooperative and helpful. I appreciate this attitude."

The President's indication that he might consider calling such a conference as Gov. Collins suggested was hailed by some Southern Democrats in Congress "as encouraging" but the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People declared that a conference "should include representatives of both races."

Several of the governors who would be involved in a conference such as was proposed by Collins already have sponsored or joined in moves aimed at thwarting the Supreme Court's school decision.

IN NEAR FUTURE

Advertiser

Meantime presidential press secretary James C. Hagerty told reporters today, in response to questions, that the administration's proposals for civil rights legislation will go to Congress in the near future, through the attorney general.

Advertiser

Eisenhower said in his State of the Union message that these recommendations would be made soon but they have been delayed, reportedly to permit officials to reword them. It has been indicated they would include legislation to set up a bipartisan commission, and to establish a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department.

B 2-8

For years all civil rights proposals have been killed by Southern filibusters in the Senate. Most lawmakers assume this stalemate will continue. Some professed to see the bipartisan commission proposal as an effort to put the onus on a Democratic Congress for any failure to act on civil rights.

Sen. Holland (D-Fla) endorsed Gov. Collins' suggestion for a conference as "an escellent one." He said he was encouraged that the President seemed to be "moving toward high-level discussion of these serious problems at an early date."

DIFFERENT CONDITIONS

"I think the sort of conference Gov. Collins has proposed should come before any attempt is made to set up a special commission," Holland said. "the conference could discuss law enforcement, comity with the federal government and the different conditions that prevail in different states.

"From an exchange of views there is bound to come a better understanding of the problems which I believe have got to be solved on the local level in the states."

Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D-SC) said that if Eisenhower met with the governors and attorneys general of the Southern states "it might be helpful."

"He would get their views and he could give his," Johnston said. "I've always thought that it's not a bad idea for people to sit down and discuss matters."

Asked if he thought the proposals implied any new step toward federal intervention, Johnston replied he doesn't think it would "bring about any more than we already have."

The South Carolina senator said he is opposed to the establishment of a bipartisan race relations commission.

"I don't see where any good would come of it," he said. "The federal government ought to stay out of these matters and leave them to the states. I believe in states rights."

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, said in New York his organization "hopes very much" that the President will call a conference on desegregation. But he said such a conference should include representatives of both races from the areas where the problem must be solved.

ELECTED OFFICIALS

"A conference limited to elected state officials cannot present fairly the views of substantial minorities of Negro citizens in the affected states, nor can it reflect the opinion of moderates among the Southern whites," Wilkins said. He added:

"A White House conference, at the very least, would open the presently clogged channels of communication between races in the South."

Sen. Wiley (R-Wis) said he hopes Congress will act on the president's proposal to set up a bipartisan commission. But if it doesn't, he said he would favor such a conference as Collins proposed.

"We Americans are in the habit of sitting around the table and reasoning out our problems," he said. "I am satisfied that we can keep our heads and find a way out of these difficulties."

Sen. Barrett (R-Wyo) said he hopes a concrete White House proposal for establishment of the bipartisan commission will be forthcoming soon. He said that even if Congress doesn't act favorably on it, the proposal might prompt hearings at which "all the people who have a direct interest in this matter" could testify.

HARRIMAN URGES SOUTH DROP BIAS

Times by

Sun. 7-15-56

New York

In North Carolina, He Says End of Discrimination Is Vital to U. S. Security

By DOUGLAS L. DALES

Special to The New York Times.

ASHEBORO, N. C., July 14—Governor Harriman declared tonight that the eradication of racial discrimination was vital to the country's security and leadership of the free world.

The New York Governor came here at the invitation of the Young Democrats of North Carolina. They have extended similar invitations to other candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

To an audience that considers questions of civil rights and the integration of Negroes into the public schools of top interest, Governor Harriman declared:

"Tonight in North Carolina I am the same man I was yesterday in New York. The goals I believe in, I believe in not just for New York but for all our country—not just for New Yorkers, but for all our people. And I believe they are the goals of all Americans of good will, wherever they may live."

Referring to the Supreme Court's segregation decision, Mr. Harriman said that "governmental authorities — Federal, state and local—have the obligation to go forward in accordance with these decisions and, through normal procedures, see that the law is complied with."

Mr. Harriman's trip here was his first visit to the South since he avowed his active candidacy for the nomination last June 9.

He was greeted at the Greensboro Airport by Representative Harold D. Cooley, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, and Harry Hall Wilson, president of the North Carolina Young Democrats.

As the Governor motored forty miles from Greensboro to Asheboro, press conferences were being held by Governor Luther H. Hodges, in Raleigh, and by Thomas Pearsall, in Asheville, to explain a legislative program to circumvent the Supreme Court's school segregation decision.

Mr. Pearsall is chairman of the advisory committee that drafted the legislation.

The North Carolina General Assembly will meet July 23 to consider the legislative program. The two key proposals would amend the Constitution to allow tuition grants for children not wishing to attend mixed schools and to allow local school boards to close schools in "intolerable" situations.

The pending session of the Legislature has aroused interest in the desegragtion issue to a high level. The constitutional changes will be voted on in a referendum in September.

Governor Harriman took pains today to emphasize that he had no intention of using Federal troops to enforce the Supreme Court decision.

At a picnic luncheon at Asheboro Country Club, he said: "Anyone who said I would send troops down South lied."

In his speech tonight, the Governor attributed the suggestion to the use of troops to "the present emotional atmosphere."

"Nothing," he added, "could be farther from the truth."

Mr. Harriman talked informally and answered questions to to a crowd of fifty at the picnic. Among them were fifteen of the state's seventy-two delegates to the Democratic National Convention. The delegation, which will be led by Governor Hodges, is expected to cast 55½ votes on the first ballot for Adlai E. Stevenson. A half-vote is expected to go to Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee.

Despite the pro-Stevenson sentiment among his hosts, Governor Harriman was well received on friendly terms.

Considerable resentment was voiced by young Democrats because of the failure of Governor Hodges to attend today's function. They coupled this with a distaste for the sympathy that Governor Hodges appears to be showing toward the move by Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr. of South Carolina for a Southern bloc at the national convention.

National Scope Of The Race Problem

Advertiser 4-24 Montgomery, Ala.

The Asheville, N.C., Citizen

Sat. 7-21-56

THERE is a widespread impression that the problems of race, segregation and integration are confined to the Southern states.

Such is not the case. With Negroes flocking to the North and to the West Coast, the population pattern of the United States is changing and the problems have moved from the regional to the national stage. . .

In Chicago, for instance, the Negro problem is considered one of the two greatest challenges facing the city. . . .

To clarify the situation *The Chicago Tribune* assigned one of its writers, Roi Ottley, Negro author of books on Negro problems, to write a series of 10 articles. What reporter Ottley found is revealing.

Referring to the movement north of the Negro, Ottley said history records no comparable mass movement within a country.

World War I quickened demand for Negro labor in the North, but until 1930 there was only one northern city with a Negro population of 100,000. Today there are 12, with New York, Philadelphia and Chicago pushing toward a million each. Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis have nearly half a million. In 1930, California had only 80,000 Negroes. Today half a million live there, mostly in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

One migration stream flowed up the eastern seabord to New York. A second went from Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi to Chicago and Detroit, and a third, out of Louisiana and Texas, poured into St. Louis and Chicago.

Nearly 5,000,000 Negroes have moved out of the South and the migration continues daily. About one-third of the Negro population of the United States now lives in the North.

Ottley points out that the shock effect of this migration can hardly be calculated, but the social and political implications are profound. The lure of jobs and "both the fact and myth of northern equality" played roles in the migration. . . .

Edwin C. Berry, executive director of the Chicago Urban League, says "Chicago has the biggest Negro ghetto in the United States. In that ghetto they have segregated everything. There are even 23 segregated public schools, although this is due to residential segregation, not because of school board policy."

Ottley reported that in the North 85 to 90% of Negro children go to schools where the student body is completely or predominantly Negro. The child attends the school nearest his home. Thus migration has changed the school patterns in the North.

What is the over-all significance of this great migration?

To the South, as the trend continues, it means a lessening in the intensity of the Negro problem.

To the North, it means a mushrooming of problems.

To the American people, it is now a national problem. So far, no acceptable general solution has evolved.

The South Asks Understanding

News 7/14

From The Courier-Journal, Louisville

Rarely has the real mind of the Democratic South been revealed so clearly as in the "Unity Caucus" in Atlanta. This gathering of spokesmen from 11 states that comprised the old Confederacy produced a statement which some may regard as the height of futility, saying nothing. But there are those who know better. They will see signs of a kind of agony, psychological yearning for justification and a bargain.

In effect the statement says that all the South asks of the rest of the country, and particularly of the Democratic Party, is to acknowledge that the South is loyal—but special. Admit this, it seems to say, let this admisison be reflected in simple decorum, and practically all will be forgiven.

It seems to become a matter of punctilio, of moderation not only in a sense of spirit but just as important, in actual word and gesture.

Birm., Ala.

One begins to see the point of the two declarations by Southern members of Congress in the recent session—the one against pressures for abrupt ending of segregation in schools, the other protesting the President's civil rights bills. Neither of these so-called manifestoes could have had any practical effect, and nobdy knew it better than the Southerners who signed it. But both were vehicles of self-expression as well as records for the constituents back home.

Tri 8-10-56

In spite of language which in spots was aggressive almost to match the secession-ist documents of a century ago, both manifestoes were appeals to be heard, to be understood, to be accepted. So is the one this week.

Take, for example, the central core of the Atlanta declaration: "We recognize the problems and political necessities of other states and we insist that they in turn recognize ours." It goes on to say: "With mutual understanding the national Democratic convention can write a platform acceptable to the South and to the nation."

This, of course, has its wistful side, and in a practical sense it is a very big order. But what is it really saying? It seems to us to say that the South wears its feelings on its sleeve, for one thing; that it wants to stay in the Democratic Party, for another; that it wants to be reasonable and responsible but that certain acts and words by others are bound to bring out the unreasonableness and irresponsibility of its majority.

Say the Southern spokesmen are asking the party and the country to recognize pride, frustration and even a pathological sensitiveness. Say they are asking that a kind of immaturity be induged.

As a matter of fact, this is what a lot of the previous explosive protest has amounted to. It is comparable to the displays of the Confederate flag that in many a Southern spot are everywhere to be seen. These can have no practical effect, any more than the recent manifestoes. They appear mainly as demonstrations of youth, few of whom have any knowledge of the Confederacy's import; any knowledge, for example, that the Confederacy itself clung almost yearningly to the very forms of the Union.

The Confederate Constitution confessed spiritual, political and institutional ties with the rest of the country. It even forbade the African slave trade. It was, except for its extreme insistence on states' rights as above those of the central government, a virtual replica of the Federal Constitution. But the flaunters of the Confederate flag rarely are aware of these things. They want to insist that they are different and that this difference be acknowledged.

That is what the gentlemen in Atlanta have said this week. And what we cant' help noting as most significant, the Southern declaration doesn't say a word about the Supreme Court or the President's program. It doesn't even lay down any definite terms. It says Southerners want to be happy in Chicago in a fraternity of understanding Democrats. It could be an advance toward genuine unity in the political sense.

There is an appeal to political realism not only from the "Unity Caucus" but in responses from Democratic leaders of other regions. When one recalls how platform planks on this subject have immemorially been used as vote-catchers rather than as honest dedications, one may see the point of a statement in the Atlanta conference by Sen. John Sparkman.

This Alabama running-mate of Adlai Stevenson in 1952 pointed out that the main substance of a party's appeal to the nation lies in the strength, integrity and fitness of the candidate, not in words. It is the same sort of thing that Sen. Paul Douglas seems to be saying.

The Illinois senior senator, a spokesman for liberal causes, knows as well as anybody else, perhaps better than most, the inevitability of social progress and the ethical view in man's relationships, platform plank or no platform pank. He for one, he suggests, is aware of the meaningless and destructiveness of promises that can't be kept but that still are uttered for the sake of immediate advantage. The threat of force bills, which the Southerners see as implicit in the demands of those who would read the South out of the Democratic Party, is not only a moral but a practical liability.

Editorials

The South: A Ridiculous Nuisance

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 6-30-56

IN ITS fanatical zeal to hold on to its bi-racial pattern of life, a tiny minority of Southern white people is making that section a ridiculous nuisance.

This would be a matter of small moment if the nonsense emanating from Dixie were confined to this tiny minority represented by the White Citizens Councils; but unfortunately it has been demonstrated that the majority of the spokesmen, officials and opinion-formers of the regions are in agreement with the views and program of this minority—or at least do not oppose them.

The majority of the United States Senators and Representatives from the South have signed their names to a manifesto which, in effect, calls for undermining and violating the Constitution of the United States which they have sworn to uphold.

They have sought by word and action to convince the rest of the American people of the correctness of their cause and the approval of civil disobedience.

They have had introduced into the House of Representatives a bill which would prohibit the Supreme Court from reviewing a decree which had been in effect for 50 or more years without specific permission from the Congress, and this bill provides that it shall be retroactive to January, 1954, the purpose being to nullify the Supreme Court ruling against segregation in the public schools and to uphold the "separate but equal" Supreme Court ruling of 1896.

The majority of the American people has at no time indicated that it wished to return to the standards of 1896, and the unreconstructed South is making a fool of itself when it seeks to force its reactionary views upon the rest of the country.

However, this sort of thing seems to be characteristic of the South, although the view prevails that the South has changed; that it has grown up in the past half-century, not only economically but intellectually; that, in a word, it has become civilized, but now we know better.

The hoary old racist claptrap is still widely believed and the primordial prejudices based on the concept of white supremacy are apparently widely held despite nearly a century of popular schooling.

The evil of lynching has departed, and the most odious discriminatory practices have at least been mitigated, but it is quite clear, that the actual progress in Dixie has been overestimated.

It would be a shameful blotch on the escutcheon of America if this nuisance in the South should pervade other areas of the country and force the destruction or nullification of the Federal Constitution to satisfy a very small proportion of the people.

READERS' POINT OF VIEW: *What Rights Are the Negroes Seeking?*

Courier-Journal

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal:

Under the heading, "Advice to the Negro," Theodore A. Sullivan says that everytime he reads The Courier-Journal he reads something the N.A.A.C.P. has to say about integration. Of course he says that white folks aren't saying anything.

Not long ago about 70 Southern senators and representatives signed a paper declaring the Supreme Court decision on segregation is void and the South isn't bound by it. Well, the Supreme Court is the highest court in the U. S. or so I was told. If anytime, anywhere, men will break the law knowingly, what are we coming to anyway? Why do men talk of brotherhood, also of God? Do they really believe in either? Why do we have to have special laws to compel the white man to treat the Negro right?

The great Civil War was fought for the freedom which we are supposed to enjoy. As American citizens we are supposed to enjoy all the rights accorded any other American citizen.

He speaks of the N.A.A.C.P. as if it were something for Negroes to be ashamed of. Well, I am a Negro and I am proud to belong to so great an organization. It stands for the very things that he is against, equal justice under the law, no more.

Minority Bloc Rule Alleged

Courier-Journal

The nine men of the Supreme Court who handed down the desegregation decision are men who received their jobs because they are political friends of presidents. It is just as likely for a stupid man to be appointed as it is for a brilliant man to receive the job. These nine men cannot be held accountable for any bad decision they may make, because theirs is a lifetime job and at no time do they have to answer to the people.

Their recent desegregation decision said in effect that nine men before them were wrong when they handed down the decision of "equal facilities" in schools for Negro and white students some years ago. The question can be rightly asked which of these two courts made the correct decision in the light of the Constitution? How can the checks and balances work in our government when at any time they choose any state law can be made invalid and in fact, any part of our Constitution can be nullified by nine men who are not elected by the people, and do not have to answer to anyone, including the President who appointed them.

The N.A.A.C.P., the liberal party of New York and minority groups are putting continuous pressure on our government for their pet projects. In a democracy the majority is supposed to rule. However, this country is now ruled by letter writing, bloc voting, minority groups who want to Europeanize the U. S.

HENRY HOWARD.

Prestonsburg, Ky.

Losing servant role driving group crazy?

Afro-American p. 3

CHICAGO — Loss of their "honorable and respected places as servants in the homes of "their masters," is driving an increasing number of colored Virginians into insane asylums.

That, in effect, is what Dr. David C. Wilson, professor of neurology and psychiatry at the University of Virginia Hospital, Charlottesville, told the American Psychiatric Association in convention here last week.

He said:

"The colored man in Virginia is better off economically and legally than ever before, but he is more closely segregated. He has lost the security of his own culture and is moving rapidly toward a middle class white culture."

"FORTY YEARS ago colored and white families lived across the street from each other in Virginia, the children played with each other and adult colored people worked in white homes or on the farms.

"The relationship between white and colored was that of master and servant. The colored man had a place which was honorable and respected but definitely inferior."

NOW, HE SAID, he owns his own home is better dressed, probably owns a car and has moved from an agricultural to an urban culture ,but . . .

"In spite of all this he is more segregated than he was 40 years ago while his culture was fixed, and he has no status as he moves from a culture of his own into a white culture."

Race Relations Worse, Say Dixie Editors

Courier-Journal Thurs. 2-23-56 Louisville, Ky.

15 Split on Final Effect Of High-Court Ruling

Washington, Feb. 22 (AP)— Most of 15 newspaper editors interviewed on the segregation issue believe white-negro relations in the South have worsened since the Supreme Court ordered an end to segregated public schools.

Some of the editors — who come from the Deep South, border states, and Texas—voice a fear that bloodshed may stem from the order. Opinions differ markedly on whether the decision has slowed or hastened progress toward equality of educational opportunity.

A copyrighted interview in U. S. News & World Report, an independent weekly news magazine published in Washington, includes a statement by a Negro editor, Percy Greene of the Jackson (Miss.) Advocate, that relations between the races are "infinitely worse" now than before.

'An Eyewink From Murder'

A white publisher, Buford Boone of The Tuscaloosa News, says his community "was almost an eyewink away from murder" in the rioting that developed over admission of a Negro girl to the University of Alabama.

"The mob on the University of Alabama campus would have killed this girl if they could have got their hands on her," Boone says.

And Frederick Sullens, editor of the Jackson (Miss.) News, predicts:

"Violence will inevitably follow any hasty movement to force Negroes into the white schools of Mississippi."

5 Thinks Things Are Worse

Others who believe the situation is worse are Grover C. Hall, Jr., editor of the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser; James G. Stahlman, publisher of The Nashville (Tenn.) Banner; Thomas Waring, editor of The Charlestown (S. C.) News and Courier; Hodding Carter, editor of The Delta Democrat-Times at Greenville, Miss., and Virginius Dabney, editor of The Richmond Times-Dispatch editorial page.

Estimates vary widely as to when, if ever, Southern schools will be integrated.

C. P. Liter, executive editor of The Baton Rouge (La.) Advocate and State Times, would be surprised to see it in his lifetime.

Mark F. Ethridge, publisher of The Courier-Journal, believes it could be achieved in five to 10 years.

'Some Areas Won't Integrate'

C. A. McKnight, editor of The Charlotte (N. C.) Observer, believes integration will spread gradually in the South but "there are some sections that are simply not going to desegregate their schools even at the point of a bayonet."

E. B. Braswell, editor of The Athens (Ga.) Banner-Herald, is one of those asserting progress toward equality of educational opportunity has not been hampered by the ruling.

Editor Charles E. Green of The Austin (Tex.) American-Statesman, says people are taking the integration move "pretty much in stride." He adds, however: "I think if the enforcement is too rapid it could set things back."

HARRIMAN URGES ZEAL IN BIAS FIGHT

Times 2-28-56 New York

Says Moderation Cannot Win Against Bigot Standing for Oppression

Times 5-8-56

Governor Harriman called on Ne wYorkers yesterday to show "zeal, not moderation" in leading the nation in a war against discrimination.

He was a luncheon speaker at the annual conference of the twelvt citizens' councils of the State Commission Against Discrimination at the Sheraton-Astor Hotel.

Mr. Harriman, a possible Democratic Presidential nominee, called for greter support of the Court's ruling on school desegregation.

He called the decision "the most important moral advance of our time."

"It needs more than ever the moral backing of every citizen, as wel las the dedicated implementation of the courts, the Chief Executive, the states and the Congress," he said.

Mr. Harriman also inferentially criticized Oswald D. Heck, Speaker of the State Assembly, for his attack two weeks ago on Charles Abrams, head of the anti-discrimination commission. Mr. Heck charged that Mr. Abrams was a "zealot" and lacked "balance" and was "unfit" for the post.

Says Only Zeal Can Win

"Only zeal, not moderation, can win the fight against discrimination," the Governor said. Only the zealot fighting for equality can win against the bigot standing for oppression.

"The danger today is not from those who stand for equality and press for it with zeal, but from those who impede their efforts by petty partisanship, from the inresponsibilities who would like to turn the masses into the mob, and from the indifferent, who don't care."

Saying that heretofore the Federal Government had banned discrimination in state-aided operations, he acclaimed as an "historic shift" New York's new law against discrimination in federally aided housing.

He said the state had "moved from the old doctrine of 'states rights' to embrace a new doctrine of 'states duties.'" He departed from his text to charge that the South had "perverted" the states rights doctrine "to mean domination" of minorities.

"It is the rights of the individual that we should be expanding and protecting," he said, "not the rights of states or of government."

Flies to Washington

The Governor left the luncheon to fly to Washington to appear today before Senate and House subcommittees to urge appropriations for flood control projects on the upper Susquehanna River in Broome County.

Deputy Mayor John Theobald read the speech of Mayor Wagner, who was to have been at the luncheon but was attending the funeral of his cousin, Mrs. Kenneth Steinrich. The Mayor said in his speech that he could "understand" a southern appeal for "gradual" school desegrega-

tion, but that the South had rejected "moderation" or its equivalent for outright opposition to the court ruling.

Mr. Abrams said both major political parties would be "pressed for watered-down civil rights planks" in the national platform this year. He said also that "current political jockeying highlights" an attempt to effect a North-South alliance that, he warned, threatened gains in the fight against discrimination.

He said that because of greater governmental power today such an alliance could affect social and other legislation and Federal housing policies and lead to "leveling down the national morality."

About 1,100 leaders in labor, management, religious, educational and civic groups from throughout the state participated in afternoon panel discussions on problems in combating discrimination.

Segregation Views Aired at Princeton

Herald p. 5-B

Miami, Fla.

Southern Editor and NAACP Official Cool but Cordial

Thurs. 5-3-56

PRINCETON, N.J. —(AP)— The editor of a South Carolina newspaper said at a symposium that Southern white people have a "right" to separate education because of "social differences which cannot be bridged."

Another speaker, an official of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, said school segregation only postpones "the final facing of reality."

Thomas R. Waring, editor of The Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, defending the concept of separate but equal educational facilities, said at the Princeton University meeting:

"It's unfashionable these days to suggest there are cultural differences that can't be bridged. The Southern whites demand the right to bring up their children in the same culture they were raised in."

Waring and Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, were cordial but cool as they faced each other before an audience of some 250 students, faculty members and townspeople.

Wilkins said he was "deeply hurt" by the statement of a University of Alabama student, putting the state of Alabama first and the United States second. The statement was made on television during the "Miss Lucy" controversy at the University, Wilkins said.

The NAACP official said he fights for "southern white boys" as much as for southern Negro boys.

He charged that "southern whites are doing an injustice to their children" by segregating them and keeping them from facing the racial situation.

"The Negro goes north to seek higher wages rather than to escape segregation in the south," he said.

Waring criticized northern intervention in the desegregation matter.

"After 25 years of unsuccessful propaganda from the North," he said, "I think their suggestions would carry more conviction if they included plans for large-scale colonization of the North by southern Negroes."

The editor said there is a desire for segregation in the North. He added: "White northerners are moving to the suburbs principally to obtain separate schools."

Says South Can Solve Own Problems

Post-Herald Mon. 5-7-56

Birmingham, Ala.

Blasts Agitation By Outside 'Intruders'

WASHINGTON, May 6 (U.P.)—Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D., La.,) said today that "bloodshed" would result if school integration is forced on the South within the next five to 10 years.

Ellender was one of several congressmen who debated the civil rights issue on Sunday television shows.

The programs amounted to a preview of the expected bitter civil rights fight at the Democratic National Convention next August. They also featured a side attack on the Eisenhower administration's stand on the issue.

Ellender said white and Negro leaders in the South can solve the integration problem if they are "not agitated" by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other "intruders from the North."

But he warned that "there would be bloodshed . . . in all of the Southern States" if any attempt is made "overnight" to enforce the Supreme Court's school integration decision.

Ellender also said the platform adopted by the Democratic convention will determine whether there will be a 1948-style Dixie bolt.

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.), who led the fight for the strong civil rights legislation which prompted the 1948 walkout, served notice he was in no mood for compromise this year.

He conceded there "may be some difficulty" at the Democratic convention but said he is convinced a party majority will adopt "a good strong civil rights program" backing the Supreme Court's integration ruling.

Humphrey said some Southerners may bolt the convention but predicted that "most will stay and support the party candidate and platform."

At the same time, the Minnesota Democrat assailed the Eisenhower administration as "Leap Year Liberals" who pay lip service to the Democratic civil rights plank but do little about it.

"Get me 15 Republicans in the Senate and we'll have a civil rights program," he said.

Ellender said Southerners believe the desegregation drive was "accelerated" by the Republicans under Chief Justice Earl Warren, a GOP appointee.

He said he doubted if integration in primary and secondary schools could be brought about in the South in the next five or 10 years. Asked if the South would accept a more gradual shift to integration, he said only that the problem should be handled "by the people involved."

Sen. John W. Sparkman (D., Ala.) predicted that the South will be solidly Democratic this year with no spilt or third party. Sparkman, the party's 1952 vice presidential nominee, appeared on the American Broadcasting Co. television show, "Celebrity Parade."

He said he hopes the Democratic convention can write a civil rights plank in the party platform which, "while not satisfying to everybody, at least will be acceptable to the country as a whole."

Rep. James C. Davis (D., Ga.) said "he certainly will not concur" if the Democratic Party platform includes a civil rights plank similar to the one written in the 1952 campaign. Davis appeared on the NBC-TV program, "American Forum."

Roadblocks to desegregation can and must be swept away

Afro American P. 5

MIAMI, Fla. — "The action of the United States Supreme Court in outlawing school segregation reflects the Christian spirit of all nations and all people."

This declaration was made by Dr. Roy C. Ross, executive secretary of the National Council of Churches, to the delegates of the 35th quadrennial conference of the AME Church here Thursday night.

Speaking at Dinner Key Auditorium, where the conference sessions are held, Dr. Ross said there are some roadblocks to the court's decision but "it can be done."

He emphasized that "it can be done if those responsible match a sense of good judgment with human dignity" as the court has done.

Sat. 5-12-56

THE COUNCIL official, who recently returned from a trip around the world, said he found "churches are rising in common judgment in order that they may move forward."

He said he also learned how much of a "big role America plays in world affairs, but at the same time how inadequately we play the role."

He expressed appreciation for the connection of the AME Church with the council, which represents 35,000,000 Christians.

* * *

DR. ROSS was introduced to the conference by Bishop D. Ward Nicols, secretary of the AME Bishops Council, who also serves as vice pesident of the National Council of Churches and is vice chairman of the council's general fund.

Bishop Nichols took a trip to Russia as a representative of the Council. — ART CARTER.

Writer to Survey North Race Bias

Herald Fri. 5-4-56

Miami, Fla.

NEW YORK —(UP) — A former newspaperman announced Thursday he is making a survey under a Fund for the Republic grant to determine "how successfully" desegregation is proceeding in the North. P. 10-A

David Loth is a former newsman with The New York World and The New York Times, as well as an author and information executive.

Loth said the survey will cover the last two years since the U.S. Supreme Court ordered public schools desegregated and is expected to provide "a representative and comprehensive list of places and groups where Negroes and whites were segregated two years ago but now meet or learn or work or play or worship together."

He said the list will cover virtually all phases of human relationship.

"Leaders of both races have told us that such an inventory can help maintain and continue the orderly process of desegregation," Loth said.

"We think it will show the ways in which integration is proceeding and encourage those who hesitate to embark upon a desegregation program in the face of resistance or apathy."

Loth added that "while national attention has been focused on the South, it is obvious that segregation is a Northern problem too.

"We believe the results of our survey when published, which we hope will be within a few months, will indicate how successfully the North is proceeding.

38a 1956

GENERAL

Asians Told U. S. Race Picture Distorted Abroad

Courier-Journal 5-6-56

Five Visitors Studying South In on Panel Talk

By POUCHER COLEMAN

Seeking information about racial problems and industrial growth in the Southern United States, five educators from Asia were told yesterday that:

1. The rest of the world has a distorted picture of the race problem in the United States, and this country is moving rapidly toward desegregation.

2. Industrialization in the South, which has grown rapidly in recent years, presents different problems than it does in Asia.

4-Hour Panel Held

The questions came up at a 4-hour panel discussion at the Seelbach Hotel. Participants were:

Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University and a former resident of Louisville; Dr. William J. McGlothlin of the Southern Regional Educational Board; Norman E. Isaacs, managing editor of The Louisville Times, and Dr. Robert Warner and Dr. Ray Birdwhistell, University of Louisville professors.

The Asian members were Drs. U Lu Pe Win, Burma; Nguyen Quang Trinh, Vietnam; G. P. Malalasekera, Ceylon; Sukit Nimmamaheminda, Thailand, and Mian Mohammad Sharif, Pakistan.

The Asians were told by Clement:

The U. S. Supreme Court decision ruling public-school segregation unconstitutional did not come too suddenly, as some people have contended. As far back as 1917 a desegregation case involving housing was taken to the Supreme Court.

Segregation has not caused American Negroes to listen to Communists' appeals. They feel the law is on their side, and they prefer to resort to law rather than violence in their fight against segregation.

Blames Press Reports

Isaacs said press-association dispatches to foreign countries—or the lack of them—are responsible for other nations' lack of understanding of our race problems and how we are solving them.

"Cable space is limited and violence is news," he said. "Violence gets into dispatches abroad. If a presentation like Dr. Clement's were put on the wire, it would correct many misapprehensions."

Several members of the panel referred to a Gallup poll published in The Courier-Journal yesterday morning. It showed that an overwhelming percentage of Americans interviewed favored integration, either immediately or gradually.

Traces Industrialization

McGlothlin traced the industrialization progress of the South, which did not reach its present pace until after World War II.

He cited as former deterrents the freight rate structure which he said discriminated against the South in favor of Northeastern industrialists, and the South's aversion to social changes.

Birdwhistell, acting as moderator, commented that unionization has tended to increase equality in wages paid in the north and the south.

It's Local Problem In U. S.

Warner noted that industrialization in the United States is a problem of local authorities; in Asia it would be controlled by the central governments.

Malalasekera repeated what he had told Mayor Broaddus the previous day: "All Asian countires need more information about the United States."

He addde: "We are not anti-American. We are pro-ourselves."

Two public sessions are planned at the University of Louisville today.

Dr. Davidson To Preside

At 10 a.m., U. of L. President Philip G. Davidson will preside at the Playhouse at a meeting at which Sharif, Win, Dr. Clement, and Dr. Warner will speak.

At 8:15 tonight, all five Asians will speak briefly and the meeting will be thrown open for questions. McGlothlin will be chairman. The meeting will be in the Allen Courtroom at U. L.

SOBELOFF SCORED BY SOUTHERNERS ON RACIAL VIEWS

Times 5-6-56 New York, N. Y.

Assailed at Senate Hearing on Judgeship Nomination as 'Unsympathetic'

By ANTHONY LEWIS

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 5—Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff was bitterly denounced by a group of witnesses from the South today at a Senate hearing on his nomination to the United States Court of Appeals.

Mr. Sobeloff was nominated for the Fourth Circuit, which takes in Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia and the Carolinas.

"Mr. Sobeloff doesn't show that he's proud of the white race," Bruce Dunstan, a real estate man from Richmond, Va., said. "He is totally unsympathetic to the problems of the while people of the South."

Another opponent, William Stephenson of the Virginia League, told the hearing:

"Virginia says: 'Deliver us from a man with such foreign ideas.'"

Mr. Sobeloff's nomination was endorsed by the American Bar Association, several Maryland bar leaders and judges, the Justice Department and Maryland's two Republican Senators, J. Glenn Beall and John Marshall Butler. Mr. Sobeloff is from Baltimore.

The hearing, before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, was the first action taken on the nomination since President Eisenhower submitted it last July 15.

Presented Compliance View

Much of the delay apparently has resulted from the opposition of some southern Senators who associate Mr. Sobeloff with the decision of the Supreme Court in 1954 that held segregation in the public schools was unconstitutional.

Actually, Mr. Sobeloff was not Solicitor General when the Constitutional issues in the school case were argued. He appeared in the case only the next year, 1955, in arguments as to how the decision should be implemented. He then presented the Government's view that gradual compliance should be allowed—the position eventually taken by the Court.

Word of continued opposition to the nomination was sent today by three southern Democratic Senators, Sam J. Elvin of North Carolina, Olin Johnston of South Carolina and John Stennis of Mississippi. Nevertheless, the feeling at the Capitol now is that Mr. Sobeloff's long-delayed appointment will be approved before adjournment.

The subcommittee's Democratic chairman, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, and Senator Arthur Watkins, Republican of Utah—the only members present today—indicated they would vote to confirm.

The other members are Senators Thomas C. Bannings, Democrat of Missouri; John McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas, and Herman Walker, Republican of Idaho. Senator Hennings has said he will vote for confirmation.

The subcommittee may vote next week. After that the nomination goes to the full Judiciary Committee. The chairman, Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, has opposed Mr. Sobeloff's appointment. At this point, however, he is not expected to attempt to block action.

A large and occasionally noisy audience packed the hearing room today. Three women, wearing small Confederate flags on their dresses, cheered occasionally for the Southern witnesses.

Among those who testified for Mr. Sobeloff was Judge Morris N. Soper of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth circuit, for whose seat Mr. Sobeloff was nominated. Judge Soper said he and the two other members of the court, Chief Judge John J. Parker and Judge Armistead M. Dobie, all endorsed Mr. Sobeloff. He added that their youngest judge, Mr. Parker, was 70 years old, "and we need help."

Peters Case Mentioned

Aside from Mr. Sobeloff's asserted feelings against segregation, opposition witnesses mentioned his refusal last year to sign the Government brief in the case of Dr. John P. Peters.

Dr. Peters, who was dismissed from Government work after a loyalty hearing, had attacked the findings because he was not allowed to face his accusers. The Government brief, with which Mr. Sobeloff disagreed, argued that no one had any right to face an accuser in loyalty or security proceedings. The Supreme Court found for Dr. Peters, but on narrow grounds.

John V. Lindsay, executive assistant to Herbert Brownell Jr. the Attorney General, testified that Mr. Sobeloff's action in the Peters case "was taken with the knowledge and consent of the Attorney General."

He quoted Mr. Brownell, who is in Ohio, as follows:

"The conduct of the Solicitor General in all matters before that high office has been in the best traditions of the law."

One witness, Mrs. Peder P. Schmidt of Minnesota, began her statement by attacking fluoridation.

"We're not discussing that problem here," Sen. O'Mahoney said gently. "That goes to some other committee."

A farmer from Darlington County, South Carolina, O. L. Warr, said he did not question Mr. Sobeloff's ability or integrity but felt his views were too different from those in the states covered by the Fourth Circuit. He said the nomination was "a provocation" to sensitive southern feelings on the race issue.

Mr. Stephenson objected to a statement by Mr. Sobeloff that the Bill of Rights "is the embodiment of the highest religious teachings." Mr. Stephenson said this indicated a desire to mix church and state, and he added: "Whose religious teachings?"

The Fairfax Citizens Council of Virginia filed a protest against, among other things, Mr. Sobeloff's criticism of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act.

Senator Johnston had accused Mr. Sobeloff of improper conduct in connection with the receivership of the Baltimore Trust Company in 1935. He suggested subpoenaing the receiver, John D. Hospelhorn of Maryland, and the committee did so. But Mr. Hospelhorn praised Mr. Sobeloff and said he "discharged his duties most creditably."

Mr. Sobeloff testified last. He said he would handle any segregation problems "with fairness, understanding and moderation." But he emphasized that the Supreme Court has spoken on the principle and that, like any lower court judge, he would be bound by that ruling.

During one line of questioning Senator O'Mahoney mentioned the famous [illegible]phorism of Finley Peter Du[illegible] as "Mr. Dooley," that the [illegible]me Court follows the ele[illegible]turns. Te Senator asked [illegible]obeloff forr a comment.

"[illegible] Mr. Sobeloff said, [illegible]think I've got enough [illegible]w without commenting

Courier-Journal Photo

TALKING IT OVER during a luncheon break are, from left, Dr. William J. McGlothlin, Dr. Ray Birdwhistell, Dr. Rufus Clement, and Norman Isaacs, who spoke at panel meeting with five Asian visitors yesterday.

Kentucky Publisher Warns

Southerners Going Against 'Moral Conscience Of U. S.'

New Orleans, La.
Sat. 3-3-56

Gainesville, Fla. (ANP)—Anti-integration Southerners are setting themselves up against the "moral conscience of the rest of the country and indeed the world," a noted Southern newspaper editor said here last week.

Mark Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal and Times, told a University of Florida audience that "desegregation hangs like a dark cloud over the South."

He spoke on a program sponsored by the University Lecture Committee and the School of Journalism and Communications.

Since the historic Supreme Court desegregation decision, he said, "councils have sprung up that are, despite their respectable sponsors, nothing more than uptown Ku Klux Klans, using instead of tar and feathers equally destructive economic pressure."

Ethridge called the interposition proposals advance by a group of Southern governors a pursuit of every evasion of the Supreme Court decree that they have been able to devise. He declared:

"Under the leadership of Virginia, which presented an idea and not a plan, some states have ridden off like headless horsemen into the woods of nullification.

"Nobody has proposed firing upon Sumter again, but the spirit of secession is there; secession from the moral conscience of the rest of the country and indeed of the world that is giving men of color their civil rights, their right to be free and to share fully in the bounties of civilization."

He said the challenge facing editors in the south is "to fight the black heartedness of prejudice and repression and fanaticism on the one hand and give calm counsel on the other to people who believe in living under the law and in expanding the freedom of all of us."

Says Dixie States Will Accede to Integration

Call Fri. 5-11-56
Kansas City, Mo.
P. 3

BY CONRAD CLARK

BOSTON, —(ANP) — "The South will comply with the decision of the Supreme Court of desegregation - although it may take a few years," Richard Harwood, staff writer of the Louisville Times in Kentucy, and a Nieman Fellow at Harvard, said here.

Harwood made his remarks before the Business and Professional Division of the American Jewish Congress at the Union Oyster House, and added that "if the South is unified today, it is the unity that arises in common adversity and produces a kind of desperate mob psychology."

Telling the group that the rural South is the key to the problem, because tides of intolerance are strongest there, Harwood pointed out that "economic conditions are so bad that the poor white need a scapegoat."

"This is a temporary state of mind and will pass as the pressures are diluted by time. Stronger forces than local bigotry are at work in the South."

Before concluding his remarks, the Nieman Fellow said "there are too many poverty-stricken families going through the hopeless routine of scratching soil that can never sustain them," in referring to what he called the rural slums.

"Their plight is not relieved by federal agricultural administration or the one that preceded it. What is needed for these people is not a system of price supports which benefit chiefly the large commercial farms, but rather a thorough-going program for economic and social rehabilitation," he concluded.

Not Dearborn's Mayor, But The People

Advertiser P. 4-A
Mon. 5-7-56
Montgomery, Ala.

THE *Advertiser* is pleased that *The Christian Century*, an organ of wide influence, has commended it for its Askelon clinic in Northern race disharmony. Nevertheless we are impelled to call attention to some dreaminess—typical of the idealists and romanticists—in *The Century's* editorial:

Thanks to *The Montgomery Advertiser*, a number of situations involving racial discrimination in northern cities are receiving needed attention. This Alabama paper, which is cool toward the white *Citizens' Councils* and which has tried, not always successfully, to be fair to the Negro protest movement against abuses on Montgomery buses, discovered the Trumbull Park tension in Chicago (see *The Christian Century* for March 21, pg. 366), and the practice of segregation in Dearborn, Mich.

When Mayor Orville Hubbard of Dearborn boasted that no Negro could live in Dearborn, where 15,000 Negroes work, the local council of United Church Women passed a resolution condemning him for this policy. The mayor replied that the churchwomen should move to a near-by segregated area inhabited mostly by Negroes. That did not stop the women, but brought to their help Episcopal Bishop Richard S. Emrich of Michigan. He called on "every pastor and Christian" to oppose the mayor's ideas, and presumably his practices. Bishop Emrich condemned Hubbard's racism as contrary to the "fundamental teaching of the Christian faith, the Constitution, our government under law and the wider interests of the United States." The bishop said: "Mayor Hubbard's views, picked up by the press and spread to Africa, southeast Asia and Japan, are worth many Russian divisions. He may for a time keep Dearborn white but he may also help to make some lands communistic."

All of this, thanks to *The Montgomery Advertiser*, will do good only if the church people of Dearborn and the ecclesiastical authorities of the city and of Michigan take steps to end segregation in Dearborn housing. This will inevitably require political action to elect a different kind of mayor, and that will not be possible without careful personal and community education.

What *The Century* has done here is to treat Mayor Hubbard as the cause, rather than the effect, of the segregated City of Dearborn.

As Mayor Hubbard explained to *The Advertiser* in the interview, one of the major reasons why his people have returned him to office for 15 years is because he believes in segregation and has seen to it that Dearborn is totally segregated. Get rid of Mayor Hubbard, who incidentally gives energetic, able government to his city, and Dearborn citizens would still be unwilling to have a Negro citizen reside in the city.

The Century suggests that if the pulpit and some citizen uplift group would pitch in, they could readily purge Dearborn citizens of their resistance to Negro neighbors. This, in the bountiful sparingly coming to report. phrase of Mayor Hubbard, is "social dream" stuff.

The Advertiser finds no satisfaction over a period of time, but it runs deep in the brutal fact that Negroes en- and comes natural. For example, *The counter degrees of rejection wherever Advertiser* is becoming increasingly in- they migrate in significant numbers, terested in the documented fact of Ne- but it must be reported as the pregnant gro discrimination against the Puerto reality confronting the clamorous dis- Ricans in New York. The Puerto Ricans have reason, our inquiries are revealing, to consider our formation of a NAAPR to supplement the NAACP.

Even Transplanted Yankees Are For It

Herald Mon. 5-7-56

Poll Shows South Is 100 Pct. for Segregation

Miami, Fla.

By NIXON SMILEY
Herald Staff Writer

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Polling Southerners to see how they stand on integration is a waste of time. P. 17-A

After three weeks of asking questions in Florida, Georgia and Alabama I have yet to find a white person who said he favors integration.

SMILEY

Strangely, the 100 per cent vote in favor of the status quo includes a large number of former Yankees who now operate tourist courts, restaurants or filling stations in the South.

Also among these with whom this question was discussed were college professors and business leaders.

In the South at present you could not expect a person to give you an affirmative answer even he is in favor of integration. He would be in danger of winning a reputation as a "nigger lover," which is the worst insult one Southerner can call another now.

★ ★ ★

EVEN FOR a person to suggest that he is in favor of gradual integration is dangerous. If he is in business he is almost certain to lose many customers. In small communities even the Negroes would hesitate to trade with him.

On the other hand, I have not talked with anyone who does not sympathize with the Negro, and everyone is in favor of aiding him in every way possible — short of integration.

In the Deep South, and particularly in small communities, even the suggestion that you might favor integration at some indefinite time in the future is a dangerous stand.

The case of Mr. and Mrs. Paul H. Reese, former Ohioans and now publisher and editor respectively of a newspaper in Mount Dora, Fla., is an example.

Mrs. Reese has urged Southerners in editorials not to resist integration or to hasten it. Her implication was the integration taken gradually would be painless.

In the meantime, however, she carried on a campaign against the sheriff of her county, Willis McCall, widely known for his bitter denunciation of integration ideas.

For their views explosives have been discharged in front of the Reese home. They have acknowledged that their stand on integration is very unpopular.

★ ★ ★

McCALL, on the other hand, represents the worst kind of Southern rabble rouser — the narrow-minded backwoods Cracker who makes "nigger hating" a profession.

I found that people in the Mount Dora area didn't want to discuss the Reese-McCall squabble.

An acquaintance of mine who has lived at nearby Leesburg for many years said that both Mrs. Reese and Sheriff McCall "give the county bad publicity."

"Most folks around here would like to see both of them shut up," he added.

I haven't asked the Negro whether he wants integration.

★ ★ ★

IN THE South the Negro usually tells the white man what he thinks the white man wants to hear.

For that reason, the claim by Southern white politicians that "most of the Negroes" in the South do not want integration is a worthless claim. It is true that the politicians may have asked many Negroes for their opinion, but the politicians got replies that they wanted to hear, rather than statements of the Negroes' true feelings.

Only by 'Other Fellow'

Herald P. 1

Southerners Deem Violence Unlikely Over Integration

Sun. 5-8-56 Miami, Fla.

By NIXON SMILEY
Herald Staff Writer

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—If and when Southern whites are forced into "integration" with the Negro, is there any danger of widespread violence?

SMILEY

Ask the opinions of Southerners in small towns and in the country and you get the answer, "Yes."

But press the same fellow for his considered judgment and his reply is likely to be different.

He expects that "somebody" will resist integration with violence, but not he.

During the more than three weeks I've been traveling through the South I've found nobody who, when pinned down, condones violence as a method of resisting integration.

People who know the Southerner well—or as well as he can be known — doubt that widespread violence will take place. This also seems to be the opinion of most Southern newspapers. Up to now there really has been only a small amount of violence. It has been local and it has been committed by persons with a hoodlum mentality.

In instances where whites have engaged in violent actions against the Negro since the Supreme Court's ruling in 1954, quick arrests have followed. Southern courts have not condoned violence.

Then, why all this hurrah over the integration question if the South's resistance is all talk?

Nixon Smiley, who was born in North Florida and grew up on a farm in Georgia, is revisiting that part of the South with which no one is as familiar as he. He is reporting on the changes which have taken place since his boyhood. This is another in his series of articles.

There is typical Southern strategy behind the actions taken by the several states. In the first place, these actions delay integration. And, more important, the Negro is certain to be deeply impressed by the white man's strong opposition to racial mixing.

The split between the two races is deeper today than at any time since Reconstruction days, when newly freed slaves were given political appointments in the South by a Republican administration.

During those days the whites used every means, including violence and blood-tingling intimidation of an ignorant race by the Klu Klux Klan in an effort to maintain white dominance.

But the South's present resistance to integration is not designed to frighten the Negro so much as to convince him of the white man's feelings. The white man wants the Negro to know in no uncertain terms that he does not want his children to mix with Negroes in schools; nor does the white man want to eat with Negroes or sit beside them on a bus.

Regardless of the expressed fears of some people in the North who know little about the South, such organizations as the present-day Klu Klux Klan and the several societies formed for "protecting" the white man have small following and are of negligible importance.

The intelligent Negro is not afraid of these organizations, nor is he afraid that the Southerner is going to do him bodily harm.

The days of police or mobs beating up "smart Negroes" is a thing of the past in the South. The federal government investigates reports of such beatings to see if the alleged victim's civil rights have been violated.

The "violent" South isn't nearly so violent as it once had a reputation for being.

But the South hopes that through its present strategy actual segregation may be maintained for years even when legal integration is a fact.

Negroes, it is hoped, will connue to send their children to schools located in Negro communities; and only the most thick-skinned Negroes are likely to brave the treatment they're sure to receive in white restaurants.

Integration is bound to come eventually. But the dream of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for quick and complete integration of the two races seems a long way off, at least from this viewpoint in the heart of Dixie.

IF THEY SAY IN DIXIE IS TRUE

Journal + Constitution

Prosegregation Problems Beset Negroes 'Up North'

Sun. 5-13-56 P. 6-A

Atlanta, Ga.

EDITOR'S Note: What happens to the Negro who turns his back on segregation in the South and hopefully heads north? What are his chances for a better job, better housing, better schooling north of the Mason-Dixon Line? Here is a first hand report by an AP correspondent who has covered the segregation story on both sides of the line since the Supreme Court's history-making decision.

38

By BEM PRICE

DETROIT, May 12 (AP) — The problem of race relations is not confined to the South.

There is racial discrimination in the North, certainly in the parts I visited. Many of the harsh things Southerners say about the life of the Negro outside the South are true.

But there is a difference: Legal and actual.

In Baltimore, New York, Chicago and Detroit the schools are integrated. Negroes are working at jobs which are closed to them in the South. With the exception of Baltimore, Negroes come and go in hotels, restaurants and theaters.

Further, each of these cities in the past 10 years has adopted anti-discrimination ordinances — Baltimore just last month.

Each city has set up an active public commission against discrimination with the expressed mission of breaking down prejudice because of race, religion, ancestry or national origin.

There is nothing comparable to these commissions anywhere in the South.

* * *

THERE STILL IS discrimination against Negroes in private employment in these four cities and barriers against them in private housing. A survey in New York, for example, indicates that 90 per cent of privately owned housing is not accessible to Negroes. All public housing is open to them, however.

Los Angeles, with the exception of the housing field, is the same. The Negro population has a greater geographic spread in Los Angeles than probably any other city of comparable size in the nation.

Housing is the greatest single source of racial tension in all the cities.

There are cities such as Cicero, Ill., adjacent to Chicago, and Dearborn, Mich., next to Detroit, which exclude Negro residents through community pressures.

And you can find instances in the North of mob action when a Negro family moves into an all-white neighborhood.

Where statistics are available, it can be shown that Negroes account for most of the arrests for major crimes—two-thirds of the murders in Chicago, 69 per cent of all felonies in Detroit.

New York City does not break down its arrest figures by race. Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm explained why.

"We find," he said, "that crime is among the poor. It is not by race."

* * *

THE MAJORITY of people on the general relief rolls are non-white—69 per cent, for example, in Detroit. Chicago gives aid to 55,433 dependent children, 75 per cent of whom are Negro.

Does the Negro flee the South just to get on relief rolls? The question was put to Welfare Commissioners Dan Ryan of Detroit, Henry McCarthy of New York City and Alvin Rose of Chicago. Their answers:

"I personally don't think the Negro moves North to get on welfare," said Ryan. "I think he comes in search of job opportunity."

McCarthy said: "They don't come to New York to get on relief. They come to work."

"No," answered Rose, "and besides it is almost impossible to get on relief immediately. There is a residency requirement of one year in the state and six months in Chicago. They have to have all sorts of records, too, before they can qualify—birth records, school records, doctors' certificates."

All three commissioners told the same story: The number of actual employables on general relief is small. More than 75 per cent of the people on relief are the aged, the ill, mothers with small children, and children.

Despite the slums and the discrimination, Negroes still are pouring North and Westward by the thousands. Even the most menial job pays between $1.50 and $2 an hour.

There are no really reliable figures on this migration and there won't be until after the 1960 census. One study, though, estimates that Negroes are arriving in Chicago at the rate of 2,500 a month.

* * *

IN LOS ANGELES, it was found that Negroes are arriving in the **area at the rate of 1,500 a month.** Many are coming directly from Alabama and Mississippi. Formerly the influx came largely from Louisiana, Texas and Oklahoma.

The one real sore spot among Negroes is housing. In the three largest cities some sections of the slums are almost incredible—you wonder how humans can survive—and the pattern is the same. **Negroes are concentrated—Harlem in New York, Center City in Detroit and the Southside in Chicago.**

In New York's Harlem I found 50 people crowded into three rooms with one bathroom—and the toilet worked only irregularly. The smells and filth equaled anything in the Orient.

These concentrations of Negro population began in the days of the so-called restrictive covenants; that is, clauses in real estate deeds prohibiting the sale of property to non-whites. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled these clauses unconstitutional in 1948.

Even so there still are tacit agreements among property owners and real estate men, Negro leaders assert, not to sell to anyone but whites.

In the wake of the 1948 election, however, the pressure to escape the slums has been terrific. Negroes have moved outward, usually spreading block by block. Often they moved into homes vacated by whites who have shifted to the suburbs.

One result of this pressure is that the hearts of the major cities, Los Angeles excepted, are being taken over more and more by Negroes.

Where the two races meet they often clash. Perhaps the most famous cases are those involving Cicero and the Trumbull Park project in Chicago.

* * *

THE TROUBLE BEGAN in Cicero in July, 1951, when a Negro bus driver and his family moved into an apartment. The resentment in the all-white community reached its peak July 12 when 5,000 people rioted. It took 250 policemen and 450 National Guardsmen to restore order. The bus driver moved and since then, so far as Negro leaders know, no Negro has tried to move into the community.

Trumbull Park on the far Southside of Chicago, has been festering since 1953, when a Negro and his family moved into a housing project. After a series of riots, the Chicago police were forced to assign 1,200 patrolmen to maintain order.

The Trumbull Park disorders have continued intermittently since. Even now almost 100 policemen are assigned to the project to maintain peace.

Until recently members of the 28 Negro families now living in Trumbull Park were escorted into and out of the project by police. Now they come and go on their own though police keep a watchful eye on the routes they travel.

There have been repeated racial disturbances in Detroit.

Last October a Negro couple with three children moved onto Chalfonte street. A mob of about 1,000 collected and hurled rocks at the home. Two po[illegible]n were injured. The family sold and moved.

* * *

DETROIT IS A city where racial tensions are watched closely by the police. In fact, the city maintains a bureau of special investigation which deals largely with racial incidents.

Two of the detectives in this bureau are Sgt. Thomas Nickerson and Ed Boggs.

"Our job," said Boggs, "is to maintain order. Whatever we think we keep to ourselves. Anytime anybody wants to throw a brick at a house in Detroit, he had better remember one thing: There is going to be a cop between him and his target."

Boggs and Nickerson said also they always expected trouble after a racial incident in the South.

"After the Till murder case down in Mississippi," said Boggs, "we must have investigated 40 beatings of whites by Negroes. They just wanted to take it out on somebody."

(Emmett Till, a 14-year-old Negro, was slain in Mississippi last summer. The two white men accused of his murder were acquitted.)

The city of Dearborn, which adjoins Detroit, has achieved a certain measure of fame. It contains no Negro residents and the mayor, Orville Hubbard, is outspokenly prosegregation.

Charles Wartman, editor of a Negro newspaper, the Michigan Chronicle, said of Hubbard: "There's nothing like him anywhere else in Michigan. . . . I will say this, the pressure of Negro expansion has not reached Dearborn. For a Negro to move to Dearborn, he would have to take a large hedge hop. If the Negro population reaches the boundaries of Dearborn, they will move in."

Despite all the troubles of the North with discrimination there is no real comparison with segregation in the South, where the races are separated by law. The North is making steady progress toward equality.

Fifty Years of Progress

Disputed Fri 12-9-56 P. 6

"I'm going to talk to you today about cases I have lost," said Assistant State Attorney General Fred Hansen, when he talked recently before the "Hungry Club," an affiliate of the Hutcherson Branch of the YMCA, Tulsa.

Oklahoma City

The first assistant to Mac Q. Williamson proceeded to take for his subject, "Segregation in the Schools," beginning with Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and bringing it on down through the Ada Lois Sipuel and G. W. McLaurin cases. Hansen told his audience that most attorneys like to talk about cases they have won, but this was an occasion he desired to talk about cases he had lost. Negroes in Oklahoma know that Mac Q. Williamson, as attorney for state government, vigorously upheld state laws until they were declared void by the United States Supreme Court. Since that time, as a loyal and patriotic American, the attorney general and his force have advised the governor and the state superintendent of public instruction to proceed in Oklahoma with a program of integration.

38a General

The first information Attorney Hansen provided for his Tulsa audience was that Abraham Lincoln in his first executive order, did not free all of the slaves in the United States. His order freed forever the slaves in Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (certain parishes excepted); Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (West Virginia and other portions excepted). About 3,120,000 slaves were thus freed; 830,000 slaves in the excepted parts were not freed."

When the 13th Amendment was written to the Constitution of the United States, that legislative enactment freed all of the remaining slave units in the nation who were not given their liberty by Lincoln's proclamation. This amendment was passed by Congress about eight months following the death of the immortal Lincoln. There were actually almost a million blacks who were still chattles in the states, following Lincoln's proclamation.

The 14th Amendment converted the former bondmen into citizens, and the 15th Amendment conferred upon them the right to vote. All of these war amendments constitutionalized Lincoln's freedom for Negroes and added all of those who were left out in the first ultimatum issued by the Civil War President.

Having disposed of Lincoln's executive order and the subsequent war amendments, Mr. Hansen hurried on to the first obstruction thrown in the path of Negroes during the period of Reconstruction.

Quite evidently the states down in Dixie quickly gave their attention solely to the separate provisions of the segregation laws of Louisiana, back in 1890, and dismissed entirely that provision that required the accommodations to be equal.

It was during the case of Plessy vs Ferguson the Supreme Court announced a theory of "separate but equal." According to Hansen, Louisiana state laws, following the Plessy vs Ferguson decision, required railway companies carrying passengers in their coaches in that state to provide equal, but separate, accommodations for the white and colored races, by providing two or more passenger coaches for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger coaches by a partition so as to secure separate accommodations; and providing that no person shall be permitted to occupy seats in coaches other than the ones assigned to them, on account of the race they belong to . . . are not in conflict with the provisions either of the Thirteenth Amendment or of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

Those of us who live in this day realize that if Louisiana and the other southern states had lived up to, with integrity, the ruling of the Supreme Court, there would probably never have been any change in the law by the Supreme Court. But in 1946, when the Oklahoma Conference of Branches introduced the Ada Lois Sipuel case into court, the only observance of the law the South was paying any attention to was the separation of the races. It notoriously had forgotten entirely that the Supreme Court had said the accommodations must be equal.

A lot of folk did not know that in the Plessy vs Ferguson case the issue was not about schools but about steam boats. But the South made the principle that had been made about steam boats applicable to railroads, and finally to the schools. The rule was still to be that the accommodations must be separate BUT EQUAL.

All of us who have traveled in recent years realize that the Negro was finally forced out of pullman accommodations, which provide for eating and sleeping, while Negroes were told that those accommodations were provided solely for white people. This writer on one occasion, when invited to address college students at Wiley college, Marshall, Texas, was forced to sit up all night in traveling to this community, and we all know now the difference between the physical aspects of the Negro school and the white institution in the district where black folk live is easily distinguishable.

Unquestionably, the conservative position the Negro has always taken in this country would have persuaded him to have accepted separate arrangements for an indefinite period if the administrators of the law had insisted upon the "equal" provisions of state constitutions. This might have been carried out if the public service corporations had not declared in the nineties that it would be confiscatory to carry out those provisions of the law. The South was exposed as having a "beer income and a champagne appetite" when it came to the question of providing equal accommodations for a large portion of its citizenry, who lived in forced beggardom. Fair employment practice laws are slowly lifting Negroes to a plane in the economic structure where they can now pay for the accommodations the law says public service organizations must provide for them.

Some idea of just what white folk thought of black people can be gotten from an address William H. Murray, who was later governor of Oklahoma, made to the constitutional convention November 20, 1906. Murray is considered the framer of the constitution of this state and had the most outstanding voice during that period. At the opening of that convention, Mr. Murray is quoted as saying to the delegates:

> "We should provide for separate schools (for Negroes) and give the legislature power to separate them in waiting rooms and on passenger coaches and all other institutions of the state . . . As a rule they are failures as lawyers, doctors and other professions. He must be taught in the line of his own sphere, as porters, bootblacks and barbers and many lines of agriculture, horticulture and mechanics in which he is an adept . . . "

It will be recalled that Oklahoma came into statehood have had to suffer in Oklahoma for the last fifty years, and with the majority of white people thinking in terms of all of the statutory provisions that have joined with the "Negro domination." Interested territorial politicians took theory of Bill Murray and his followers that Negroes should the position that Negroes would eventually dominate the not be trained to be anything other than porters, bootblacks new state, and with their inferiority reckoned in terms of and barbers. Perhaps when Murray got back from his experience in South America, he had finally discovered that bootblacks, porters and barbers, the folk who fashioned the some of the dark people he had met had contributed to sendnew commonwealth were of course greatly disturbed. A lot ing him back to Oklahoma a pauper, and had given him a of folk have never known that Oklahoma passed a separate post course in race relations. At least there is no later school law different from any other in the Union. Oklahoma's two-mill levy for separate schools, which functioned record that shows him as the exponent of the doctrine that up to the outlawing of separate schools in the United States, all black folk are chumps. It was left for those who came was entirely different to any separate school law in the na- after him to establish fake law schools and attempt to perpetuate segregation. Murray did declare martial law and establish a line across which white and black people could not cross in Oklahoma City.

The address delivered by Mr. Hansen to the Hungry Club in Tulsa is a fine chart that both races should have in their possession, to trace the path down which the people of Oklahoma have trod towards a higher morality and social decency. Bill Murray lived long enough to learn over television that one cannot make racial units inferior by law, and he lived long enough also to see the governor, who sat in the same seat he had occupied, assisted by the attorney general of Oklahoma and the state superintendent of instruc-

Assistant Attorney General Hansen's speech to the "Hungry Club" plows right on through the difficulties Negroes

tion, implement a program of integration. The Grandfather law, declared invalid almost a half century ago, along with the problems we are today facing up in Wagoner county and Okmulgee county, cause us to wonder whether or not our fundamental charter was written by statesmen or demagogues.

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Advertiser P. 2-B

Trouble Brewing

Advertiser P. 2B

The Andalusia Star-News

Montgomery Ala.

The United States Supreme Court has directed that segregation on buses be outlawed.

Conferences of federal officials have been scheduled in Washington to implement this decision.

The Ku Klux Klan is riding again. Trouble, serious trouble, is brewing. Integration can be forced in the Deep South only at the point of bayonets by the armed forces.

And that enforcement will be accepted only so long as the troops remain on active duty in any locality where the Supreme Court edict is to be enforced.

Dixie is not yet ready for a ban on segregation.

Sun 11-25-56

Saying 'Shut Up' In Angry Times

Advertiser P. 2-B

Montgomery Ala.

IT WOULD be agreeable if the prospect was, that in evading the Supreme Court's impossible race mixing ruling, the South could abstain from repressions of free speech and unwise acts of inhibition and restraint.

But this unfolding "generation of litigation" won't witness any such tidy restraint if American history is a reliable guide.

The Southern people are embattled; the angry buzz is swelling; the Klan is emerging again; there are boycotts; citizens of both races who do not see things exactly as their neighbors do have their mouths zippered to avoid the pillory.

In every period of American history there have been times of anxiety, fright and belligerence that led to bigotry and repression. Usually these periods are begotten by wars or the fear of wars.

At such times, there is a brutish mob spirit that roars "shut up!" at the dissenter. There is a desire and often a design to wad a gag into the throat of the dissenter.

You can't kill a thought that way, but the public mind in times of turbulence thinks you can.

The inflamed public mind foolishly concludes that you can stop the music, as it were, simply by silencing a few "agitators." All human history mocks that assumption, but the lessons of history are lost to the impassioned.

Free speech is, as is so often said, a quite dangerous thing. It has and will lead to trouble. But free speech is not half so dangerous as the repression of free speech.

★

BUT, alas, in times of heat and fear American liberties have, from the birth of the Republic, been debauched—

¶ Against the dreadful flare of the French Revolution, the administration of John Adams enacted the Hitlerite Alian & Sedition Laws. There were fines and prisons for those who spoke or wrote "to defame" the President or Congress. Editors went to jail for criticizing President Adams. Congressman Matthew Lyon of Vermont went to jail for four months for calling Adams a stuffed shirt.

¶ During the Civil War, Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus. Like a Himmler or a Beria, Secretary of War Stanton arrested some 13,000 citizens for disloyalty. They happened to be mostly Democrats who had done nothing wrong, but were merely thought to be risks.

¶ In World War I, Eugene Debs, four times the Socialist candidate for President, was sentenced to 10 years for a speech in Ohio.

★

THESE incidents in the course of War I reveal the national and individual instinct for intolerance and suppression—

¶ Several hundred servicemen swarmed into a Socialist newspaper office, wrecked the plant, slugged the editors.

¶ Police forced 118 steel strikers in West Virginia to kiss the flag.

¶ Congressman Victor Berger, of Milwaukee, was deprived of his seat because he was a socialist by a congressional vote of 309 to 1.

¶ The New York legislature refused to seat five Socialist legislators.

¶ A Californian who laughed at some recruits drilling in San Francisco was imprisoned.

¶ A New Yorker got 90 days for spitting on the street near some Italian officers.

¶ A movie producer got a $5,000 fine and a 10-year-sentence for trying to produce *A Birth Of A Nation*-type movie on the American Revolution. The judge's idea was that this would offend England.

There is no lack of examples down to the present, including a press muzzling law promoted by the Klan in 1927.

★

THE dread and anger aroused by the struggle over race mixing may stimulate such excesses.

Action must, has and will be taken in certain areas to resist a court dispensation that is unbearable.

But unwise acts of inhibition and restraint on free speech should be guarded against.

That is what the past teaches, if we are cool enough to read the past.

Presidential candidates asked to back integration

Pro-American P. 5

Baltimore Md.

NEW YORK—The American Jewish Congress recently urged the presidential candidates of both major parties to provide "affirmative leadership" in public school desegregation.

Sun. 10-13-56

The appeal was made in a resolution adopted by the group's executive committee in which Justice Wise Polier of the Domestic Relations Court presided as chairman.

The resolution asks the candidates to "assert and reassert their support of the Supreme Court's decision, their intention to bring about prompt compliance with its terms and their repudiation and condemnation of all efforts to nullify the decision and oppress those who assert their constitutional rights."

* * *

MAKING REFERENCE to the recent barring of two colored students from Texarkana (Texas) College despite a Federal court order to admit them, the agency charged that "The mob plainly engaged in a direct assault on the functioning of the Federal judiciary."

It further stated that:

"When such lawlessness exists, government by law is in danger," and urged that the Department of Justice enforce laws "prohibiting interference with the functioning of the Federal courts by taking prompt action against such persons" who defy the court order.

38a 1956

GENERAL

South Nothing More Than Old Confederate States

Afro-American Sat. 11-10-56 P. 6

Baltimore Md.

ATLANTA — "Today's South is nothing more or less than the old Confederate States of America, perpetuating the slave status of colored citizens by establishing a police state."

That was the blunt charge made last week by E. M. Martin, first vice president and secretary of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company here.

"The South," Mr. Martin declared, "is passing and enforcing laws that contravene the Bill of Rights, the Constitution and the inalienable rights of all human beings.

* * *

"HISTORY IS repeating itself—the white South is again getting rich and powerful off the sweat and blood and robbery of colored people of practically all their economic, political and social rights under the Constitution.

"Unless the Federal Government has the moral courage to protect its colored citizens, it is just a matter of time before these rapers of American democracy will take over and run America as they tried to do back in the '60's.

"It has been over 90 years since the Emancipation Proclamation and our Southern Democratic party has made the plight of the colored citizen in the deep South the laughing stock of the outside civilized world.

* * *

"THERE IS absolutely no hope for civil rights from the Democratic party until the party itself has the moral courage to rid itself of the dirtiest and most brazen rapers of freedom and democracy anywhere in the world — not excepting South Africa.

"Yes the Republican party has a few skunks here and there, but the Republican party, as a whole, has nothing in it that approaches, even in a small degree, the rapers of the colored race and freedom, as practiced by the Southern Democratic party.

Battle against slavery not won, says executive

ATLANTA — "I, a descendant of chattel slavery, know that the battle is not yet won," writes E. M. Martin, one of the South's leading business execuives.

"The firm which I have served for over 40 years, is owned wholly by colored people. It has admitted assets of over 40 millions, and surplus to policyholders of over 10 millions.

"Over 12 millions are invested in U.S. bonds; 226 Atlanta Life employes served in the armed forces during World War II, and a lesser number in the first World War. These boys fought to make the world safe for democracy.

"Isn't it high time for America to clean up the killers of liberty and justice in its own backyard, and guarantee freedom to its 12 million colored citizens in the South."

"The conscience of the whole civilized world, including many Southerners, was shocked by the brutal killing of the Till boy in Mississippi.

* * *

"BUT THERE was not enough Christian democracy in Mississippi to punish anybody for it.

"The public conscience was so low, degraded, and bloodthirsty, that I rather think God must be ashamed of Mississippi and all of His so-called Christian churches in that state.

"Southern Democrats are not satisfied with keeping colored citizens out of all government. They go further than this.

"Hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars are collected in taxes and fees of all kinds and descriptions from colored people.

* * *

"BUT, IN spending all these millions, colored persons, save for a few welfare and school jobs, are shut almost completely out of all work above that of a maid or janitor.

"And they call this democracy and say the Southern white man is the colored man's best friend.

"God have mercy on their souls!

"Not satisfied with all this, a great witch hunt goes on against any persons, white or colored, who dare recognize the divinity of the human personality in a colored man.

"The rulers preach the inferiority of men of color and consign them to a slave status, unworthy of association, in a supposed free economy, with other citizens.

"When we consider the white Slavecrats and those that succeeded them, raped colored women up to more than a million mulattos as of 1870, decent white men should bow their heads in shame and keep their mouths shut on this subject.

"It was and still is the rapers of Christianity and Democracy who yesterday raped colored slaves and later, colored near-slaves, who today, cry loudest about race mixing.

* * *

"I CAN CONCEIVE of nothing more degrading and even lower than the beasts of the field than raping of colored women to the tune of a million mullatoes, and no marriages or support, but in many instances their children were sold into slavery.

"Even monkeys, dogs and the lowest breed of animals have respect for their offspring, but not so the rapers of Christianity and Democracy, either yesterday or today, in the Deep South, if she happens to be colored.

"The truth of the whole matter is that the great mass of colored persons consider the rapers of their women, the robbers of their just rights and liberty, as little more than white brutes, clothed and covered with the blessings of the state and church.

* * *

"I DARE SAY the colored man or woman has not yet been born who would be happy as man and wife with any of the rapers of Christianity, Democracy, and killers of the souls of men.

"There are not enough rivers and seas in the Southland to wash the stains of the blood of colored victims off the hands, minds and hearts of great Southern governors, Senators, and above all many of the great ministers of the so-called Christian churches.

"Lord have mercy upon them, for they know not what they do."

"It took a tremendous amount of love of God to pen the twelve words above, but there is no greater command in all God's universe than the first commandment, 'Love they neighbor.'

* * *

"I THINK that millions in the South, who have suffered with me, know what I am talking about. My grandmother was a slave and I heard from her own lips about the hells of slavery.

"If we can send armies around the world to carry democracy to men and women who have shed no blood and sweat for America, is it too much to ask America to protect the freedom of 12 millions down here in the Southland?

"Twelve millions who have been deprived of practically all manhood rights, even the right to move around freely in public places — including schools, courts, parks, housing, jails and public conveyances?

"Boycotts are staged against the products of firms that employ colored persons in positions above janitors and maids.

* * *

"WORSE THAN this, in some city and state governments, money that colored persons pay for taxes, is spent to starve out by denying work to those who have the courage to petition or protest this systematic robbery.

The jobs of the colored and white man are not safe if they advocate supporting the decision of the Supreme Court in the matter of segregated schools, or the right to serve in private or public work on an equal basis with white men.

"If these rapers of American democracy get away with defying the Supreme Court by not only threatening bloodshed, but actually nullifying the law with subversive government, White Citizens Councils and the like, it will be just a matter of time before they take over and control the Federal Government."

Integration pace rapid, report says

Afro-American Sat. 11-10-56

Baltimore Md.

NEW YORK (NNPA)—Widespread progress in desegregation of public facilities and services throughout the United States was reported Monday in "Integration: North and South," published by the Fund for the Republic.

P. 3

The 120-page book, by Harold Fleming and David Loth, lists state by state and community by community, cases where racial bars have been dropped in public and private schools, employment, public accommodations, churches, hospitals, professional organizations, military establishments, housing and recreation.

The report covers the period since the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, outlawing racial segregation in public schools.

IT REVEALS THAT in states outside of the South remaining racial segregation and discrimination is not only being reduced steadily but also that colored citizens are obtaining positions of leadership in all walks of life.

The report on the South records 1,100 instances of desegregation of schools, housing, transportation, employment and public accommodations, leading to the conclusion that there is "no longer a Solid South of segregation."

Preparation of the report was financed by a grant from the Fund for the Republic.

Mr. Fleming is responsible for the section of the report dealing with the southern states. He is director of the Southern Regional Council, a 12-state organization which is working to promote better race relations in the South.

* * *

MR. LOTH, A FORMER newspaperman, prepared the material on the northern and western states.

In a foreword, Morris L. Ernst, attorney and a director of the American Civil Liberties Union, declared "this volume is news of a high order, untinged by subjective editorial comment . .

"In every hamlet and city, in every state of the union, there are people of good will who will be heartened to action by reading of peaceful progress elsewhere."

Race Disputes Hit Dixie Anew On 3 Fronts

Pittsburgh Courier New York P. 24 Thurs. 10-11-56

By the United Press

Disputes over rights of Negroes to vote, to sit with whites in football stands and on buses, and to equal opportunities in the armed forces erupted in the South today.

The U.S. Department of Justice asked Congress yesterday to investigate whether Negroes are being illegally deprived of voting rights in Pierce County, Ga., and in Quachita and Rapides Parishes, La.

City officials of Tallahassee, Fla., asked a state legislative committee to investigate a racial bus boycott and activities of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D., N. Y.) asked Defense Secretary Charles Wilson to investigate a charge that Negro servicemen at Donaldson Air Force Base and Fort Jackson, S. C., are being denied educational courses.

A segregationist leader accused the Navy of deliberately "slapping us in the face" in racial mixing of spectators at Louisiana's new law banning athletic events does not go into selling tickets to the Tulane football game without regard to race.

Navy spokesman said, "We have always sold available tickets to anyone who applied effect until two days after the Tulane-Navy game Saturday. A

Tennessee Drowns Jim Crow

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

There was weeping, wailing and gnashing of teeth among Tennessee's embattled segregationists when the state Supreme Court ruled that Tennessee's segregation laws were unconstitutional in view of the U. S. Supreme Court's segregation decision. Sat. 11-3-56

The state court upheld racial integration in the Clinton, Tenn., schools and refused an injunction to bar 12 Negro pupils, but its decision is bound to be even more far-reaching.

Florida's highest court has handed down a similar decision although delaying integration until it can be done "without public mischief" which the police, of course, are paid to prevent.

Jim crow within a few years will no longer have a roosting place.

Can the South Escape?

That powerful minority of the Southern white population which defies the U. S. Supreme Court decision hopefully believes that it can by various machinations escape from obeying the law.

Turn and twist as they may, legally and otherwise, these misguided folk might as well understand clearly that their efforts are doomed to failure, no matter how much they denigrate, libel, intimidate and affront Negroes.

These people, while powerful, are a smaller minority than they were during Reconstruction times and afterward, and they are growing smaller despite their frantic propaganda.

They are up against the 14th Amendment which specifically prohibits denial of equal protection of laws of any individual, and it was on this amendment that the Supreme Court based its monumental decision.

Every move the Unreconstructed South is making today to defeat desegregation is illegal and cannot stand up in court, which explains why these people are trying to kill off the NAACP.

The best thing we can do is to give the NAACP a financial war chest which will enable it to weather the flood of legal cases which has been launched to bankrupt it. What about a new membership in the NAACP?

If, as has been monotonously repeated, the South is so noble, so Christian, so Anglo-Saxon in race, religion ethics, and political concepts, how does it happen that three centuries of the system has produced the Negroes of which it complains and a white leadership that openly defies the supreme law of the land?

Separation or Segregation; Prejudice or Preference

alabama Journal Montgomery Ala.

In the November Atlantic magazine appears such an able presentation of the white South's attitude toward the Negro race, that it deserves wide attention. It is written by Dr. Herbert Ravenall Sass, of Charleston, a frequent contributor to the Atlantic.

The article goes right to the heart of things, as is indicated by its title, "Mixed Schools and Mixed Blood." It is temperate, it is scholarly, it is unanswerable in its logic. There is no detraction from its force and impressiveness by an accompanying article by a Harvard professor which is thoroughly intemperate and freighted with the arguments the fanatical abolitionists used a hundred or more years ago when the Negro race was in slavery.

Dr. Sass contributes some impressive new thoughts on the differences of word interpretation in the North and in the South. "The South has had a bad time with words," he writes. P. 4

We suffer from the fact that segregation is considered synonymous with separation. Separation is actually the word which describes what the South regards as essential for the welfare of two races. Atl. 11-2-56

Similarly the South is injured by continual use of the word prejudice (meaning race prejudice) when "preference" is the word for "a natural reaction to facts and conditions observed or experienced, and through the action of heredity generation after generation it becomes instinctive." Amplifying the difference between "prejudice" and "preference," Dr. Sass writes:

"I am sure that among white Carolinians there is, as yet, almost no hatred of the Negro, nor is there anything that can accurately be called race prejudice. What does exist, strongly and ineradicably, is race preference. In other words, we white Southerners prefer our own race and wish to keep it as it is.

"This preference should not and cannot be eliminated. It is much bigger than we are, a far greater thing than our racial dilemma. It is—and here is another basic fact of great significance—an essential element in Nature's huge and complex mechanism. It is one of the reasons why evolution, ever diversifying, ever discriminating, ever separating race from race, species from species, has been able to operate in an ascending course so that what began aeons ago as something resembling an ameoba has now become Man. In preferring its own race and in striving to prevent the destruction of that race by amalgamation with another race, the white South is not flouting Nature but is in harmony with her."

Very important in connection with the Sass contribution to the Atlantic is the fact that it gives nation-wide publicity to a dignified and scholarly treatment of a subject that in the North has been chiefly treated either through emotion or by silence.

'NO SOLID SOUTH ON SEGREGATION

Times-Picayune New Orleans, La. P. 19

Fund for Republic Reports Study Findings

Tues. 10-30-56

By HENRIETTA LEITH

NEW YORK, Oct. 29 (AP) — The Fund for the Republic said a two-year survey of integration in North and South shows that "there is no longer a solid South of segregation."

A detailed report of the findings of the study was made public by the fund. The studies of desegregation in the North and in the Southern and border states were carried out separately by David Loth and Harold Fleming, respectively, under grants from the fund. General

The Fund for the Republic receives funds from the Ford Foundation, but operates independently.

Studies Integration

Both studies dealt with incidents of desegregation in education, private and public employment, housing, transportation, religion, organizations, recreation and other public facilities.

The period covered is from May, 1954 — when the Supreme Court ruled that segregation in schools is unconstitutional — to May, 1956.

In a foreword to his report on the 12 "Solid South" states and the border states of Oklahoma, Missouri, West Virginia, Maryland and Delaware, Fleming said:

"The common notion that 'desegregation just can't work' in the South is plainly contradicted by the findings.

"The nearly 1100 instances of desegregation discovered were almost evenly divided between the five 'border' states, on the one hand, and the 12 'Southern' states on the other. Virtually all of them took place smoothly ...ously."

'Far-Reaching'

Fleming said the survey showed that the Supreme Court decision of 1954 was "simply the most far-reaching in a long series of developments" and desegregation incidents of the past two years "were additions to a substantial list of Southern precedents."

Loth, commenting on his findings, said most Northern instances of integration were accomplished "without ill will or protests," but added:

"The study should not lead to complacency. Many of the instances cited are no more than opening wedges in breaking down discriminatory practices, particularly in the key fields of employment and housing."

In the field of education, Loth's report showed that four non-southern states which authorized segregation in schools before 1954—Arizona, New Mexico, Kansas and Wyoming — all had practically eliminated it during the past two years.

Fleming's study showed that more than 350 school districts in nine of the 17 Southern and border states had integrated schools to some degree, while in a number of areas where schools were still segregated, school buses were carrying white and Negro children together.

Cites Instances

Fleming also cited numerous instances of desegregation of parochial and other private schools, in teacher organizations and in higher education.

He said only five states — Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina — still enforce complete segregation in state-supported colleges, and all of those but South Carolina had at least one private college admitting both white and Negro students.

Loth's survey of the North cited the fact that a Negro served as acting mayor of Hartford, Conn., another as commander of an Illinois National Guard unit, one as vice-mayor of Cincinnati and another as deputy police commissioner of New York City.

In his Southern survey Fleming found that as of 1954 Negroes were serving on city councils in 11 Southern cities and had been elected or appointed to office in 20 other communities.

He also noted that "a small but growing number of Southern employers are disregarding the taboo against use of Negroes in skilled, professional and white-collar jobs."

...ia, North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Arkansas, with litigation in progress in many others.

"It seemed apparent," the report said, "that legal segregation on all public carriers was destined for an early death."

during the past two years, with 34 hospitals using the professional staffs of public or private hospitals in nine of the 17 Southern border states for the first time.

Negroes Serve

Fleming found Negroes on the services of Negroes.

He said segregation had been abandoned on local transit systems

38a 1956

GENERAL

Solid South Retribution

Guardian Sat 9-1-56

Boston Mass.

By Monroe Mason

Problems far exceeding racial segregation confront 16,000,000 colored Americans as the civil-rights dilemma spreads into unknown nationwide political ramifications concocted by solid South democratic leaders who crave for retribution.

Defiance of the U. S. Supreme Court on the part of racial hatred die-hards of the solid South, is only a minor incident to ponder over as they secretly plot an alleged future economic program of mandatory subjugation to block racial advancement and above all total destruction of the NAACP!

Will the presnt G. O. P. regime stand by complacently and not head-off an alleged pending grave crisis? Boycotts of Southern colored leaders without violence serves only a limited purpose for local respective jurisdictions to make the nation understand a far reaching climax looms as to whether or not racial equality in all categories can be exacted.

The F. B. I., to date has been handicapped not to openly release its vast investigation powers, because of strong political inter-meddleing instigated by leaders of the present democratic Congress. This was demonstrated and activated in the democratic national convention proceedure of moderation to defy the U. S. Supreme Court's racial desegregation decisions.

Retraction, in part of a paragraph in last week's article of the writer, "Civil Rights Planks," a grave error is noted. It should have read, "In all sections of the nation, except the solid South and many border States segregation in any category is strongly condemned." We are to make this correction in order to assure readers of this publication how the majority of this nation abhors bigotry and racial hatered.

The civil-rights plank in the democratic national convention platform catapulted lock, stock and barrel into the arms of U. S. Senator James O. Eastland, Miss., This has a tendency if a colored voter casts a democratic ballot for President in the November national election, it will be a solid vote for EASTLAND and continued racial segregation in America!

After Labor Day, a furious financial dilemma, more staggering than civil-rights will be uncovered concerning 16,000,000 colored Americans, propagated in alleged secrecy by the 84th democratic Congress, because of racial hatered by solid South legislative leaders for racial curtailment of financial bank loans.

Since the U. S. Supreme Court public school desegregation decision, a sinister economic financial blockade was given the legislative greenlight, which apparently could not be stalled by the Northern democratic block ordering alleged racial curtailment of financial bank loans under pretexts of property devaluation in dominant white neighborhoods. The nation's leading financial institutions including insurance companies have manifested deep interest in this alleged secret racial financial loan curtailment to applicants with doubtful assets that do not conform with Federal or respective States loan and mortgage requirements.

COLORED HOME OWNERS BARRED

A Boston leader of finance revealed to the writer this alleged pending racial financial loan curtailment, if not blocked before getting a head-start will decree financial damage to thousands of colored home owners throughout the nation! Northern democrats are as much to blame, if the above allegations are true as their Southern colleagues in Congress. Republican legislators unfortunately did not have a lookin at this alleged backstage secret racial financial mortgage loan curtailment.

The three colored democratic Congressmen have been very lax in their efforts according to many bystanders to promote a genuine economic racial status, especially at a time when 16,000,000 Colored Americans need protection on all fronts, including civil-rights.

NAACP organized fulfillment of duties already performed accountable to racial desegregation seems a small burden compared to a nationwide racial financial stalemate. Thurgood Marshall and his NAACP legal experts nad better jump a jet plane before it is too late and get a slant on what the solid South race haters in Congress have up their sleeves allegedly drying-up financial and mortgage loans to sound business men representing 16,000,000 colored Americans.

If "TV" viewers, radio listeners and those who attended the democratic national convention heard any mention from any democratic leader concerning the above racial in a Federal or State court to sue for libel or slander, We are of the opinion that statutes of any geographycal area in the nation have'nt a scintilla of legal coverage to keep a writer from informing the public of proposed racial inhumane degradation.

Guardian

SCAPEGOATS OF FOREFATHERS

Racial segregation has been a terrible cross to bear over 80 years for 16,000,000 colored Americans now a part of this nation, who remain scapegoats of their forefathers. The smouldering nationwide financial loan mortgage muddle confronting a racial group, if not blocked or investigated in time will stampede millions of Americans into untold economic extremes at present cannot be measured. Will gradualism and moderation be offered as a panacea when future politicl stock-taking nears a reality?

Rep. John W. McCormick, democratic majority leader of the 84th Congress and platform chairman of the democratic national convention resolutions committee, also former Gov. Paul A. Dever, who greatly assisted writing the civil-rights plank in the democratic platform, both of Massachusetts contrived and contributed along with solid South leaders to alienate the U. S. Supreme Court's doctrine of civil-rights.

The above two Massachusetts leaders buried political respectibility of their Yankee manhood when they kow-towed overwhelmingly to solid South leaders under a dismal clouded shadow to preserve democratic party unity. Will the voters of Massachusetts ever understand why these two exceptional Baystate leaders would veer so strongly to the solid South, when in the past this same contingent had completely emasculated New England's textile industry?

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR JUSTICE

There are two objectives political minded colored citizens of the nation must arduously strive for, (1) contribute unstintingly to the G.O.P., campaign fund, especially in states where all votes are counted, (2) stupendously boost the NAACP financial chest for assurance of further racial desegregation victories. The following paragraph of the national convention democratic platform on civil-rights describes how the solid South dominated, gaining control of the racial segregation issue.

Recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States relating to segregation in publicly supported schools and elsewhere have brought consequences of vast importance to our nation as a whole and especially to communities directly affected. We reject all proposals for the use of force to interfere with the orderly determination of these matters by the courts.

A National States Rights Convention, is scheduled to convene in New Orleans, La., September to advocate states rights, segregation, interposition and the Southern manifesto. It is also expected to oppose statehood for Alaska, Hawaii and Federal aid to education. Below, are highlights gleaned from press releases since the national democratic convention adjourned —

1. The two senior colored members of Congress have been feuding privately over civil rights. They are Congressman Dawson, who was born in Georgia and is highly respected by his House colleagues, and Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem, N. Y., the U. S. Supreme Court! Can a political party have recourse secret financial loan curtailment, the writer is forced to admit a brother on the outside informed him.

When the facts are placed in the writer's hands, it is understood many faces will be red with shame and wonder how such an underhanded racial political strategem could take place in America including segregation in defiance of **who is married to singer Hazel Scott and commutes between Harlem and Washington. Dawson has accused Powell of stirring up the civil rights issue for personal publicity colored people have already made tremendous progress and shouldn't spoil it.**

2. Powell not only boycotted the Democratic convention but is secretly considering a bolt to the Republicans. He has sounded out Vice President Nixon and White House Aide Max Rabb about deserting the Democratic ticket — if the Democrats wage a lukewarm civil rights campaign. In fact, Powell put in writing to Vice Preisdent Nixon that he is "ready and willing" to campaign for an Eisenhower - Nixon ticket.

3. The third Colored Congressman, Detroit's Charles Diggs, isn't contemplating anything so drastic. But he has threatened privately that he won't campaign for the De-

mocrats unless they come out fighting for civil rights.

4. Colored leaders have received word that Attorney-General Brownell, in a play for colored votes, will indict several election officials in Mississippi for refusing the right to vote.

EFFECTIVE BULLSEYE RANGE

The above has political significance, but does not strike the bulls-eye effectively, whe nit is reported the first of the present year, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, including Boston has been invaded by a drastic loan racial mortgage curtailment.

New and additional loan racial applicants have been relegated to long waiting lists and in many instances turned down without any reason. An offhand explaination, is lack of investment loan capital, which any white applicant can bypass. A local veteran's organization has also been reported a victim securing a loan to renovate its headquarters, because of this vicious financial loan tangle. Boston's mayor, John B. Hynes recent decision to junk over 800 delapidated dwellings in the Hub has made matters worse for colored citizens to buy a home or rent an apartment;

The following report from San Francisco's G.O.P., national convention should be given wide acclaim, when the platform plank on civil-rights prescribes elimination of racial segregation in public schools with all delberate speed. Ths should be done locally through Federal courts.

The elmination of racial segregation must be attained through intelligent study, understanding and good will.

The above was to the point and without equivocation! It is believed millions of colored voters will cast ballots repudiating the EASTLAND standard of White Supremacy in the November Presidential election. The nationwide racial financial loan curtailment injustice, now mounting should also be rebuked as an Un-American calamitous economic political monstrosity!

Summerizing the current political gamut, we conclude both dominant parties are almost in accord that racial economic security, is greater than civil rights!

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser Tues. 9-11-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.

The Nine-Man Oligarchy

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Utilization of the national Guard, or any group of state peace officers, for the maintenance of order is not necessarily an endorsement of integration, as some people seem to think. Race riots and violence must be controlled, if possible, and it is the duty of the state governments to make every possible effort in that direction. For example, Gov. Clements, of Tennessee, was doing no more than his duty when he sent tanks and guns to Clinton. But the necessity for such action is a disgraceful commentary on our modern civilization. The U. S. Supreme Court, of course, must bear the blame for planting the seed from which these obnoxious weeds now growing will, in the judgment of millions of thinking Americans, finally "choke down" the progress of our civilization.

The United States Constitution is "the law of the land." There are those who say Supreme Court decisions constitute the law of the land. Millions of people are wondering, though, by what process of reasoning can a clear mind entertain such a notion. Any mere student of civics knows that our federal government is based on the constitution—not on a decision of the Supreme Court. Many people are wondering why and when a decision of the Supreme Court displaced the constitution as the law of the land. As a matter of fact, though, they know such a calamity has not happened—yet. And they know there is not even a hint of racial integration in the constitution, nor any of the amendments. All good citizens have respect for the constitution because it is the permanent document upon which our government is based, and correctly interpreted, school buses and machine guns wouldn't have to meet at the same buildings. Where are we headed?

If a Supreme Court decision is the law of the land, then why did the present court in 1954 undertake to nullify a decision of the Supreme Court in 1896, and by the foundation for a long series of race riots? It should be plain to everybody that the Plessy vs. Ferguson decision was based only on the constitution; but the present court frankly admits that it drew from the phylosophy of European sociology for arguments to support the 1954 decision. Knowing that racial integration is not essential to equality in rights and privileges, and knowing there is not a word nor a syllable in the constitution requiring integration, is the reason why so many good citizens cannot accept the Supreme Court's decision, instead of the constitution, as being the law of the land. That's the reason why the need for legal means to prevent integration is so urgently indicated. Workable legal means must be found. Otherwise, it is feared that violence will increase in other areas and continue for years to come.

Owassa, Ala. W. C. BRAXTON.

They Would Paint The White House Black

Editor, The Advertiser:

On May 29, 1956, I left Montgomery, traveled to Louisville, Ky., crossed the Ohio River on the K&I bridge the same day and since then have been north of the Mason-Dixon line.

I spent two weeks in Harrison County, Ind., and visited the old and historic town of Corydon, the county seat. Corydon was the Capital of Indiana till 1825 when it was moved to Indianapolis. It was captured by General Morgan during the Civil War. The old capitol building still stands and is quite an attraction for tourists.

I traveled from Indiana to Columbus, Ohio. It was in Columbus that the North maintained a prison when the war was being fought. This prison was just as famous, (or infamous) as Andersonville but somehow did not receive as much publicity.

I have visited in the towns and cities of Elwood City, Union Town, Washington, Pa., Hagerstown, Frederick, Baltimore, and Dover, Del. I found most of the people up here have about the same attitude toward the race question as the people down South.

All the thunder you hear from up here about the South's mistreatment of the Negroes does not originate with the masses of the people in the North, it comes from the NAACP, from over-ambitious newspaper reporters and from all the politicians. Here in Pittsburgh most of the swimming pools have been closed to prevent rioting among white and Negro boys, also at Washington, Pa., and many other towns.

Through the *Pittsburgh Press* and the *Post Gazette* I have kept abreast of news from Montgomery and Alabama while away. Also I read an article in the *Readers Digest* written by Hodding Carter in which it appears to me that he has deserted the South and joined hands with the rabble rousing politicians up here, who would, if they have their way, paint the White House black.

Pittsburgh, Pa. JAMES H. GREENE.

Show The Way

Editor, The Advertiser:

Why don't our high government officials, beginning with Truman, Eisenhower, the Supreme Court judges, and Gov. Folsom, set a good example for the nation, and put their children or grandchildren in colored schools?

MRS. ANNIE DURHAM.

Milstead, Ala.

Our Opinions

Defender Chicago Ill.

Unholy Crusade For Segr

The use of the Bible to support causes wholly at variance with Christian ethics has been frowned upon by legitimate evangelists and their disciples as an indefensible prostitution of the Holy Scriptures. Obviously universal condemnation of this iniquitous indulgence is no deterrent to the individual who is fired by an inordinate passion for power and notoriety.

Sat 9-8-56

In an interview given to the press a few days ago at Baton Rouge, La., "Archbishop" C. C. Addison, a native of Colquitt, Ga., but now a resident of New York City, is reported as having said that he was "out to destroy the NAACP," for, he went on, "the only proper way to live together in peace and harmony is in segregation."

He quoted as proof of his fuzzy thinking, the 11th chapter, first verse of the book of Genesis which reads:

"And the whole earth was one language and of one speech."

These are the opening words of the biblical passage that deals with the tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues that followed. Interpreting this is his own "ecclesiastical" way, "Archbishop" Addison came to the conclusion that "we take our segregation from the Bible," and that, said he "it is a sin to integrate."

It is difficult to view these utterances with anything but a feeling of melancholy and disgust. To whatever source he attributes his reference, the "Archbishop" is lending his "holy" voice to the gospel of confusion and hate at the very moment when more and more cries are being raised in massive protest against the evil of racial segregation.

It was a familiar trick of the southern advocates of segregation and slavery in pre-civil war days to refer to the Bible as the authority for their nefarious practices. But today, even the most rabid Negro haters no longer hide behind the Scriptures in defending white suprmacy and medieval social concept. For, they realize that the good Book can be quoted with equal vigor by both Saint and Satan.

Please note carefully dear reader, "Archbishop" Adison is "president-general of the pro-segregation African Universal Church and Commercial League corporation." That's the name of the church which is located in New York City and whose titular head has been touring the South in the last two months organizing his pro-segregation group.

We suggest that the "Archbishop" would serve better the cause of his pro-segregation communicants by affiliating himself with the Ku Klux Klan of his native state where the members of this mystic order proval of an unsolicited defender of white supremacy from an unseeming quarter. This is no laughing matter. The fact that the white press has given hearing to this type of Negro leadership is an ominous warning that "Archbishop" Addison's preachment, ludicrous as it is, may find enough support to retard if not obstruct the march of progress toward integration. Enlightened metropolitan public opinion may smother this dangerous movement. But it will not do so by complacency nor by ignoring the destructive power of any itinerant Caesar bent on changing the course of history.

Israel and School Integration Believed Factors in N. Y. Vote

Political Grassroots—

Inquirer

Third in a Series

By JAMES DEVLIN

NEW YORK, March 8 (AP).

THE Israeli and segregation questions may be potent factors in the fight for New York's 45 electoral votes.

Phila. Inq. 3-9-56

A sampling of public opinion by this reporter indicated these issues might bring some voting switches.

A Negro upswing in the Republican voting column appears a possibility.

Philadelphia Pa.

Democrats contend they will make gains among supporters of Israel here.

The survey, following President Eisenhower's announcement for a second term, covered roughly a 150-mile area. It included New York City and Albany, both ordinarily Democratic, and the usually Republican Hudson River Valley and Westchester county.

Harlem, populous Negro center regarded as Democratic since New Deal days, is smarting over racial incidents in Democratic Southern States.

p. 3

Some of its residents say the Republicans are doing more for the Negro than the Democrats and that there will be an increase in the Harlem Republican vote.

* * *

ON ISRAEL, Democrats voice belief the Republicans have lost ground.

They say there is dissatisfaction among Israel's friends over the Administration's policy in the Middle East. They cite the sending of tanks to the Arabs when Israel is asking for arms.

"The trouble is," commented one Democrat, "whenever the Administration does anything that causes criticism, the average person blames the Cabinet officer involved and not Ike."

While not commenting on the Israeli or segregation issues, Republican State Chairman L. Judson Morhouse and his Democratic counterpart, Michael Prendergast, both saw victory ahead in the November election.

Morhouse said Mr. Eisenhower's popularity was such he might exceed his 1952 plurality of 850,000. He said more young Republicans than ever before would be working for Mr. Eisenhower's re-election.

Prendergast retorted that Averell Harriman, Democrat, wiped out this big majority and was elected Governor by about 12,000 votes in 1954. He contended the Democrats can win again this year.

* * *

THE President's announcement he will seek a second term quickly divided his followers and opponents on sharp lines on the possible influence of his heart attack.

"There isn't a person," said a New York City Republican worker, "who doesn't know of somebody who had a heart attack and lived to be 92 years old. Sure, Ike could get a heart attack during a second term, but so could anybody else holding the office of President. The health issue won't hurt Ike."

"Ike was pressured into it," said an Albany Democrat "He's foolish to run—and I'd say that whether he was a Republican or a Democrat. Look at what happened to Franklin D. Roosevelt. Health is bound to be an issue in this campaign."

Democrats generally believe Vice President Richard M. Nixon—their sharp critic—will make a good target if he is Mr. Eisenhower's running mate again.

BUT the rank and file supporting Mr. Eisenhower appear perplexed at the controversy that intermittently boils about Nixon—and particularly at reports some Republicans in upper echelons want to drop him.

"I don't know what all the fuss is about," said a Republican in traditionally GOP Westchester county, well-to-do residential section outside New York City. "It seems to me he has worked loyally for Eisenhower and has done a good job."

In Albany, where Thomas E. Dewey served as Governor, several Democrats registered belief Dewey would supplant Nixon on the Eisenhower ticket. But a Republican expressed doubt, saying such a line-up would provoke former Taft elements in the party.

A porter in Grand Central Terminal said "all you hear" in Harlem are pledges to vote Republican. Others with him nodded assent.

The Republicans, he said, are doing more than the Democrats toward desegregation.

He mentioned, as Nixon had recalled in a speech recently, that Chief Justice Earl Warren, who handed down the school anti-segregation ruling, was a Republican.

Though Harlem schools are not segregated, he said the Negroes there were very much behind the fight of the Negroes in the South.

All Negroes, he said, want their children to grow into a world of equal citizenship—"that's the issue."

* * *

A MAN waiting for a bus in Albany gave this as his reason for opposing Mr. Eisenhower. "I just don't like a soldier as President. A soldier is too accustomed to taking orders."

A restaurant hostess said she was sorry Mr. Eisenhower didn't feel he should retire to his Gettysburg farm, but declared, "I wish he could be President for 20 years; he and Mamie are such nice people."

Along the Hudson River Valley, traditionally Republican, a farmer said he believed Mr. Eisenhower would get a heavy "sympathy" vote—ballots in admiration of his decision to stick to the job despite his heart attack.

A Democratic office worker in New York, apparently thinking along the same lines, said ruefully: "Ike will get the vote of everybody who ever had a heart attack."

Some Democrats say privately they believe Mr. Eisenhower's personal popularity is as great as it was in 1952.

But they believe they have one advantage they didn't have before. In 1952 it was a matter of campaigning against a national war hero with no political background. Now, he has a Presidential record, which the Democrats can attack as vigorously as the Republicans can praise.

Harriman may announce in a matter of weeks his candidacy for the Democratic Presidential nomination to make it a three-way race with Adlai E. Stevenson and Sen. Estes Kefauver.

"Harriman probably prayed that Eisenhower would seek a second term," a Democratic cab driver mused, "because, if Harriman is nominated he will be the younger of the two candidates. Against any other Republican, his age (64) might have worked against him."

On Desegregation

Viewpoint of the White South

Atlanta Constitution

Raleigh N.C.

By AL KUETTNER.

OXFORD, Miss., March 19 — (UP) — Let's slow down for a few minutes and hear the white South's viewpoint on desegration.

The average white Southerner is a law-abiding individual to whom violence is repugnant. He doesn't want to be in the position of defying the Supreme Court. He is as sorry as other Americans if the controversy over the Negro's place in society is casting his country in a bad light around the world.

Atl. C. 3-18-56

But he is accustomed since childhood to separation of Negroes and whites in his community. He has come to believe it hasn't worked too badly. The Negroes themselves have been content for the most, he thinks. The North is mistaken if it pictures all the South's colored people as straining to intermix.

Dread of Mixed Marriages.

He has a dread of one of his children marrying a Negro. He thinks almost all Northern parents would feel the same. But he feels that will be the outcome if Negro and white children begin mixing freely in the classrooms, the playgrounds, the swimming pools, the high school dances.

He knows that in many places, particularly rural areas, the Negroes are so poorly educated they are not prepared for leadership. Yet in many places so vastly do Negroes outnumber whites that with real equality at the polls, Negroes would occupy all offices.

He is trying to make up his mind how to proceed. The opinions of his friends and neighbors influence him mightily. Should he get the tag of "nigger-lover," it may ostracize him socially and ruin him economically.

He wants a sensible solution, an end to this struggle. Where can he turn for organized leadership?

He has a choice of the White Citizens' Councils that stand for preserving strict segregation at all costs and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which wants integration now.

The majority of the South's people can't conscientiously endorse either. They believe that somewhere between the extremes lies the answer to the nation's biggest social issue since the Civil War.

Let's listen to famed novelist William Faulkner. Faulkner is emerging as a spokesman for the "moderates." This correspondent talked with him at his picturesque colonial home here in Oxford.

Need of Moderation.

"The need of the South today is an organization with aims that lie somewhere between the NAACP and the Citizens Councils," says Faulkner.

"Such a group would provide the impetus for bi-racial commissions representing the best of both races. Perhaps in time such a moderate movement could take members away from the NAACP on one side and the Councils on the other."

That phrase "in time" is important. Faulkner fears there is real danger of bloodshed should integration be forced on the South.

"A few of us realize that segregation is going," he says, but the job should be accomplished by choice from within the South.

Danger of Shooting.

"Moderates only hope they can keep outside forces from bringing friction to the fighting point. And, believe me, there is real danger the situation may reach the shooting stage at some points."

Faulkner blames much of the current problem on "the failure of the press and the churches to speak out earlier. They are the voices of authority to which the people usually listen and they are silent."

Faulkner contends that another difficulty is the "unhappy choice" of the term integration.

"In my opinion," he says, "the opposite of segregation is not integration but equality. Integration would take care of itself if the Negroes had real equality."

Disagrees with Carter.

Faulkner disagrees with Editor Hodding Carter of Greenville, Miss., who feels that the gradual migration of Negroes from the South will eventually help the situation by redistribution of the population.

"Negroes who leave the South merely transfer the problem rather than cure it," Faulkner says. "I am afraid the North would be a great deal more impatient with the Negroes than we are."

Faulkner's is one of the few influential moderate voices being heard on the race question. One of the reasons for silence from this group is the fear of criticism, rebuke or reprisal.

Gov. Clement's Moderation.

Gov. Frank Clement of Tennessee has appealed for a moderate approach.

"The greatest danger we face in the South today is the possibility of extremists and agitators from either side gaining control, either through law or politics," Clement said. "Our people are good people, and when left alone, can and will work out any problem,"

There have been some concrete examples of progress with the "moderate" approach.

In Cross-Fire.

In Nashville, Tenn., 26 civic groups tackled the problem at individual study sessions. They wrote separate reports on their findings. A majority emerged with a recommendation to comply with court orders and integrate schools.

But like most of the middle-of-the-roaders, the "moderates" are catching it from both sides.

Both the Citizens Councils and the NAACP are attacking them as "fence straddlers" who are waiting to see which way the majority is going before jumping that way.

2 Dixie states move to evade parks ruling

Afro American P.6 Sat. 4-28-56

Baltimore, Md.

ATLANTA—Both Georgia and Alabama have, to different extents, seized upon the technique of leasing public parks to maintain segregation.

In Atlanta, the state parks director leased nine Georgia state parks to private citizens. The 12-month leases were signed at an average price of $2,000.

Meanwhile, in Montgomery, Gov. James E. Folsom signed into law a bill permitting the state to sell or give away parks, playgrouns or other recreational facilities and public housing projects.

* * *

A FEDERAL district court had already invalidated the State of Virginia's attempt to do the same thing.

The Fourth United States Circuirt Court recently ruled that colored persons should be admitted to state-owned parks regardless of whether the parks were operated by the state or by individuals leasing the parks.

Although no reference to race was made in the Alabama bill, it is interpreted as being a measure to counter-act the Supreme Court ruling that segregation in public facilities is unConstitutional.

* * *

IN GEORGIA, Roy Chalker, parks director, was quoted as admitting that the transfer from public to private operations was designed primarily to maintain racial segregation

The Georgia legislature had already passed a bill, signed by Gov. Marvin Griffin, similar to the one just passed in Alabama.

Mississippi and South Carolina have also enacted similar measures. Under the Alabama law, such transfers of public property must first be approved by the voters in the areas involved.

RACIAL STRIFE HALTS INDUSTRIAL GROWTH?

Commercial Appeal

Winthrop Rockefeller Warns Of 'Bad Impression'

P.11 Mon. 4-23-56

ASKS FOR 'COOL HEADS'

Memphis, Tenn.

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON, April 22. — Winthrop Rockefeller, chairman of the Arkansas Industrial Development Commission, warned Sunday that some Southern states are making a "bad impression" on the industrial world by their attitude on integration.

He addressed the Arkansas State Society in Washington and held a news conference.

Advocating a policy of "law and order", Mr. Rockefeller said some of Arkansas' neighbors to the South and East are getting an "unhealthy reputation" with the industrial world they are seeking to impress.

People of Good Will

He said people of "good will" must handle the integration problem, otherwise there will be strife and boycotts, and industry will stay away from strife areas.

Boycotts, he said, work both ways and "industry wants no part of it."

Mr. Rockefeller said no one is demanding integration in all school districts immediately, and integration should come about gradually.

His advice to Arkansas is to "keep a cool head."

Industry Pulls Back

Replying to questions, Mr. Rockefeller said his commission had information as to specific instances where industry has "pulled back" to see what will be worked out in the South.

Discussing education problems, he asked the state meeting whether Arkansas "can aford a dual system" of education. In his opinion, he said, it cannot, and an integrated system in the long run would be less costly and more advantageous.

Mr. Rockefeller told reporters he is not actively participating in politics in Arkansas.

Not A Candidate

Asked about reports that he might be interested in running for Governor, Mr. Rockefeller said he had "no idea" of such a thing and pointed out that under the state Constitution a person must reside in Arkansas seven years in order to be eligible. He has lived in the state about three years, he said.

Mr. Rockefeller reported to the more than 300 Arkansans at the meeting that the state is making progress in industrialization. He said 12 new industries have located in the state since the first of the year and many others have expanded.

"We figure that the state will get $1,700,000 a year in taxes from these new industries," he said.

RACIAL PROBLEMS CITED BY PASTOR

Commercial Appeal

Climax Of Desegregation May 'Break' In North

Fri. 3-23-56

ISSUES ARE VIEWED

Memphis, Tenn.

The climax of the desegregation problem is likely to break out ni the North and not in the South, a Pennsylvania Presbyterian minister said here last night.

P. 30

Dr. Donald Barnhouse, pastor of 10th Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, made the remark during a talk on "Segregation from the Biblical oPint of View" at the Christian Youth Auditorium.

Speaks Again Tonight

Dr. Barnhouse, who has appeared a sa speaker in several of Memphis' churches over the past years and has radio and television programs heard locally on WMC and WMCT, The Commercial Appeal radio and television stations, will be at the Auditorium again at 7:30 tonight.

He pointed out that 300,000 Negroes have moved into Philadelphia in the past 20 years, "and much the same is true of Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Detroit and other large Northern cities."

"If a depression should come," he said, "white people seeing Negroes in good jobs will let their racial prejudice break out."

Disagrees On Theory

He said he believes in Old Testament doctrine of separation of the races so far as intermarriage is concerned, but "taking away basic human rights" of Negroes is "something this nation is not going to stand for."

"Many people base their prejudice on the idea that the Negro is the descendant of Ham, the son of Noah who was cursed," Dr. Barnhouse said. "No anthropologist, ethnologist or true Biblical scholar in the world believes this."

"We are Americans," he said, "and no power in this land can block the progress of individual Negroes and the general movement toward desegregation. The Supreme Court has decided what our course shall be."

"A major problem," Dr. Barnhouse said, "does remain, though, in that some people want to put that progress into high gear before the motor's warm enough."

P.20 Herald Tribune—Rosenberg

A. Philip Randolph

Herald Tribune

'Gradual' Integration Is Opposed

Sun. 4-15-56

New York

Randolph Speaks At Lunch Here

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, said yesterday that all Negroes must reject the doctrine of gradualism in their fight against segregation.

Speaking at a luncheon in the Hotel Commodore at which he received an annual award from the League for Industrial Democracy, Mr. Randolph said that segregation is a sin, and a sin should not be "gradually acepted or gradually rejected."

Segregation, he said, "is based upon the negation of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God, and degrades, demeans and demoralizes the dignity of the human personality."

Hails 'Pasive Resistance'

The union president praised what he called the "new spirit of passive resistance" by Negroes in the South, which he said will prevent riots and bloodshed.

"Negroes are manifesting great wisdom," he said, "in not resorting to the impotent weapon of violence in retaliation against the violence of White Citizens Councils, for just as violence cannot enable Negroes to win their civil rights, neither can violence on the part of White Citizens Councils defeat the struggle of Negroes to achieve their civil rights.

The League also gave an award to its president, Nathaniel M. Minkoff, secretary-treasurer of the New York Joint Board, Dressmakers Unions, International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Both awards were for "distinguished service to democracy and human progress."

Appeal for End of Bias

Appeals for ending segregation and racial conflict were issued simultaneously yesterday in calls for prayer by Dr. Abraham J. Feldman, president of the Synagogue Council of America, and Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, president of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.

Dr. Feldman expressed the hope that law-abiding citizens would co-operate with the courts and civic and educational authorities in a "concerted effort to hasten the implementation of the decrees of the Supreme Court . . . which enjoin the ending of segregation with the greatest practicable expedition."

Dr. Blake said, "All of us in every part of the nation share the responsibility for the racial conflicts in our nations because we have not understood the needs of men and have not cared enough . . . let us pray that we may be freed from race conflict and from all bitterness."

LOGICAL STEPS IN FIGHT URGED

Times Picayune

New Orleans, La.

Emotion, Prejudice Hinder South's Effort--Smith

Thurs. 9-20-56

GREENVILLE, Miss., Sept. 19 (AP)—Rep. Frank Smith (D-Miss.) told Greenville Lions Wednesday arguments based upon emotion and prejudice hinder rather than aid the South in its fight against implementation of the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation.

P. 34

Smith said the South's fight should be "calm and cold blooded" and carried on within the Democratic party.

"Too often the opposition to programs have taken on the looks of a side show," he said.

"This makes many people throughout the nation think that this opposition is inspired entirely by politicians.

"Our job is to convince the leaders in the rest of the nation that our problem is based upon practical realism, not upon emotions and prejudices."

Smith predicted if it came to "a showdown vote in Congress," the South would lose because "the weight of public opinion is against us."

The congressman compared the present situation to the prohibition fight of the 1920s.

"The best historical analogy is the prohibition amendment," he said. "It was passed but when the enforcement failed, the opinion of the majority became that the best control of the liquor traffic was through legalization and local option." Mississippi has been dry since the national prohibition amendment.

Segregation In The North

Advocate p.4

The Christian Science Monitor

It is surprising how many Americans believe their principal racial problem is confined to the South. For the fact is that nearly one-third of the Negroes in the United States now live in the North. They are largely concentrated in "cities" within cities, twelve having a population of 100,000 and three nearly 1,000,000 each. And adjustments are by no means always easy or peaceful, as recurrent disturbances prove.

Jackson, Miss

There is no legal segregation in the North but segregation forms the general pattern wherever large groups of Negroes are found. Their own desires to live among their own kind plus economic pressures tend to restrict them to certain crowded and deteriorating neighborhoods. And since children normally attend schools nearest their homes, segregation naturally governs there too as a general practice.

Sat. 8-4-56

Such segregation, although never touching the experience of millions of Northerners, greatly concerns many city and school officials. In some cases they are attempting to force a mixing of races—even going across normal school zones to do it. The theory is that mixing is itself educational. Directly involved is the old concept of the "melting pot" as an adjunct of democracy. And there is insistence on the right of equal opportunity.

Considering the official and political efforts to combat segregation in the North it has proved remarkably persistent. In several respects it resembles a phenomenon American cities have long known-immigrants from abroad forming their own racial or national enclaves, maintaining their own customs and languages, even their own newspapers. Often the forces making for such clannishness come as much from within as from without.

So it is with the American Negro—in the North and the South. Too often it is assumed that segregation is a wholly artificial pattern enforced by unworthy prejudice. Some of it is like that. But much segregation comes about naturally through the same processes of selection which cause individuals to choose like-minded associates or families to seek congenial neighborhoods. And white resistance to Negro migrations within cities arises partly from the fact that such movements are usually in groups — due in turn to Negro desires to have friends or relatives as neighbors.

Officials in the North who are trying to force a mixing in the face of such forces of natural selection should be able better to understand why desegregation moves slowly in the South. So too should Northern whites who object to their neighborhoods being changed either by racial migration, by industrialization or by any social force causing deterioration. And possibly also Negroes who prefer not to live alone in white neighborhoods, a preference which reduces the opportunity for them to be treated as individuals and centers attention on race.

All of us can deal more wisely with this situation if we recognize that here there are two rights in conflict. One is the right to equal opportunity. The other is the right of the individual to choose his associates. Both are closely related to the democratic ideal. To enforce either against the other by law takes something away from that ideal. To seek accommodation of the one to the other by voluntary action supports the democratic ideal and is likely to bring the most practicable and enduring solution.

Patronize Our Advertisers

With Their Own Money

Weekly p.2

Negroes Shouldn't Buy Segregation

New Orleans, La.

Sat. 9-22-56

MONTEAGLE, Tenn. (ANP) **Negroes hold a large part of the purse strings of the South, concluded Negro and white leaders who attended a series of workshops on integration at Highlander Folk School this summer.**

Negroes shouldn't buy segregation by opening their purses to members of the White Citizens Council and other segregationists, the 203 participants agreed.

A plan of "opposition without belligerence", or as L. A. Blackman, Elloree, S. C., put it, "talk less but do more," was the keynote of the workshops attended by leaders of the grass roots integration movement from seven Southern states.

In addition to the national example of Montgomery, Ala., described by Mrs. Rosa Parks, small groups in many places are refusing to purchase anything from white merchants who belong to the White Citizens Council and other segregationist organizations.

Passive resistance is spreading as the Negroes' answer to segregation and economic oppression. Workshop participants heard many stories about unreasonable job discharges and unjust mortgage foreclosures on both business and personal property by white leaders who were angered by Negroes demanding integration in the schools or the right to vote.

In one instance a white merchant, who physically assaulted a young Negro boy, was forced out of business because Negroes refused to buy from him and later refused to trade at a store where he got a job.

The former merchant, after a series of three jobs, finally found a job in a plant where he is now a strong union man working with Negroes. according to Richard Horn of Bessemer, Ala.

Citizens of Orangeburg, S. C. brought near economic ruin to several local merchants who started a campaign of economic oppression against Negroes who signed a petition for school integration, according to Henry L. Parker, curate of the Orangeburg Episcopal church.

Instead of the school officials replying to the petition, the White Citizens Council members fired Negroes, withdrew all credit to small merchants and farmers and threatened white businessmen who might have helped the Negroes, he reported to a workshop at the Highlander Folk School.

Life Magazine Finds Intermarriage Chief Fear Of Segregationist

Advocate Jackson, Miss.

Sat. 9-22-56

NEW YORK, Sept. 12.—Southerners who believe in segregation are generally thoughtful, pious people and are not, as in sometimes pictured, latter-day Simon Legrees who do now with the law what used to be done with the whip. They may call the Negro a "Nigra" or a "nigger" but have long since ceased meaning any harm or insult by it. On the other hand they believe strongly in the segregation of the races and, as might be expected, hold these beliefs for a variety of reasons.

The nature of segregation attitudes of several typical white Southern segregationists are described in the current (September 17) issue of LIFE Magazine as part of its series on the "Background of Segregation." LIFE lists the following views are representative of white segregationist opinion:

Advocate

The end of segregation will soon lead to intermarriage between white and Negro on a large scale. "Of all the arguments advanced against integration, this is the most commonly heard," the magazine says.

Sat 9-22-56

Other millions, particularly in the low and middle-income groups, fear the Negro for economic reasons. As the industrialization of the South proceeds, this fear will probably grow even greater.

p.3

Problem Of Standards

"Many are not afraid of the Negro in any fashion but simply believes he falls short of their standards, whether of intelligence, morality or simple sanitation," LIFE says.

Another major southern attitude is that the problem does not exist. Under the theory of "separate but equal," many Southerners have worked hard in recent years to improve the lot of the Negro only now to find that Negroes themselves are resentful of these efforts in their home of complete integration.

Candid Southerners will admit that they cannot help being influenced in some part by a feeling any casual observer of human nature readily understands: having been kingpins for many years they are not anxious to relinquish or even dilute the status.

"The South in general will also, if pressed, admit that segregation will probably end some day. But it insists that much time is needed to bring it about. And it feels that it must end segregation in its own way; preachments from other parts of the country will only cause further bitterness and delay."

Divergent Views

Collectively the white segregationist views presented are, according to LIFE, representative of that hallowed but vague institution, "the Southern way of life." They belong to men in various parts of the south, following various occupations. Featured by the magazine are: James Polhill, 34, a white-collar worker of Louisville, Georgia; Walter Templin, 42, a factory worker in Birmingham, Alabama; Kenneth Cass, 50, Mayor of Greenville, South Carolina; William McCamy, plantation owner of the Mississippi Delta country; and Marshall Joyner, 38, a sharecropper in Greenville, North Carolina.

Also presented are the divergent views on segregation of some of the South's leading spokesmen: Senator James Eastland of Mississippi; Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; and Hodding Carter, editor of the Delta Democrat Times in Greenville, Mississippi. The attitudes of these public figures, LIFE says, fall generally into two camps. One holds that desegregation would be an unadulterated evil. The other does not hold that desegregation would be an unadulterated good; it points out that the South has undergone great change in recent years and is still changing, and implies that segregation therefore is no longer desirable or practical.

Bishop Says Negroes Should Be Treated As Mission Of Charity

Advocate Jackson Miss Sept. 9-22-56

Notre Dame, Ind., Sept. 18—Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans, outspoken for of racial segregation, declared that America's 15 million Negroes should be regarded "not as a liability but as a mission of charity planned in the wisdom of Divine Providence for their integration with the higher and better way of life." When this point of view prevails, he predicted, "we will see the dawn of an era of edification that will give to the world a new vision of our country's ideals."

The Louisiana prelate outlined "the Christian viewpoint of the racial problem" in an address to more than 500 married couples attending the national convention of the Christian Family Movement at the University of Notre Dame. He spoke at the Grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes following a candlelight procession to the campus shrine.

Stressing that the entire human race has its origin in "one man and one woman made to the image and likeness of God, gifted with an immortal soul and destined by the Creator for the kingdom of Heaven," Archbishop Rummell declared that differences in color, habits of life and achievement have developed among large groups which are only partially known to human science and which will probably remain a mystery in the bosom of God." He insisted that "the basic unity of origin, nature and destiny remains common to all, a continuing demonstration of the harmony that is characteristic of all the products of God's creation."

Southern Burden

Courier P.-D. Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 9-29-56

38a General

SADDEST spectacle in the whole world today is the sight of a vast SECTION of this nation staggering to perdition under the enormous burden of WRONG, a burden which has grown HEAVIER with the years.

While the REST of the nation marches onward and upward to greater progress, prosperity, fraternity and liberalism, Southern DEMAGOGUES burden Dixie with moral wrong, legal wrong, economic wrong, political wrong and intellectual wrong.

The South is burdened with the MORAL wrong of racial fear and HATRED which shapes its every move, policy and program, and makes a mockery of the Christianity it professes.

The South is burdened with the LEGAL wrong of violating every day the laws, Constitution and court decrees of the land which are EVERYWHERE regarded as the hallmark of CIVILIZATION and which Dixie professes to uphold and revere.

The South is burdened by ECONOMIC wrong which keeps it chained to mediocrity by refusing to utilize fully its available manpower for regional development in order to maintain narrow RACIAL job restrictions which benefit a few, but penalize the many.

The South is burdened by POLITICAL wrong through disfranchisement of eligible Negro voters, thus making democracy a FRAUD and delusion, retarding regional development and penalizing other sections of the country which in truth HAVE universal suffrage.

The South is burdened by INTELLECTUAL wrong which, by constantly LYING about one-third of its population in newspapers, textbooks and magazines and insisting upon UNANIMITY of opinion on its BIGGEST problem, keeps the section a cultural Sahara.

Can the CIVILIZED minority of Southerners lift this huge burden off the shoulders of Dixie and lead it out of BARBARISM?

Let us hope they will strive HARDER than they have to do so!

Says Race Issues Factor In U. S. Foreign Relations

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 7-7-56

MIAMI — The impact of racial segregation practices in the United States on its relations with other nations of the world was sharply pointed up here Friday by Henry Cabot Lodge, jr., permanent U. S. delegate to the United Nations.

Lodge, speaking at the 39th annual convention of the Lions International in Miami, said:

"When we make progress on such problems as segregation, it helps us tremendously in our foreign relations, for we want foreign nations to know we feel that all men are created equal."

Turning his atention to foreign affairs, Lodge declared "although the world is still a dangerous place, it has never been safer or less dangerous" at any time since before the Korean War.

He continued: "We can have peace if we wage peace with the same vigor that we have waged war when forced to do so."

The U. N. Representative cautioned, however, that we must not get "musclebound or paralyzed" in our methods of reaching our goal. "We must build strength not only in the military but more important, we must have strength in faith," he said.

Lodge said the new look in Russia is a "change in appearance only" and warned, "we must keep cool heads."

The U. N. Ambassador praised President Eisenhower for his "great job of promoting peace" especially during the summit conference at Geneva, and said while we must continue to help our allies, "we must not make gifts in such a way as to destroy the value of the gifts."

Lodge said earlier that he feels sure President Eisenhower "will run and be re-elected."

Lodge will be one of the Massachusetts delegates pledged to Eisenhower at the GOP national convention in San Francisco.

Voluntary Solution to the Racial Problem Is More in Keeping With the Democratic Ideal

Journal-Constitution Atlanta, Ga. 8/5/56

The Christian Science Monitor

IT IS SURPRISING how many Americans believe their principal racial problem is confined to the South. For the fact is that nearly one-third of the Negroes in the United States now live in the North.

They are largely concentrated in "cities" within cities, twelve having a population of 100,000 each and three nearly 1,000,000 each. And adjustments are by no means always easy or peaceful, as recurrent disturbances prove.

There is no legal segregation in the North but segregation forms the general pattern wherever large groups of Negroes are found. Their own desires to live among their own kind plus economic pressures tend to restrict them to certain crowded and deteriorating neighborhoods. And since children normally attend schools nearest their homes, segregation naturally governs there too as a general practice.

FORCE ATTEMPTED

Such segregation, although never touching the experience of millions of Northerners, greatly concerns many city and school officials. In some cases they are attempting to force a mixing of races—even going across normal school zones to do it.

The theory is that mixing is itself educational. Directly involved is the old concept of the "melting pot" as an adjunct of democracy. And there is insistence on the right of equal opportunity.

Considering the official and political efforts to combat segregation in the North, it has proved remarkably persistent. In several respects it resembles a phenomenon American cities have long known—immigrants from abroad forming their own racial or national enclaves, maintaining their own customs and languages, even their own newspapers. Often the forces making for such clannishness come as much from within as from without.

So it is with the American Negro—in the North and the South.

Too often it is assumed that segregation is a wholly artificial pattern enforced by unworthy prejudice. Some of it is like that. But much segregation comes about naturally through the same processes of selection which cause individuals to choose like-minded associates or families to seek congenial neighborhoods.

And white resistance to Negro migrations within cities arises partly from the fact that such movements are usually in groups —due in turn to Negro desires to have friends or relatives as neighbors.

Doris Fleeson is on vacation.

SOME UNDERSTANDING

Officials in the North who are trying to force a mixing in the face of such forces of natural selection should be able better to understand why desegregation moves slowly in the South. So too should Northern whites who object to their neighborhoods being changed either by racial migration, by industrialization or by any social force causing deterioration.

And possibly also Negroes who prefer not to live alone in white neighborhoods, a preference which reduces the opportunity for them to be treated as individuals and centers attention on race.

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Brownell Says U.S. To Sue To Force Desegregation

Defender Chicago, Ill. p. 3 Sat. 7-7-56

WASHINGTON — (INS)—Attorney General Herbert Brownell predicted last week that the U. S. government will file a number of cases in the next year to enforce racial integration in the nation's schools.

Brownell, appearing on the CBS "Face The Nation" program, said: "We believe there is going to be quite a volume of litigation" in a number of states.

He noted that thus far the Justice Department has taken action in only one case, involving Hoxie, Ark., where a controversy over a school board decision to end school segregation has flared.

Brownell said that the anticipation of numerous school cases is the basis for the administration's proposal that a special assistant attorney general be authorized to deal with civil rights questions.

The Attorney General, a top GOP political strategist, also declared that "President Eisenhower will be the Republican presidential candidate.

He said: "I myself am confident that the Republicans will put on a ticket of Eisenhower and Nixon."

Brownell added that as far as he knows, Mr. Eisenhower has not disclosed his intentions to anyone since he underwent his abdominal operation.

The administration official predicted that Communists — in government will be a 1956 campaign issue because of what he termed the success of the Eisenhower administration in its loyalty-security program.

He said he has no idea whether Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R) Wis., will be used by the Republicans in the campaign this fall.

Brownell also disclosed that he has written Senate investigations Chairman John L. McClellan (D) Ark., a report on the activities of Los Angeles attorney Murray Chotiner.

Chotiner, campaign manager for Vice President Richard M. Nixon in 1952, has been named as having been hired as legal adviser for two uniform manufacturers blacklisted by the army.

Says attacks on court based on political aims

Afro-American p. 12 Baltimore, Md. 8-4-56

ATLANTA, Ga. — The vitriolic attacks of Southern politicians against Supreme Court desegregation rulings are the result not of widespread pressure from white Southerners, but of a deliberate and sinister exploitation of the issues for political purposes, according to Dr. Robert Martin.

The Howard University political scientist who is currently teaching in the Atlanta University Summer School, said, "Their protest is against the whole pattern of change, particularly against the colored man as a political force."

Speaking to the Atlanta University Summer School Assembly he said that the fact that two-thirds of the potential colored electorate does not vote constituted a challenge which colored leadership must meet.

* * *

DR. MARTIN discussed six factors which were changing established political patterns, developments which are important not only for colored persons but for the nation as a whole, particularly the Southern scene.

These are an increasing political interest among colored people which has led to the development of civic consciousness; an increase in registration and voting, exemplified by the fact that colored people voting in the low income bracket in the North is double the white; a shift of the colored voters from the Republican to the Democratic party, based on a more realistic appraisal of what the two parties have to offer him; a movement towards voting on class lines; urbanization with a resulting cohesiveness of the voters; and an increasing sophistication of the colored voters.

Colored voters hold a balance of political power in many states, Dr. Martin said, and he hoped that the colored voter would use his political potential to help build a better South.

WHAT'S HAPPENING ON THE

Desegregation Front

Sat. 6-30-56

UNION ASKS IKE TO TAKE HAND IN ALABAMA

CINCINNATI—Some 800 delegates attending the International convention of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, AFL-CIO, called upon President Eisenhower to intervene in the six-month-old Montgomery bus boycott to the end that city officials obey the recent federal district court ruling outlawing racial segregation on city buses.

The delegates also voted to support the organization's recently-launched drive for a $2 million fund to fight discrimination in the South.

* * *

CONTINUE BUS STRIKE IN FLORIDA

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—The five week old strike against the local bus company will continue, leaders of the movement said here on Monday.

Dan Speek, chairman of the transportation committee of the Intercity Civic Association, revealed that the boycotters have at their disposal a 25-passenger bus, two station wagons and 74 automobiles.

So far, the bus company, which is losing money daily, has refused to meet the demands of the local citizens which include:

Ending segregated seating, employing colored drivers and instructing white drivers to treat all passenegrs with courtesy, regardless of race or color.

* * *

BALTIMORE NOW HAS INTEGRATED POOLS

BALTIMORE — For the first time in the history of the Monumental City, all city swimming pools are operating on an integrated basis.

When the pools opened on Saturday, there were some colored persons on hand at practically every pool in the city. There were no incidents. Negro lifeguards have been employed at most of the pools.

department of education of North Carolina College in Durham, here Sunday.

Addressing the opening session of the American Teachers Association Region III meeting at Winston-Salem Teachers' College, Dr. Browne called integration in schools in accordance with the May 17, 1954 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, the "big crisis" in education today.

Among the basic issues in education today, she listed the right of teachers to join organizations, a merit system that fairly evaluates teachers of all races alike and classes for the "gifted" Negro child as well as for the "retarded" child.

COMMITTEE TO PROBE S. C.

COLUMBIA, S. C. — All but three members have been chosen for a special legislative governor's committee that will probe alleged NAACP activities at S. C. State College.

Lt. Governor Ernest F. Hollings announced on Saturday the appointment of three state senators to the committee. The governor has already named three to the committee. It remains now for Speaker Sol Blatt to appoint three House members to the group.

GUNFIRE INTERRUPTS RACE

KINGSTREE, S. C. — Catholic leaders who last week sponsored a Negro religious meeting have been accused by a S. C. Citizen's Council official with "taking affirmative steps to attack and destroy the local customs and traditions of our people."

The meeting, which featured a film of the life of Christ, was interrupted by a flurry of pistol shots. Emory Rogers, executive secretary of the Association of Citizens' Councils of South Carolina, said in Summerton that his group "deplored" the action of the white men who fired the shots.

NO BUS BOYCOTT FOR MIAMI

ling upon the bus company to employ Negro drivers on predominantly Negro runs.

G. E. Graves, local NAACP attorney, said that a federal court suit challenging city laws regarding segregation on buses would be filed "very soon." At Tallahassee, Negro citizens have been boycotting buses since May 28. This week the bus company there announced that it may have to go out of business because of the lost patronage.

Was 14th Amendment Ever Legally Adopted?

The fine and timely article by Mr. David Lawrence in your July 27 issue recalls to my mind many things in history that seem to have been forgotten by most of us. One of these is that there were actually 36 states in the Union at the time Congress proposed the 14th Amendment on the 16th day of June, 1866. Between that time and the time that the Congress, by resolution, declared the amendment adopted, the states of Ohio and New Jersey withdrew their ratifications. One state admitted to the Union just a few short days before the declaration of adoption on the 21st day of July, 1868, was also counted in the three-fourths of the states ratifying the amendment. This is perhaps where Mr. Lawrence obtained the figure of 37 states at the time, yet, it is anxiomatic that this action by that particular state could have no retroactive effect on the proposal of Congress on the 16th day of June, 1866.

The states of Kentucky, Delaware and Maryland never did ratify the amendment. None of the Southern states ratified it until the Congress, by punitive threats of martial law, without the sanction of any of the Southern states representatives, compelled a ratification.

Yet the concurrent resolution of the Congress on the 21st day of July, 1868, included the names of these states as ratifying the amendment. The order in which this resolution placed the states as ratifying the amendment is as follows: Connecticut, Tennessee, New Jersey, Oregon, Vermont, New York, Ohio, Illinois, West Virginia, Kansas, Maine, Nevada, Missouri, Indiana, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Iowa, Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Alabama, South Carolina and Louisiana, being three-fourths and more of the several states of the Union. This is, by actual count, 25 states, and when you take into consideration that New Jersey and Ohio had at that time withdrawn their ratification by the same solemnity by which they had ratified the amendment, it is readily ascertainable that much less than the necessary three-fourths had done so. Also, it is a matter of figures that it took 27 out of the 36 to make the ratification legal.

Although I do not see how any action by the 48 states now could become retroactive to the date of the proposal of the amendment, it is my honest conviction that the legal way to eliminate all this fuss and furor that we have on hand now, would be to resubmit this amendment to the several states, and by educational work, I am quite sure that the states now comprising the whole of the United States would reject any such.

R. G. KELTON, Oneonta, Ala.

WHAT'S HAPPENING ON THE

Desegregation Front

Sat. 6-23-56

SEES INTEGRATION WITHIN 25 YEARS

WINSTON-SALEM — Acceptance of complete integration in public schools was predicted within the next 25 years by Dr. Rose Browne, chairman of the

MIAMI—A vote to fight bus segregation in the courts rather than boycott city buses was taken at an NAACP mass meeting here Sunday.

Some 4000 persons adopted a resolution condemning a bus boycott as "untenable" here, but cal-

Ike, Adlai Decry School Violence

Defender Sat. 9-22-56

WASHINGTON — President Eisenhower and his presidential rival, Adlai Stevenson, took similar positions last week in declaring that action should be taken to halt the spread of racial strife in the school segregation problem.

Stevenson, who said the American people are deeply concerned over the "ugly disorders," indicated that he will make major proposals for solving the integration problem.

The Democratic presidential candidate backed up his earlier endorsement of the Supreme Court desegregation ruling by condemning the outbreak which have "warped the path of civil rights."

WIDE CONCERN

He has "encountered a widespread and sober concern over the absence of leadership in Washington in the face of mounting opposition to the court ruling."

President Eisenhower's comment was made during his weekly press conference and marked an abrupt switch in his expressed previous opinion on the government's role in civil rights crisis.

Eisenhower promised that the Justice department would assist federal courts that bring contempt action against local officials who disobey the integration decision.

If the courts bestir themselves, Eisenhower promised, the Justice Department will do its part.

"When the courts do call properly upon the Attorney General, I am sure he will assist in every possible way," Eisenhower said.

FIRST SUGGESTION

It was the first time during the current turmoil in the South that the President had suggested in any way the Federal government could do more than voice pious hope that the decision will be accepted.

The question came up when a newsman noted that a Texas Ranger in Texarkana, Texas, stood by idly as a mob threatened two Negro students.

This is what the reporter asked the President:

"Would you consider that an incident in which the Federal government had a responsibility and, if not, can you give us an idea of what the formula is that would have to be followed for the Government to intervene?"

REVIEWS CASE

The President first reviewed the proposal whereby the Federal Court issues an integration order. Then taking a hypothetical case, he assumed that the students were denied entry to the school because of violence.

In such a situation this is what the President thinks should happen:

"Now that the court must decide whether it believes it—someone is in contempt of that court. And at that point I think it is customary for the court to call in the Justice department to assist in bringing in the evidence and thrashing the case out.

"And then, that having been done, if anyone is in contempt, I assume that is the job of the U. S. Marshal to serve the warrants and to take the men, the offenders, to jail or to pay their fines ,or whatever happens."

SHARP CONTRAST

Although the President's language sounded restrained, it was in sharp contrast with last week's press conference.

At that time the President professed ignorance with what was going on in Texas, and said he was unfamiliar with Gov. Shiver's defiance of the Supreme Court.

Not only was the President ready with an answer this time, but he said that Attorney General Brownell had prepared the answer for him.

Washington merry-go-round—

How some Southerners look at racial unrest

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Drew Pearson is touring the Middle East. During his absence, the Washington Merry-Go-Round will be written by his junior partner.)

BY JACK ANDERSON

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15—The raw truth behind the Southern race riots is that a new movement is rising in the South.

The extremists are fanning race hatred, bullying local officials, and inciting mob violence.

This is what Southerners, themselves, are saying privately.

"I am bullied and interfered with in my duties by our local White Council," a Louisiana registrar writes me.

"The White Councils are making personal friendship between individuals of the two races almost impossible," says a Georgia businessman.

"The extremists are leaving no middle ground for the moderates,' says an Arkansas politician. "We are forced to choose sides—either for the Write Citizens Council or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

"A whole new generation is being taught extreme race hatred," claims an Alabama minister. "They are learning a kind of hate we did not have before, but which other sections often believed about us."

THESE STATMENTS come from Southerners who believe in segregation. Their views do not imply any hostility toward Negroes. Rather they believe segregation is necessary to protect their families from lower Negro standards.

They consider Negro morals, education, and healths as below their own standards.

They are willing to help their Negro neighbors achieve better conditions.

They consider integration progressing and are reconciled to accepting it—eventually. Meanwhile, they believe segregation is a necessary safeguard.

"MANY, MANY white people here in the South have warm personal friends among the Negroes, but still believe in some degree of segregation," an Alabama schoolteacher explains. "Now all this is changing. The Citizens Councils are raising a tide of race hatred that is making fearful inroads into the backlog of good will that really did exist here in times past."

Solutions listed

THOSE WHO believe time is on the side of integration are wrong, several Southerners warn.

"It is a mistake to think integration may safely go slow, and it will come out right in the end," says one. "The extremists aim not merely to keep segregation where it now exists, but to undo the work of integration where it has already taken place.'

NOTE: ost Southerners contacted by this column look to President Eisenhower for leadership on settling the race crisis.

Adlai jumps gun

HERES THE INSIDE reason Adlai Stevenson proposed ending the draft:

He was tipped off that President Eisenhower had the same idea in mind. So Stevenson jumped the gun on Ike, came out with the proposal first.

Both candidates would have worded the promise the same way. They favor dropping the draft as soon as world conditions permit.

Story by Mrs. McKeon

EMILE ZOLA BERMAN, the lawyer who defended Marine Sgt. Matthew McKeon, tried to suppress a story in today's Parade magazine. The Sunday supplement got an exclusive story from Mrs. McKeon, describing her emotions while her husband was on trial for leading six Marines to their death in a swollen creek. Berman's office tried to stop the story, though Parade had a written release from Mrs. McKeon. Despite legal threats, Parade Editor Jess Gorkin published the story anyhow.

Too many 'job seekers'

THE STAID First National City Bank of New York has found a unique explanation for the slight rise in unemployment. It's not a lack of "employment opportunities," but a "super abundance of job seekers" that has caused the problem, claims the bank's newsletter. This sounds like the Agriculture Department's description of the soil bank program. After years of castigating the New Deal for plowing under crops, the Republicans couldn't bring themselves to announcing they, too, are now sponsoring the same thing. Under the GOP program, the announcement says, farmers will "incorporate crops into the soil."

THE WHITE HOUSE is withholding its OK for the small airlines to fly charters overseas. This protects the charter business for the big, scheduled airlines. But it's costing the taxpayers a small fortune. Uncle Sam pays the independent lines for flying empty in order to pick up a government load overseas.

New dean

NICARAGUA'S Ambassador Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa will be the first Latin American in history to become dean of the Washington diplomatic corps. He'll replace Norwegian Ambassador Wilhelm Munthe de Morgenstierne as the diplomatic dean in November. A stanch friend of this country, Sevilla Sacasa takes pride in the fact that Nicaragua has seconded every important U. S. motion at the United Nations.

Navy bullying

GUAM RESIDENTS are up in arms over the way the Navy is pushing them around.

Six years ago, Congress made Guam a self-governing territory and gave the islanders a 20-point bill of rights. This was supposed to give them the same privileges as other American citizens, but the Navy has tenaciously refused to yield control of the island.

Citizens can come and go as they please in Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. But on Guam, the Navy has final say-so—with no appeal from its ruling. As a result, many Americans on Guam find themselves harassed.

The island's only airport and commercial docks happen to lie within the naval base. If the Navy doesn't like a person, it simply excludes him from reentry in case he leaves the island on a business trip or emergency visit to the U. S.

This can be done by denying him a "security clearance" to pass through the naval grounds. There is no appeal from the Navy's ruling, and the reasons for denial are kept secret.

The Guam Chamber of Commerce may formally charge the Navy with violating citizens' constitutional rights.—(c)

HARRIMAN FAVORS USING F.B.I. IN BIAS

Times P. 6-A

New York

Blames Outside 'Agitators' in South for Disorders—Hits President's Stand

Sun. 9-9-56

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Sept. 8 (AP)—Governor Harriman said today President Eisenhower should use the Federal Bureau of Investigation to investigate "out-of-state agitators." Mr. Harriman charged they were mainly responsible for violence over racial integration in Southern schools.

"The President should use the F. B. I. to investigate the whole question of these agitators crossing state lines to start racial trouble," the Governor said. He did not name or identify the agitators.

The Governor charged that the President was shirking a responsibility to provide moral leadership and to "develop a climate of public opinion" which would speed school integration in accordance with the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

Mr. Harriman said he was "shocked" to read the President's news conference comments on the question.

"The President just doesn't seem to know what's going on," Mr. Harriman said. "And, what's more, he doesn't seem to care."

Speaks to Rally

The Governor came here to address a campaign rally of Monroe County Democrats. He declined to speculate on the possible state Democratic choice as a candidate for the United States Senate.

Mr. Harriman also declined to speculate on possible Republican Senatorial candidates. But he said he thought current attacks on State Attorney General Jacob K. Javits for allegedly accepting political advice from Communists came mostly from Republicans.

He specifically mentioned Senator William E. Jenner, Republican of Indiana, as one source and declared: "You can call Jenner anything you want to, but you can't call him a Democrat."

Mr. Harriman said in answer to another question that he considered the dominant state issue this year to be "the need for a progressive Legislature next year to carry out the new vision program the Democratic Administration has started."

BIAS FIGHT URGED BY BILLY GRAHAM

Times P. 17

Laymen's Group Hears Plea to Churches to Speak Out and Help Ease Tensions

Sat. 9-15-56

Special to The New York Times.

CLEVELAND, Sept. 14—The Rev. Billy Graham urged churches today to "speak out" to ease racial tensions that were gripping the South.

"The church has been too silent," he declared. "This is the hour for the church to speak out and call for love of neighbor, to play the role of the Good Samaritan."

The evangelist, a North Carolinian, bars racial discrimination at his religious revivals in South or North. Today he said that no matter how many laws or rulings were made against segregation, they would be ineffective without moral support from the people.

He said he agreed with a recent statement by Vice President Richard M. Nixon that no law was stronger than the will of the people to keep it.

"Race bias," he said, "is a social problem that can only be effectively dealt with when human nature can be changed. The object of the church is to lead men to Christ and to apply His teachings to their daily lives. * * * This would produce the needed social transformation."

Mr. Graham spoke at a news conference in conjunction with the first national meeting of an inter-denominational group of laymen.

The National Convention of Christian Men has brought together members of thirty Protestant groups. It is being sponsored by United Church Men, the laymen's department of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.

Three thousand delegates from thirty-three states met at Cleveland's Public Auditorium to proclaim their faith in God, exchange ideas on church programs, and to seek to relate religion to daily living.

Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, pastor of the Marble Collegiate Church in New York for twenty-four years, also spoke to a news conference. He said he saw a "travesty" in the "hatred and corruption" being injected into children by parents in Clay, Ky., and other centers of racial strife. He predicted that in ten years the South would be astonished to recall that it ever had been wracked by the pain that integration was now causing it.

Dr. Peale returned on Tuesday from a summer in Europe. He said he had found religious life "dull" in Scandinavia and other countries where the emphasis was on a "formalized" state church. He told the convention that a Christ-centered message was the church's best asset and had made religion more dynamic in the United States than elsewhere.

2 IN CABINET BACK G.O.P. BIAS STAND

Times P. 14 C

Summerfield and Brownell Express Satisfaction With Progress of Integration

Mon. 9-17-56

By ALLEN DRURY

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16 — Members of the Eisenhower Cabinet defended the Administration's record on desegregation today.

The issue was a major topic of week-end political discussion for spokesmen of both parties.

Two members of the President's Cabinet, on separate television programs, expressed satisfaction with the present rate of progress in integrating the schools.

Arthur E. Summerfield, Postmaster General, told questioners on "Face the Nation" that the President had used "the proper discretion, patience and understanding" in his handling of the matter. The program was produced by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr., appearing on the independently produced TV program "Reporter's Round-Up," said progress had been "remarkable and fine."

Mr. Summerfield and Mr. Brownell also defended the Administration against recent charges by Adlai E. Stevenson that it had condoned "corruption."

Mr. Summerfield said "nothing could be farther from the truth" than to make such an accusation.

Mr. Brownell said the record of the Administration "has been in marked contrast to the scandal and corruption that existed in the Truman Administration."

Talbott Case Cited

Both men were asked about the resignation of Harold E. Talbott, former Secretary of the Air Force, who quit his job after a Congressional committee disclosed that he had solicited business from the Pentagon for a concern in which he had an interest.

Mr. Brownell said that "putting things in perspective * * * what we want to do on a program of this sort is to take the over-all picture * * * there has never been in my time an Administration that is as clean and decent."

Mr. Summerfield said that Mr. Talbott had made "a mistake in judgment, but certainly committed no act that could be called corrupt."

JOSEPH BREIG

Old Wounds In The South

Catholic Week Fri. 8-31-56 P. 4

During my tour of the South I gathered that half-healed old Civil War wounds are bleeding again as a result of the U. S. Supreme Court decision which outlawed the segregation of whites and Negroes in our public school systems.

In other words, this problem is more complicated and grievous than it appears on the surface. Desegregation is only a part of it. The Court's ruling brought to a head a complex of painful issues which involve tradition, emotion, history, family and sectional pride and memories, deep-rooted customs, and the like.

These are explosive things.

BREIG

I suspect that it is impossible for a northerner, in the North, to understand southern feelings about the War Between the States. To us, it is almost as remote and unreal as the First Punic War. In every way, I think, the American Revolution is much closer and more meaningful to northerners.

* * *

THE SOUTH, if my impression is correct, is very different. There have not been millions of immigrants in the South, as in the North, to dim old memories and to distract historical attention. The South is still somewhat sick at heart over the Civil War. The South feels the old injustices, and feels also defeat's terrible blow to pride.

These deep feelings, which probably are more subconscious than conscious and intentional, are involved in the school desegregation controversy. It is by no means merely a matter of white and Negro children sitting in the same classrooms under the same teachers. Indeed, perhaps that is one of the smallest parts of the problem, when you get right down to it.

* * *

A SOUTHERNER, without realizing what he is doing, is as likely as not to talk rather as if the Supreme Court were a Northern Supreme Court, and as if desegregation were something that the North thought up to press upon the South. I seemed to sense old, half-buried resentments, as if the southerner and I were somehow different, rather than being simply two Americans.

But I do not think that southerners intend it that way. They are ready, I believe, to discuss things calmly and realistically when they discover that you are reasonable and sympathetic, and concerned with human relations as one of America's profound meanings. But first you must understand the touchiness of this matter of desegregation, and how very much history, habit and tradition is bound up in it.

* * *

WE NORTHERNERS, of course, must not forget that we ourselves are not without grave fault. A southerner might courteously point out that we in the North have never given the Negro complete justice in such profoundly important matters as housing, job opportunities and freedom to live where he chooses. The southerners have a knotty problem to solve, but so have we.

What we all need, I suspect, is first to remind ourselves that we are all Americans, and then to review together, seriously, humbly, harmoniously and in a spirit of unity, some deep American fundamentals.

* * *

THE VERY HEARTBEAT of America is the statement in the Declaration of Independence of the tremendous truth that all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certin inalienable rights, and that to protect these rights, governments are instituted among men.

This being true, there is no more noble or patriotic task for any American, whether he lives North, South, East or West, than the work of making America a reflection in every respect of the splendid ideal set forth in the Declaration.

I came away from the South convinced, first, that desegregation is not going to be easy and that we must be patient, prayerful and prudent; and second, that people as courteous, kindly, hospitable and humane as the southerners are will not fail in due time to implement the idea set forth by the Founding Fathers.

I hope, however, that nonoby will think of me as one of those reporters who visit an area for a week or two and then elect themselves experts. I am simply setting forth my conclusions for what they are worth.

BIAS FIGHT URGED BY BILLY GRAHAM

Times of N.Y.

New York

Laymen's Group Hears Plea to Churches to Speak Out and Help Ease Tensions

Sat 9-15-56

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CLEVELAND, Sept. 14—The Rev. Billy Graham urged churches today to "speak out" to ease racial tensions that were gripping the South.

"The church has been too silent," he declared. "This is the hour for the church to speak out and call for love of neighbor, to play the role of the Good Samaritan."

The evangelist, a North Carolinian, bars racial discrimination at his religious revivals in South or North. Today he said that no matter how many laws or rulings were made against segregation, they would be ineffective without moral support from the people.

He said he agreed with a recent statement by Vice President Richard M. Nixon that no law was stronger than the will of the people to keep it. The Supreme Court has declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional and has made integration "the law of the land."

"Race bias," he said, "is a social problem that can only be effectively dealt with when human nature can be changed. The object of the church is to lead men to Christ and to apply His teachings to their daily lives. * * * This would produce the needed social transformation."

Mr. Graham spoke at a news conference in conjunction with the first national meeting of an inter-denominational group of laymen.

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Three thousand delegates from thirty-three states met at Cleveland's Public Auditorium to proclaim their faith in God, exchange ideas on church programs, and to seek to relate religion to daily living.

"To call Christian men of all denominations together will do a great deal to break down prejudices between denominations," Mr. Graham asserted.

The 37-year-old Evangelist, who has preached to millions throughout Europe and Asia, said communism was growing. He said it would continue to penetrate new areas because of its adherents' "complete dedication to their principles and ideals."

Mr. Graham also spoke before the convention to a luncheon meeting of 1,600 persons at the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce.

"We are seeing in the United States a resurgence of interest in religion," he told the group "but I am not willing to believe there is a religious renaissance until I see men of both races loving each other instead of fighting and hating."

Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, pastor of the Marble Collegiate Church in New York for twenty-four years, also spoke to a news conference. He said he saw a "travesty" in the "hatred and corruption" being injected into children by parents in Clay, Ky., and other centers of racial strife. He predicted that in ten years the South would be astonished to recall that it ever had been wracked by the pain that integration was now causing it.

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The author of best-seller books on "positive thinking" and "confident living" announced earlier in the day the forthcoming publication of his twelfth "and last" book. It will be entitled "Really Live Your Life." He finished it in Switzerland last month.

Says JC Costs U. S. $12 Billion A Year

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 9-15-56

CINCINNATI, Ohio—"America can no longer afford the luxury of first and second class citizenship," Maxwell Abbell, chairman of the President's Committee on Employment Policy, told guests at a luncheon session here last week of the National Urban League annual conference.

He estimated that racial discrimination costs the nation over $12 billion dollars a year "because the skills of members of discriminated groups are not fully utilized in the national economy."

The committee, headed by Mr. Abbell, was set up by the President about a year and a half ago to root out discriminatory employment practices in Federal agencies.

MR. ABBELL asserted that his committee and the President's Committee on Government Contracts were set up to see that there is no hiring discrimination in firms doing business with the government directly or indirectly.

Together, he said, they "affect about 25 per cent of the industrial labor force, a very strong and effective leavening influence toward complete elimination of discrimination in employment."

The committee's educational efforts, he added, "are even more important than our hearing of cases."

"A past history of discriminatory practices has discouraged many from trying to qualify for positions that formerly were not open to them and now that they are being opened, the qualified applicants often are not available," he said.

A LACK OF adequate training facilities for Federal employment in some southern communities and the fact that colored schools in the South are "far below the standard of the white schools in the same communities," are also responsible, he said, for the lack of qualified colored applicants for Federal jobs.

He concluded that "in the field of education lies the greatest opportunity for advancement of the colored people in future economic and employment opportunities, not only in the Federal Government but in private and other public employment as well."

E. B. Henderson Answers Writers Of "Uncle Tom" Letters To Press

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va. Sat. 7-28-56

Editor, Journal and Guide:

Every once in awhile some brain-washed Uncle Tom writes, sponsors or allows a white person to write a letter for him to be published in some local paper. The regular subscriber to local small town press is one who signs himself Davis Lee from New Jersey.

A recent example of such a letter was publisher in the Farmville (Va.) Herald in which the writer prides himself on his relationship with "the good white people," pities the poor teachers who believe in the NAACP, and condemns Negro ministers for "profaning" the house of God by permitting NAACP meetings.

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HIS NAME is given as Bluit Andrews. It is doubtful that he wrote the letter which asks Negroes to be satisfied with Jim Crowism because white people pay most taxes and therefore we should be grateful that they treat us as well as they do.

He deplores the effects of miscegenation which has mongrelized his race and claims the NAACP is trying to further the process and suggests that God's vengeance will take care of the crime of bespoiling the Negro race.

THE AMERICAN colonists had their Tories, the white westerners had their renegades and Uncle Toms came out of slavery. Mr. Bluit Andrews istypical of the Negro who, being cared for by his good master during slavery, looked with terror on the thought of being free. I attach a letter I have written to the Farmville Herald which I wish you would publish.

—E. B. HENDERSON
Falls Church, Va.

To the Editor
The Farmville Herald:

First may I compliment the fairness of your report of the NAACP mass meeting on June 17.

However I should like to reply to the letter published in your paper entitled 'Racial Segregation Best For All," and signed by one Bluit Andrews. Mr. Andrews stresses the need for pride of Negroes in their race; he be-speaks the vengeance of God upon those guilty of mongrelizing the pure Negro race. He urges Negroes to throw off allegiance to the NAACP and accept the beneficence of the good white people of Farmville.

• • •

WITH REGARD to definitizing race, I doubt that Mr. Andrews has the intelligence or the education to philosophize thereupon. He prides himself upon being a Negro but apparently does not understand what it should be to be an American citizen. He deplores miscegenation which he untruthfully ascribes as a motive of the NAACP.

It has been estimated by many sociologists and anthropologists that if one drop of Negro blood makes one a Negro, then one in every five presumably white Americans has a Negro ancestor since miscegenation has been taking place since shortly after 1619.

• • •

FOR MANY years over 20,000 light skinned Negroes have passed over unidentified as such into the American stream. There is no intent of the NAACP to mongrelize. This blame can be placed elsewhere as Mr. Andrews has indicated.

Mr. Andrews urges school teachers and ministers to disclaim the NAACP. By inference he condemns the ministers in Alabama who are stimulating Negroes to the point of protecting Jim Crow. He quotes the Bible but evidently has not read of the struggles of the Hebrews to throw off the yoke of oppression under the leadership of their great spiritual leaders.

• • •

HAD IT NOT been for the NAACP and its American way of proceeding through the courts Negro teachers would yet be paid salaries less than teachers of white schools, and be teaching in the pitiful one-room shacks in many places. Negro boys and girls would have to be sent out of the state for some kinds of college education they are now able to get at the University of Virginia.

Despite his belief in equality of education being possible under segregation, the Supreme Court has in a unanimous decision ruled that equal opportunity is not possible under practices of segregation, Mr. Andrews' opinion to the contrary notwithstanding.

• • •

MR. ANDREWS poses the specious argument that since Negroes pay less taxes they should be grateful. Is it not true that some white people pay less taxes on property than some white people and some Negroes? Does not Mr. Andrews pay the same tax on his automobile, his gasoline and his cigarettes? The public schools were set up largely by Negro legislators during reconstruction for the masses of people, usually poorer people; the richer people still prefer private schools.

Like some other groups playing God, Mr. Andrews speaks for God in defending segregation just as many did to defend slavery. If he had been born a slave I would have expected him to defend the system and leave it to God and the good white people to take care of him.

• • •

HE CONFIRMS my claim that he has been so brainwashed by the people he serves that he cannot appreciate the effort of the NAACP and many thousands of Christian white people to save our children from being satisfied with the kind of restricted citizenship he enjoys. I don't know what his economic security rests upon, but it is a sure bet that he wants to play Uncle Tom to his employers and his friends. Unfortunately history will record him as an enemy to his race, and to the ideals of democracy and freedom.

E. B. HENDERSON
Falls Church, Va.

Vatican paper hits jim crow

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 9-15-56

VATICAN CITY—Ossveratore Romano, a Vatican City newspaper, last week called racial segregation in America as a "sin against the nature of Christianity."

The editorial comment made references to the flair of racial tension in Tennessee caused by the integration of a formerly all-white public school, and added:

"Adequate" punishment should be given persons who discriminate against another on grounds of race. It suggested that violators be denied what the violator would take away.

Solid South Held Broken on Segregation

Post & Times Herald

The first region-wide attempt to find out how integration is progressing in the South in the wake of the Supreme Court order of May 17, 1954, has turned up some surprising results. Here is a report on the survey, soon to be published by the Fund for the Republic, which sponsored the study:

Washington, D.C.

By Bem Price
Associated Press

After turning up 1100 examples of racial barriers dropped in all walks of life in Dixie over the past two years, a Southerner concluded: "There is no longer a solid South of segregation."

Herald 9-16-56

Reporting on a carefully documented survey of 17 southern and border states where segregation has been the historic pattern, Harold C. Fleming said:

P. 18-A

"The common notion that desegregation just can't work in the South is plainly contradicted by the findings."

The survey turned up examples, by specific location, of desegregation in schools, housing, public health and welfare, private enterprise, Government, public transportation and public accommodations.

Fleming, a native of Georgia and assistant director of the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta, said the survey is not complete andt hat the examples cited must be taken as merely representations.

All-South Membership

The council is an interracial group devoted "to equal opportunity for all." Its membership is confined to southerners.

Fleming's findings—all 1100 of them—are to be published shortly in book form by the Fund for the Republic, which provided the money for the survey, along with a companion study on the removal of racial barriers in the 31 states outside the South.

The study, now in the hands of the printers, was made available in the aftermath of recent disturbances in the South over the admission of Negroes to public schools in Mansfield, Tex.; Clinton, Tenn.; Texarkana, Tex., and Sturgis and Clay, Ky.

In assessing his state-by-state survey, Fleming, a student of his region for 10 years, wrote:

"The 1100 instances of desegregation discovered were almost evenly divided between the ive 'border' states on the one hand and the 12 'southern' states on the other. Virtually all of them took place smoothly and harmoniously.

"Obviously," he said, "a large reservoir of good will and capacity for change exists among private citizens, even in states where the official climate is harsh. There is no longer a Solid South of segregation."

Two-Year Survey

The survey covers the period from May 17, 1954—date of the U. S. Supreme Court decision holding school segregation unconstitutional—to May of this year.

It is the first region-wide attempt to find out what movements toward integration have taken place in the wake of the Court's opinion among all segments of Southern life.

The survey did not deal with what was expected to take place, but what has actually happened in two years. The findings in part:

Education: More than 350 public school districts in 9 of the 17 states integrated. Negro children are attending Catholic parochial schools in 21 Southern cities. Ninety-five Southern colleges are newly desegrated.

Public Service: Maryland appointed or elected 11 Negroes to city and state posts. Developments in this field are not a reliable measure of the extent of Negro representation. For example, in 1954, Negroes already were serving on city councils in at least 11 Southern cities and held elective or appointive office in more than 20 others.

Public Housing: Segregation is virtually unchallenged in the South, but Negroes were living in public housing projects occupied by whites in Taylor and Crystal City, Tex.; Baltimore, Charleston, W. Va.; St. Louis, and Rayne, La.

Transportation: Segregation dropped in cities in Texas, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Arkansas.

Religion: Twenty ministerial associations are integrated, overwhelming majority of churches segregated but at least 10 formerly white churches accepted Negro members.

Public Places: Desegregation in hotels, restaurants and theaters are confined mainly to cities in five border states.

Ike's Rights Bill Target Of New Dixie Manifesto

Defender P. 1 Chicago Ill. 38a

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Eighty-three Southern congressmen signed a manifesto Thursday denouncing President Eisenhower's civil rights legislation as "sinister" and "iniquitous."

Sat. 7-21-56

Among the signers were four Republicans — William C. Cramer, Fla., Richard H. Poff and Joel T. Broyhill, Va., and Bruce Alger, Tex.

The signers pledged themselves to employ "every available legal and parliamentary weapon" to defeat the legislation when it is called up in the House Monday.

The President's bill, which carries bipartisan sponsorship, is aimed at protecting the Negro's right to vote and sets up a special civil rights division in the Justice department to help achieve this end.

ASKS COMMISSION

A commission would also be created to investigate any charges that economic and other pressures are being brought in the South against Negroes.

The new manifesto was signed by all House members from Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia. There were signatures also from Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas, but not all congressmen from these states signed.

The manifesto was similar to the "Interposition resolution" signed two months ago by 101 representatives and senators which stated their opposition to the Supreme Court decision banning racial segregation in the public schools.

TEXANS SIGN

Only six of the 22-member Texas delegation signed Thursday's statement. They were Reps. Martin Dies, Wright Patman, John Dowdy, Walter Rogers, Brady Gentry and O. Clark Fisher, all Democrats.

Seven out of eight signed from Florida. Rep. Dante Fascell, a Democrat, did not. Five of North Carolina's 12 members did not sign.

They included Democratic Reps. Harold D. Cooley, Thurmond Chatham and Charles B. Deane, all of whom refused to sign the interposition resolution.

TWO DEFEATED

Cooley has since won renomination to Congress, but Chatham and Deane were defeated. The other North Carolinians who did not sign were Carl T. Durham, a Democrat, and Charles R. Jonas, a Republican.

Defender

Two Republican Congressmen from Tennessee also did not sign. They were B. Carroll Reece and Howard H. Baker.

The signers termed their manifesto a "warning of grave danger." They said the civil rights bill was cloaked in "pious language," violated states' rights, and constituted "an insult to all liberty loving American citizens."

PREDICT DISCORD

They added that if adopted, the bill would add "further fuel and flame to discord engendered by certain agitators" and would harm "the harmonious relations existing between the races."

Sat. 7-21-56

Despite the opposition of the Southerners, it was predicted that the civil rights bill will win by an overwhelming margin. Rep. Keating (R-N. Y.) said not more than 20 or 30 Republicans will vote against the measure.

Nashville Banner

Constitution

President Is Pouring Oil On Troubled Racial Waters

Mon. 9-17-56 P. 4

Atlanta, Ga.

President Eisenhower's reply to questions put to him on the topic of existing racial tension was a reaffirmation of: (1) Respect for the South; (2) the priority of states' rights in their area of responsibility; (3) confidence in the heart and spirit and essential decency of the people.

The American people recognize the genuineness of that view and reciprocate the respect and trust it manifests.

The President is not a troublemaker, barging in to provoke an animosity, to promote a class struggle or otherwise trespass on a delicate situation. As the top symbol of federal authority, he does not choose to exploit but to subordinate that authority, recognizing where a primary responsibility rests—in state hands.

That is a refreshing and reassuring statement of policy: There is not going to be any encroachment of federal force—for Dwight D. Eisenhower doesn't believe that is the legal and proper and workable solution of any such problem. Rather there is going to be on his part, emphasis of obligation at the state and local level. There also is going to be stress put on the educational processes, the influences of mind and spirit and heart—recognizing the inability of law and force to change a man's heart.

We hope the eager beavers were listening. Here is a man who understands a deep-seated problem, and wisely counsels caution and patience. Here is a man in official position whose concept of official responsibility precludes reckless treatment of such a matter; who, though the Chief Executive of the federal government, has the most pronounced respect for the prerogatives of the states.

No wonder he is the choice of America to steer the ship of state. America knows where he stands. Where on this domestic question does Adlai Stevenson stand? Where does Estes Kefauver stand?

What is their concept of states' rights?

In the Eisenhower view local and state governments have moved promptly to prevent violence.

It is not, he reminded, the people who have incited to riot—rather it is the extremists on both sides.

In his view, too, there is no room for Klans—nor is there room for carpetbaggers—in this troublesome picture. The incitation by race-baiters on either side, from the Klan-minded to the NAACP, cannot be tolerated.

Leading, training, teaching take time. There is time.

The President is right and the South—likewise a believer in states' rights—knows it.

GENERAL

Study Lists Desegregation Gains

Herald Tribune New York P. 27

South Found Yielding on Color Line

Sun. 9-16-56

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15 (AP)—After turning up 1,100 examples of racial barriers dropped in all walks of life in the South over the last two years, a Southerner concludes: "there is no longer a solid South of segregation."

Reporting on a carefully documented survey of seventeen Southern and border states where segregation has been the historic pattern, Harold C. Fleming said:

"The common notion that desegregation just can't work in the South is plainly contradicted by the findings."

Survey by Southerners

The survey turned up examples, by specific location, of desegregation in schools, housing, public health and welfare, private enterprise, government, public transportation and public accommodations.

Mr. Fleming, a native of Georgia and assistant director of the Southern Regional Council at Atlanta, said the survey was by no means complete and that examples cited must be taken as merely representations.

The council is an inter-racial group devoted "to equal opportunity for all." Its membership is confined to Southerners.

Mr. Fleming's findings—all 1,100 of them—are to be published shortly in book form by the Fund for the Republic, which provided the money for the survey, along with a companion study on the removal of racial barriers in the states outside the South.

The study, now in the hands of the printers, was made available in the aftermath of recent disturbances in the South over the admission of Negroes to public schools in Mansfield, Tex.; Clinton, Tenn.; Texarkana, Tex., and Sturgis and Clay, Ky.

Desegregation Harmonious

In assessing his state-by-state survey, Mr. Fleming, a student of his region for ten years, wrote:

"The 1,100 instances of desegregation discovered were almost evenly divided between the five 'border' states on the one hand and the twelve 'Southern' states on the other. Virtually all of them took place smoothly and harmoniously."

The survey covers the period from May 17, 1954—date of the United States Supreme Court decision holding school segregation unconstitutional—to May of this year.

The findings in part:

More than 350 school districts in nine of the seventeen states had integrated to some degree. There were no integrated public elementary or secondary schools in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Virginia or North Carolina or South Carolina.

Negro children were attending previously all-white Roman Catholic parochial schools in twenty-one Southern cities located in Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Since 1935 some 164 accredited colleges and universities in Southern and border states and the District of Columbia have opened their doors to Negroes. Of these 164 now open to Negroes, ninety-five have newly desegregated at some level since May, 1954.

As of May this year, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina enforced complete segregation in state - supported institutions. However, all but South Carolina had at least one private college which admitted students of both races.

2nd manifesto

Pro-American Atlanta Journal

WASHINGTON — The second Southern manifesto was signed Friday by 83 Dixie members of the House of Representatives pledging to use every available weapon to prevent passage of civil rights legislation.

Sept. 21-56

The document pleaded with congressmen from other sections to join their fight to keep colored citizens disfranchised and segregated. Many congressmen from Florida, N.C., Tennessee, Oklahoma, Texas, West Virginia, Missouri, Maryland refused to sign.

WAY OF LIFE SEEN AT STAKE IN SOUTH

Times P. 9-C

Sociologist Says North Did Not Fear Mixed Schools Would Spread Integration

New York

By DAMON STETSON

Special to The New York Times.

DETROIT, Sept. 7—A California sociologist suggested today that the history of race relations in the North provided new insights for interpreting present developments in the South.

In a paper presented at the annual meeting here of the American Sociological Society, Dr. Frank F. Lee of the University of California brought out what he termed an essential difference between the problem of school integration in the North and in the South.

He said the North, while separating the races in most areas of behavior, did not do so in education because integrated education did not imply a threat to other forms of segregation.

"The South, on the other hand, interprets school integration as imperiling the 'Southern way of life,'" he declared. "Thus, the North has been enabled to proceed with school integration while the South has not."

To substantiate his contention, Dr. Lee reported on a study that compared the history of race relations in a small Connecticut town and the South in general.

In the Connecticut town, he said, racial integration did not develop until about 1870, whereas in the South segregation was scarcely breached until recently.

Segregation in Churches

He said that churches had become segregated institutions in both areas. The basic difference, he explained, was that the segregated church did not appear in the Connecticut town until after 1920, while it had developed decades earlier in the South.

The same trend, he said, is apparent in housing with the Connecticut town resorting more to residential segregation, which the South has maintained for the most part, through the years.

"Thus," Dr. Lee said, "we see a discrepancy between the continued pattern of segregation in all three areas of behavior in the South and the contradictory trends in the Connecticut town."

He added:

"This discrepancy suggests that school intergration has been possible in Connecticut towns, and presumably in the North as a whole, because for over a century it has not symbolized integration in other institutional areas."

On the other hand, he said, in the South the entire system of slavery has been destroyed. Dr. Lee asserted it was natural therefore, for this area to place extra symbolic value on what was left and to insist on firmly retaining all possible remnants of its previous system.

In an address before the American Statistical Association, also meeting here, Howard G. Brunsman of the Bureau of the Census outlined some of the present thinking regarding the 1960 population census.

He asked for suggestions from users of census data and said serious consideration was being given a number of proposed changes in the treatment of areas.

RACE PROBLEM FINE, BROWNELL

Times-Picayune

Courts to Take Cases One at a Time

Mon. 9-17-56

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16 (AP)—Atty. Gen. Brownell said today progress in school desegregation has "been remarkable and fine."

And, he added in a filmed television interview — "Reporters' Roundup"—the Justice Department will make every effort to see there is "no partisan aspect" to integration.

New Orleans

Brownell was asked about the use of U. S. marshals to enforce district court orders on integration. He replied:

"That is getting into pretty much of a speculative realm there because we would have to know what the facts of the particular case were . . . We take these cases one at a time.

"So far, there is no doubt that great progress is being made in the integration of the schools and in an orderly way without the necessity of any action by the courts of the type that you suggest."

At present, he added, the Justice Department is involved in only one court case. It is appearing as a "friend of the court" in an appeal to the U. S. Court of Appeals from action by the Hoxie, Ark., Board of Education in ordering integration.

His department is appearing to "support the courageous action" taken by the local board, Brownell said.

In response to questions, the attorney general said he believes the record of the Republican administration "has been in marked contrast to the scandal and corruption that existed in the Truman administration."

Asked why "it took the administration much more than a year to find out about the conflicts of interest in the Dixon-Yates case and in the Talbott—former Secretary of the Air Force Harold Talbott—incident," Brownell said:

"I think that there again putting things in perspective, that what we want to do on a program of this sort is to take the over-all picture . . . There has never been in my time an administration that is as clean and decent."

During the Dixon-Yates controversy, it was charged that Adolphe Wenzel, a Budget Bureau adviser in the matter, held the advisory post while serving as an official of a New York firm which later became the financial agent for the proposed Dixon-Yates steam plant at West Memphis, Ark.

Talbott resigned about year ago after a congressional inquiry into charges he had continued certain business interests while serving as Air Force secretary.

Cancellation of the Dixon-Yates contract by the government has resulted in court action, which is pending.

Mrs. Roosevelt Called Prodder of Integration

Constitution P. 4 Wed. 9-26-56 Atlanta, Ga.

Atlanta—I note that Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt says that President Eisenhower should have set up a racial conference. I personally feel that had Mrs. FDR conducted herself as our past two charming first ladies, namely Mrs. Truman and Mrs. Eisenhower, that we would have no racial problems. This situation arose in the Roosevelt administration and she certainly added kindling to the fire.

I believe in every American having his rights, but I cannot see that we will ever accept our colored friends socially, especially in our schools. I feel that the colored students will receive far more snubs and hurt feelings if they are ever put in our schools, as they will never be invited to the school parties, etc., so why not let them stay in their own schools? It will be best for all concerned.

GEORGIAN.

God Created Segregation, Pastor Says

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Mon. 9-16-56 P. 5

Discord Traced To Slave Trade

By KAY McLEOD

Segregation was established when God created the earth, making flowers, trees, fish, birds, animals and humans different, an East Point Methodist minister said Sunday.

"If segregation is a sin, God did not know it," the Rev. George O. King told his congregation at the East Point Methodist Church.

The clergyman said that segregation of every sort is evident in the world today. He said, "The separation into groups of like interest, endowment, experience and ability is our pattern in finances, social orders, educational processes, recreational facilities, residences and every other area of life."

WORSHIP

"To worship in separate groups is just the same," he continued. "It makes for the good of the whole and for orderliness."

Developing his sermon largely from the Second Commandment, the Rev. Mr. King cited part of the fifth verse of the 20th chapter of Exodus, which mentions ". . . visiting the iniquity of the

fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generations of them that hate me."

In tracing the history of the Negro in America, he said that of all the races and nationalities represented in this country today, the Negro is the only one which did not come of its own accord.

SLAVE TRADE

The minister pointed out that slave trading during the early 1800's brought the Negro here. He traced current racial discord to this slave traffic and pointed out that this is the third generation since that period in America's history.

The minister then charged that the Emancipation Proclamation freed "a people who did not ask to be, . . . with none of the background or training to be free people."

The Rev. Mr. King said that the South had no land or jobs to offer, and thus the only course open to the Negro was "to become the white man's burden."

Now, continued the minister, "today's customs . . . social order . . . and friendships are being challenged by those who have failed to recognize the wisdom of time and the wholeness of our problem."

"MOSES"

The minister charged that "certain organizations, for membership fee, have promised to be Moses and lead again to the promised land. . . ."

The Rev. Mr. King referred to a story concerning the Mansfield, Tex., school conflict, which quoted a 17-year-old Negro boy as saying: "Mister, I don't wanna go to school in Mansfield. I'd rather go to school among my own people in Fort Worth. But I'll go to the Mansfield school if the NAACP makes me."

He cited opportunities open to the Negro in this country—educational opportunities, the ability to own merchandise and the freedom to sell his manufactured goods at prices equal to those of any other.

PROGRESS

The conclusion that the minister reached from this comparison was that "the Negro in and of himself has not been able to advance in any great way . . . ," but that "no race of people . . . has made so rapid progress as has the American Negro in the past 100 years."

The minister said that the answer to the racial problems of America is not to be found in riots and insurrection. He said that each instance of racial violence in this country is but fuel for the fires of the war of propaganda which is being waged by communistic countries.

The answer, said the minister, is rather to be found in "understanding . . . the other man's hopes, dreams and ideals, . . . sympathy to those less fortunate, . . . trust in prayer, . . . and a searching of our hearts for bitterness and prejudice."

"PLACE FOR EACH"

The minister concluded that, "God has a place in His kingdom for everyone . . . all may not work . . . side by side . . . , but there is a place for each to make a contribution."

The Rev. Mr. King, who said he has been working on the sermon for more than a year, thus became the second Methodist minister in this area within the past month to take a stand in favor of segregation. Dr. Charles Allen, pastor of the Grace Methodist Church, on August 19, affirmed his belief that separation of the races was not un-Christian.

Earlier, two Baptist ministers, the Rev. Dr. Roy O. McClain, Atlanta First, and the Rev. York Chambless, Smyrna First, took the stand that force would not solve the racial problem.

Cost Of Prejudice

Daily World
Sun, 9-9-56 Atlanta, Ga.

Says Jim Crow Costs U. S. $12 Billion A Year

CINCINNATI, Ohio — (ANP) — "America can no longer afford the luxury of first and second-class citizenship," Maxwell Abbell, chairman of the President's Committee on Employment Policy, told guests at a luncheon session here last week of the National Urban League annual conference.

He estimated that racial discrimination costs the nation over twelve billion dollars a year "because the skills of members of discriminated groups are not fully utilized in the national economy."

The committee headed by Mr. Abbell was set up by the President about a year and a half ago to root out discriminatory employment practices in federal agencies.

Abbell asserted that his committee and the President's Committee on Government Contracts, which works to see that there is no hiring discrimination in firms doing business with the government, directly or indirectly affect "about 25 percent of the industrial labor force, a very strong and effective leavening influence towards complete elimination of discrimination in employment."

The committee's educational efforts, Abbell said, "are even more important than our hearing of cases." He stated that "a past history of discriminatory practices has discouraged many Negroes from trying to qualify for positions that formerly were not open to them and now that they are being opened, the qualified applicants often are not available."

A lack of adequate training facilities for Federal employment in some Southern communities and the fact that Negro schools in the South are "far below the standard of the white schools in the same communities," are also responsible, he said, for the lack of quailfied Negro applicants for Federal jobs.

He concluded that "in the field of education lies the geratest opportunity for advancement of the Negro in future economic and employment opportunities, not only in the Federal government but in private and other public employment as well."

★ Tell It To Old Grandma ★

Advertiser
Fri, 9-7-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery, Ala.
P.4-A

Works Both Ways

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Congratulations on your "Askelon" series. It seems that you have done more than anyone to bring the hypocrisy of the North and West in integration to light. It is true that misery loves company, but little that is constructive ever comes out of that philosophy.

Law-abiding people obey rules and laws because they are rules and laws, but grudgingly and even truculently when they think that they are against their interests. However, show them that the rules are in their interest and their attitude changes.

Now the NAACP, power-hungry politicians and sociological do-gooders have spent the last 20 years showing the Negro the disadvantages to them of segregation, and convincing them that it was designed to keep them out of the white man's territory. The South has spent the same time in defending themselves of this theory and shouting, "You, too."

Now I think it is time for you—since you already have the ear of the nation, and I might add, the whole world—to go on from here and show that segregation also keeps the white man from invading the Negro's domain, taking over his businesses, positions and jobs. Also, show the advantages to the Negro race of segregation.

Some suggestions: Number of high school and college graduates, ministers, teachers, lawyers, doctors, businessmen, hotel, home, store and farm owners, bellhops, waiters, ball players, criminals, band leaders, officers of clubs, porters, in fact, every occupation, dollars spent and paid per capita for education, bank loans, department store credits, bank accounts and saving accounts, welfare, public housing and all the sociological phases. Also show that when a Negro works and lives as a respectable citizen, he gets the respect that he earns in the South as well as in the North.

Montgomery. MRS. E. M. H.

Leave Us Be

Editor, The Advertiser:

The Southern man is a hard-working, God-fearing man; patient, slow to anger, living by God's laws as handed down by Moses, and living too by the traditions handed down to them by their fathers, who followed that law.

Would it be asking too much to be let alone here in the South? We would appreciate it very much. We haven't tried to tell anyone else how to live and whatever the North does in this integration matter in their own states is alright with us.

We will always have segregation. Even if Negroes go to white schools; they will always be segregated.

MRS. BONNIE MITCHUM.

Montgomery.

The Negro And The Boycott

Advocate Sat. 4-21-56

In recent news reports from widely scattered sections of the country, Negroes are being called upon as a result of the wide publicity given the Montgomery, Alabama, affair, for increasing use of the boycott as an effective weapon for use in obtaining their goal of first class citizenship.

Jackson, Miss.

In every case, it will be noted that those who are calling upon Negroes for this increasing use of the boycott are using as an example the non-violent resistance campaign of the sainted and gifted Indian Leader Mahatma Ghandi, which led to the independence of India, which is now rapidly becoming one of the leading nations of the world.

In spite of the great success of the campaign led by Mahatma Ghandi, we find it most difficult if now impossible to find an analogy in the situation of the Indians in India under British rule and that of the Negro in the United States, particularly those in the deep South.

In 1948, we attended the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where seated next to us in the press gallery there was a young Indian correspondent from the Bombay Times.

In the course of a conversation, which we had with this young Indian regarding Ghandi and India, which had not yet achieved its independence, he said to us, "That in a very few years now India would be a great and independent nation,' his assertion being based on the fact as he stated, "That there are more than four-hundred million Indians in India and only about 60-million Englishmen in the entire world who accept for a handful of civil servants are separated from India by 10,000 miles,' adding in conclusion the statement that before England from thence forward could continue to dominate India, there would have to be an Englishman in India to walk beside every Indian."

The lack of an analagous situation regarding the 16-million Negroes in the United States dwelling in the midst of 140-million white people appears to us too obvious to mention here.

There are certainly a sufficient number of white people in the United States, to find one to walk beside every Negro in a counter boycott.

We are now and have always been for the lack of analogy above stated and for many other reasons, been opposed to the boycott as an effective Negro weapon, and without further efforts at profoundity despite the tenor of the times; in our opinion, the most effective weapon of the Negro particularly in the South, is a smile, a prayer and a song.

BIAS BREEDERS ASSAILED

State Senator Bids Brownell Act Against Provocators

Pitts. Sun

State Senator Samuel L. Greenberg appealed yesterday to Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. "to crack down on racial subversives stirring up conflict in Southern communities."

In a letter to Mr. Brownell, the Brooklyn Democrat declared that organized groups of "outsiders" were creating racial animosities in many communities where racial integration in public schools was peacefully underway.

Senator Greenberg said that these breeders of hate, fighting school integration by inciting to riots and unrest, are openly attacking the Constitution and our basic civil rights laws."

He said that much of the "hate literature swamping the South emanates from the North and is reminiscent of Nazi propaganda used in attacking the Jewish people."

BILLY GRAHAM SEES PROBLEMS

Times Picayune

Discusses Race Mixing with Southern Clerics

P. 24

NEW YORK, Sept. 28 (AP)—Evangelist Billy Graham says most of the South's Negro and white ministers agree that "race relations are worse now than they were two years ago."

New Orleans

And, said Graham, most of the clergymen "confessed that the church is doing far too little about it."

Sat. 9-29-56

Writing in the current issue of Life magazine, Graham said he came to that conclusion after discussing the problem of integration of the races with Southern ministers of all denominations.

Too Early in Deep South

The evangelist said he also believed that the vast majority of Southern clergymen do not hold extremist views on the explosive integration issue.

"Most of them feel," he wrote, "that segregation should be ended now on buses, in railroad and bus stations, hotels and in restaurants.

"However, most of them feel it is far too early to implement school integration in some sections of the Deep South.

"They seem to feel that the day will come when both races will be psychologically and spiritually ready for it, but that the time has not come yet."

'Problems Not Easy'

While many "misconceptions" about integration exist, Graham said, there are many real "difficulties" to be solved.

"There is the fear of intermarriage and the mongrelization of the race," he wrote. "These problems, I admit, are not easy. They definitely exist. With many of these difficulties the sociologist, anthropologist, scientist and legislator can help."

Graham said he himself had decided "after study of the Bible, as well as current events," that all of his future "crusades" would be conducted on an "equal basis."

He pledged to "hold no more crusades unless all of any race can sit where they please."

Morning Mail

Separate Negro Nation Is Suggested

Until the recent Supreme Court decision it had become very noticeable that our race relations had been, and were becoming more increasingly good for many years.

Post Herald

Now that there is organized opposition to integration, we Southerners have become the target of much abuse and scorn, some of it in tirades even from pulpits, and some of this scorn coming from the outer world. Especially is this true of heathen Russia, which seems to hold so much weight.

P. 14

Most Negroes, or their ancestors, since they were brought to this land in utter bondage by slave traders and ship owners, can attribute their education, or the primary part of it, to the Southern states. We desire to continue segregation, because we believe it to be to the best interests of both races and the writer firmly believes it is the desire of the true leaders of both races.

Certainly no reasonable person could blame the black race, or any other race, for desiring or trying to improve their race or station in life, but is the devilish monstrosity of miscegenation or mongrelization the answer to it?

I have noticed that some of the big labor bosses have referred to our attitude of opposition to integration as being very foolish. George Meany is advocating a program of education to correct it. He also wants an anti-lynching bill put through Congress as soon as possible, disregarding the fact that we have not had a lynching in the South in over 10 years. He was also silent as to whether his anti-lynching bill would include gangster bump-offs or not.

Birmingham

It is my sincere opinion that the happiness, peace and prosperity for both races and our posterity, is for the black race to be set up in a government of their own somewhere.

This would, of course, be very costly, but not as much as some of the wars we have participated in during this generation in an effort to promote freedom for mankind over nearly all the earth. I know similar suggestions have been made but this would solve for good, and for all, this perplexing old race problem. I know of no other peaceful solution, if there is any other at all.

O. W. BAKER,
Thomasville, Ga.

Negro's Humility, Whites' Conscience Will Eventually Solve Race Problems

Commercial Appeal P. 3

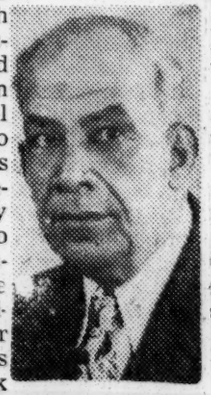
Mon. 9-23-56

To The Commercial Appeal:

I fear some of our fellow white citizens are seeing ghosts in the area of race relations today.

Memphis Tenn

All the birds of the air have wings—the jaybird, the mockingbird. They all fly through the sky to the limbs of trees or to the crags of the rocks which are their destinations. And so with human birds . . . all they want is to fly where God's children belong. They don't want to mate promiscuously, for the very gregariousness of their instincts causes each to seek its own.



Blair Hunt

In our beloved Southland and in many Northern and Eastern cities, there is inter-racial hypertension. There is hate. A climate has been created which probably causes the communists to be filled with glee and the imps of hell to have a carnival of mirth.

We have tried boycotts, lawsuits, cross-burnings. It is time to halt . . . and have a respite . . . and try love and humility.

This old world is changing. There is a yeast of discontent among the colored races of the world. The big white man knows what is happening. But it seems that the little white man does not know what is happening. He doesn't seem to know the changes taking place in the international picture in which the balance of power is shifting to the apparently neutral nations of the Middle East. And they are colored nations. Let us pray that the little white man may awaken before it is too late . . . before hate runs rampant not only in one land but throughout the earth.

Despite the probable heaping of abuse upon my head by racists of my own group, many of whom think you are wrong if you are not cursing the white man, I dare to say, in this period of emotionalism and interracial high blood pressure, that humility is our salvation. It is the salvation of any minority group, unable and unprepared to fend for itself. Mark my word, humility. I do not say servility. Servility is the mark which befits a slave. Servility is slavish. Humility is majestic. Humility is an attribute of God. The best picture God ever took is that of Jesus Christ. And Jesus Christ is the spirit of humility.

If Negroes possess the majesty of humility, the friendship of good citizens, and without fail, the friendship of God (for that race that has God for its friend cannot be overwhelmed by any foes), he can soar to all places and heights where God's children belong.

Maybe our militant organizations should shift from high gear to low gear. Maybe we should change our "modus operandi," and place a greater emphasis on accelerating our racial, economic, intellectual and moral maturity. We cannot afford to lose our footing, our friends, our face and our souls.

I think the white man has a terrific conscience. We, a minority group, cannot command his conscience, but we can appeal to it.

In this age when the ferment of discontent is permeating that great lump of peoples in the East and Middle East, we Negroes of America can do much to save the soul of America.

Remember, "All God's chillun got wings," and all God's children want to fly. All of God's children should fly and move into the remains where God's children belong.

Tempers, tantrums and tears, yes. But remember the meek, the humble, shall inherit the earth.

BLAIR T. HUNT
Booker T. Washington
High School
Memphis.

Indonesian Can't Find Anymore Of Those Lynchings

UNIVERSITY, Miss. — (INS) — A visiting Indonesian journalist said Monday on the University of Mississippi that Communist propaganda has "grossly exaggerated" reports of racial violence in the South.

Aliaswad Salen, publisher and editor of the Pontianak Pembangun (Construction) in West Kalimantan (Borneo), said that he expected to find severe racial discrimination, including lynchings, in his tour of the South has a guest of the State Department.

He said, however, that his tour of the region has resulted in a change of some of his opinions. He added:

"The Communists are doing a much more effective job of telling Indonesians their side of the issues than is your information service."

This, he said, is due mainly to the fact that the Communists own 20 per cent of the newspapers in his country.

If Times Had Been Hard

It would be difficult to say how much hatred has been evoked by the upheaval following the race mixing decision two years ago. You encounter wrath, fear, resentment and—above all—a chilling. But hatred is a strong word, and among those of both races with whom we have personal contact, little hatred has been encountered. Well this is, because hatred—unlike anger, which is clean—is corrosive, foul, consuming.

Perhaps the feeling that has been stirred represents the minimum when considered against the force of the provocation and aggravation. If so, the essential reason may be that the trouble comes at a time of prosperity and contentment unmatched in American history. Times are fat, bellies are full. One recoils from the thought of what passions might have been unleashed had the court decision come in a time of economic depression.

FREEDOM AND JIM CROW

Sirs:

It was with great interest and pleasure that I read your series on "The Background of Segregation" (LIFE, Sept. 3, 10). I was particularly pleased with your historical approach to the problem of segregation, for it is only with such an approach that one can secure a correct perspective on this problem. Few American colleges offer courses specifically relating to the history of the Negro in America. As far as I know such courses are virtually limited to predominately Negro colleges.

I would like to mention a serious omission in your otherwise admirable survey. The Negro himself did not passively accept slavery (waiting for the more humane and noble among his white brethren to strike a blow against slavery) as is evidenced by some 250 Negro revolts and conspiracies during the history of slavery. A Negro abolitionist, Martin R. Delaney, wrote a letter to William Lloyd Garrison in 1852 which he concluded thus:

> Were I a slave, I would be free,
> I would not live to live a slave;
> But boldly strike for LIBERTY—
> For FREEDOM or a Martyr's grave.

MARTIN L. KILSON JR.

Cambridge, Mass.

Sirs:

The picture, "battle at the courthouse" (LIFE, Sept. 10), deserves more explanation. In fairness to all concerned this unfortunate incident should be reviewed.

The Colfax riots were incited by backers of William Pitt Kellogg, unsuccessful gubernatorial candidate. Racial tension grew until fighting started in town and the Negroes took refuge in the courthouse. Many shots were exchanged before the whites set a torch to the building and white flags appeared. A group of whites then walked over to the courthouse to accept surrender of the Negroes. As they neared the entrance the Negroes suddenly opened fire on this group of whites.

This naturally enraged the whites. It was then that the scene illustrated in your magazine was enacted.

T. J. CARRUTH

Crowley, La.

Sirs:

In your lurid illustration of the capture of Fort Pillow you show the Confederate soldiers under Forrest's command gleefully shooting down Negro women and children. I suppose this is based upon the report of a congressional subcommittee which stated "... the rebels commenced an indiscriminate slaughter sparing neither age nor sex, white or black, soldier or civilian." Actually the aged, women, children and other civilians in the fort were removed before the Confederate attack.

JUDGE WINFIELD B. HALE

Tennessee Court of Appeals
Rogersville, Tenn.

● Although most of the aged and noncombatants were removed, some staved and were killed.—ED.

'They Ain't Ready'

The ungrammatical expression "They ain't ready" has frequently been used as descriptive of the cultural backwardness of many colored Americans, but it now seems that it can be applied with greater aptness to our many white "friends" favoring continued segregation.

These people of the White Citizens Councils and their associates and sympathizers are daily demonstrating that "they ain't ready" to assume the manhood status of law-abiding Americans, are not liberty-loving, not patriotic, and certainly not democrats.

Since Americanism is supposed to embody all of these beliefs and qualities, and these people do not qualify on any count, this certainly proves beyond doubt that they have not even attained the level of the great men who founded the Republic, or even the barbarians who went before them.

Over 180 years after the Declaration of Independence, we find mobs of grown people preventing groups of two, six or a dozen Negro youngsters from entering public schools supported by the taxes of black and white alike, and regardless of the supreme law of the land.

We find high elected officials sworn to uphold the Constitution openly engaged in evading and circumventing the law of the land which they are supposed to uphold.

We find employers, merchants, bankers and politicians conspiring to starve out and destroy colored men and women who are merely upholding the law of the land upon which the Supreme Court has placed its blessings.

We find so-called learned men who are respected as intellectuale and teachers prostituting their minds and circulating canards about the inherent inability of Negroes to learn, and quoting dubious data in support, to justify thwarting the Supreme Court decisions.

We find the sympathizers of these people, those living outside the South, aiding these barbarians by finding excuses for their disobedience of the law and mistreatment of fellow citizens.

And, even worse, we find the leading politicians of each major party evading the great moral and legal issues involved and blaming each other for a condition which neither side will wholeheartedly and forthrightly denounce.

This is certainly a sorry spectacle for a country which boasts of its world leadership and which decries Communism, Nazism and Fascism, **neither of which was ever more guilty of flouting humanitarian principles and established law.**

It is therefore quite clear that "they ain't ready" to measure up to the standards which they press others to attain, whom they dub "backward" for not attaining them.

And what are we to think of the other "superior" people who sit silently by and do nothing while the foundation of our civilization is being destroyed?

Religious Climate Changes

Not many years back it was almost impossible to get the Southern white clergy to take any kind of stand on racial prejudice and civil rights, but last week the Baptist General Convention of Texas urged all Christians to take a 5-point pledge against racial violence, while representatives of 18 million Methodists from the world over committed their church to erase all racial discrimination. Of course there are thousands in the rank and file church members who do not agree with these statements, as indicated by their daily actions, but they get no aid and comfort from the top, and in their hearts they know they are wrong.

Within the past five years every responsible church group in the United States, North and South, has officially expressed the same sentiments.

This indicates that the religious leaders of this country are either more courageous, more Christian, more far-sighted or there have been much greater changes for the better in their followers than most observers would have imagined possibly twenty years ago.

This is not to say that there have not been forthright clerical statements on this vital issue in the past, but these were the views of liberal individuals rather than official expressions of great religious bodies.

This augurs well for the future of Christianity in this land.

Negro Leaders Say:

Friction In Deep South Is Spreading

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 7-28-56

LOS ANGELES—Racial friction in the South is getting worse, according to three fighters for civil rights from Dixie.

The three leaders—Gus Courts of Belzoni, Miss.; the Rev. Walter White Jr. of Jackson, Miss.; and Lee A. Blackman of Elloree, S. C.—all concurred in the opinion that economic pressure and barriers to voting were the two principal weapons being used by the die-hard Dixiecrats.

Courts, head of the NAACP unit in Belzoni, suffered a bullet wound from gunshots fired by whites who resented his efforts urging Negroes to vote in Mississippi. He told of an economic boycott wherein White Citizens Councils had contrived to keep him from getting supplies for his store.

The Rev. Mr. White declared that conditions have been getting worse ever since he and other Negro leaders refused to cooperate with Gov. J. P. Coleman's segregation program.

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BLACKMAN, who was an active campaigner in securing South Carolinians to sign petitions urging a termination to school segregation, declared:

"Even though pressures by whites are getting stronger all the time, I am going back."

In Blackman's home town of Elloree, he was refused credit but the Negroes there retaliated against the boycott by doing their buying in another county, which caused some of the prejudiced white merchants to close their stores.

Dr. C. H. Tobias Urges South To Stop Lawlessness

Post
Independent
Nashville, Tenn.
7-May-5-18-56

NEW YORK, May 10 -- To achieve less strained racial relations in the Deep South, the nation as a whole must inform that region it will not "tolerate" lawlessness, even though such lawlessness "emanates from minds sick with fear," it was declared here at the First Annual Forum on Anxiety and Tension.

Speaking on the subject of racial tensions, Dr. Channing H Tobias, NAACP board chairman, repudiated the theory advanced by some Southern spokesman that racial tensions had erupted as the result of the Supreme Court's anti- segregation school decision.

"In Alabama, as in Poland, there is 'peace' as long as the people whose rights are being denied have no channel through which to express their discontent and little or no opportunity to challenge the status quo," he asserted. "To interpret their silence under this totalitarian regime is to fail to realize what lies beneath the surface. The absence of violence under such conditions is not to be equated with peace and harmony."

Dr. Tobias emphasized that "it was not the Court's decision which precipitated the present crisis in the South." He maintained it was rather "the organized defiance of that ruling, which, in the ultimate is defiance of federal authority."

"Despite the protestation of those who seek to cloak themselves in the garb of respectability, there is no 'legal' way to disobey the law," the NAACP official declared.

He contended that segregation was instituted in the South to replace slavery "as an instrument of 'white supremacy.'"

"The present hue and cry in the South is raised not so much against the leveling of physical barriers between the races as against the destruction of the symbols of a superior status," Dr. Tobias asserted. "Jim Crow bestows upon the insecure white southerner a cherished status of superiority which he does not have to prove in open competition."

"It is fear of losing this privileged position with its economic, social and political advantages and of being forced to compete with the Negro -- it is this suppressed fear which has aggravated the situation and inflamed many white southerners to disregard law and order, decency and humanity."

Dr. Tobias spoke on April 30. The forum was under sponsorship of the National Association for Mental Health.

"Can a leopard change its spots?" the teacher asked her class of tiny tots.

The children all agreed that he could not—all, that is, except little Willie.

"So you think a leopard can change his spots?" the teacher challenged Willie.

"Yes," Willie repl'd. "If he gets tired of one spot, he can get up and change to another spot."

AAA Asked to Deny Seal to Biased Hotels

World-Telegram
New York, N.Y.
5-16-56

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith today asked the American Automobile Assn. to withdraw its "seal of approval" from hotels, resorts and motels which deny accommodations to Jewish guests.

In making the request, the league said a similar attempt had been made in vain last year, when the AAA refused to take action.

The league charged that "many individuals of the Jewish faith, relying on AAA listings and recommendations, have been subjected to humiliation and embarrassment" by being barred from some hotels.

Segregation Is Doomed

Norfolk, Va.
3-18-56

NORFOLK — Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, Washington, D. C., declared in an address here Sunday afternoon that all opposition to the desegregation decision of the U. S. Supreme Court will fail. It will fail, he said, because the members of the court acted in keeping with the will of God.

The minister-educator was guest speaker for a joint celebration of Men's Day and Women's Day for First Baptist Church Berkley, held at Central Baptist Church to accommodate the large crowd expected. The program began at 3:30.

Sat. 3-12-56

DR. JOHNSON was introduced by P. B. Young, publisher of the Journal and Guide. He described the speaker as a scholar, an orator, a great administrator, and a humanitarian. Mr. Young, former chairman of the trustee board at Howard University, told of the development of Howard University under Dr. Johnson to a first rate university with a plant valued at $23,000,000.

Dr. Johnson pointed out that there was a difference of opinion in the South over the desegregation issue, adding that some localities would integrate the schools if they were allowed by the state to do so.

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"ONE OF THE characteristics of a great people," Dr. Johnson said, "is that they can make changes with dignity." He noted that all but two members of Congress from the South signed the Manifesto, but he said Virginia's Attorney General Almond's interpretation of that document was that it amounted to nothing.

The speaker spoke of the opposition of White Citizens' Councils to desegregation, and d the group had a milder ne but is very much like the Ku Klux Klan. He noted t there had been some vio- ce in the South, but he urged congregation never to se from striving for a first ss citizenship and full ality.

Journal & Guide

E DESCRIBED the deseg- ation decision "the most olutionary event in Ameri- history" since the abolition slavery and the enactment the 13th, 14th and 15th endments to the U. S. Con- ution. "All opposition to the rt decision will fail," the eaker said, adding that thern people will not be sfied until "the last vestige he slave system has been ed away."

e said southern whites can be what God intended them e as long as they are willing give us less than they want themselves." He asserted another point that some te people have wanted to ress themselves on the se- gation question for years. desegregation decision, he tinued, "Will cement the y of this nation. It will e the South nearer to lead- ip."

r. Johnson defended the yers who handled the gregation cases and the ional Association for the Advancement of Colore People which sponsored th cases. The lawyers, he said showed no emotions at the court, but merely presented the facts.

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THE NAACP is not a subversive organization, he said, asserting that it has "never concealed its purposes." Its victory over segregation, he

said, "was achieved by the due process of law."

The Rev. W. B. Westbrook, pastor of Central Baptist Church, conducted the devo-

Rev. Westbrook Dr. Diamond

tions. The Rev. J. C. Diamond, pastor of First Baptist Church, Berkley, made remarks and read the announcements. The Booker T. Washington Choir under the direction of I. Sherman Greene, and the church choir sang. Kemper Hoffman of Norfolk Division of Virginia State College sang a solo. Dr. W. L. Hamiltn pronounced the benedictin.

DR. MORDECAI JOHNSON
Heard In Norfolk

Jewell Academy Commencement Speaker

Courier & Magazine
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 6-16-56

Integration Inevitable Says Courier President

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — The inevitability of an integrated America was heralded here by one of this country's top women newspaper executives.

Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president and treasurer of The Pittsburgh Courier, said, "It (integration) may come too slowly for some of us and it may come too fast for others, but, as sure as night follows day, it is coming."

MRS. VANN was speaker at baccalaureate-commencement exercises at Jewell Academy. She appeared on program with Bishop M. L. Jewell, academy founder-director, and the famous Jewell Gospel Trio.

Mrs. Vann emphatically denied the claim that integration would lead to "mongrelization" of the races or that it would open the way for Negroes to marry whites.

"Negro men and women," she said, "Are not interested in marrying anybody just because of race."

"Prepare," she urged the graduates from 16 states, "for integration when that sure-day arrives."

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BISHOP JEWELL'S annual report of "unusual progress" in all departments at the academy during 1955-'56 was a highlight. He is senior Bishop and chief overseer of the Church of the Living God, Pillar and Ground of Truth, which gives financial support to the academy.

a cloud on the horizon no bigger than a man's hand. Today it is a thunderstorm of indignation, emotion, honest conviction, prejudice and frustration.

It is well that it has come because it brings blazingly into the clear the depth, magnitude and perilous gravity of the matter with which we are dealing.

This is the stuff out of which the Union could be destroyed—or rise to greater heights.

We are dealing with an issue which now, not next month or next year, but now requires the greatest degree of wisdom, justice and moderation, the highest qualities of heart and mind and true affection that we have ever summoned in our whole history.

It is almost impossible to overstate the size and somberness of the problem.

Mishandled, it is capable of splitting the nation, the people and our political parties irreparably asunder.

It is the extremes in attitude and action which must, at all costs, be avoided: The extreme, as advocated by some, that the most gradual application of the law must be implacably fought; and the extreme, as advocated by others, that the most precipitate application of the Supreme Court decision must be pressed by force if necessary.

No; that is the road to impasse and turmoil.

The ingredients of any solution require a willingness to implement the Supreme Court decision modly by those who want to resist it totally.

Are there sufficient moderates among those who support the cause of public school desegregation, including the Negroes themselves? The latest Gallup Poll suggests some significant facts. It shows that 47 per cent of the Southern Negroes are either opposed to or undecided about desegregation. This is an adequate basis to induce others to tone down impatient and unproductive demands for haste. The same Gallup Poll showed that 20 per cent of the Southern whites either approve—or do not disapprove—of public school desegregation.

Moderation will come into being, will come to life and power only by leadership. The only leadership equal to the need, the only national instrument of moderation and conciliation is the presidency of the United States. The times once again call for presidential leadership at its best—wise, firm, kindly, fearless.

Roscoe Drummond

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Fri. 3-16-56

Racial Extremists Must Be Repudiated

WASHINGTON—The manifesto of the 19 Southern senators and 77 Southern congressmen, seeking to erect a wall of nullification around the Supreme Court's unanimous decision against segregation in the public schools, contributes no constructive step at any point to solving the nation's problem of racial discrimination.

But it is well that it has come. It has been in the making for many months. A year ago it was erately by those who most want to implement it rapidly and a willingness to carry it forward moderate-

Of Laws, Judges And Lawyers

From The Essays of Michel De Montaigne (1533-1592)

Atlanta Constitution 3-26-56

I DO NOT much like the opinion of the man who thought by a multiplicity of laws to bridle the authority of judges, cutting up their meat for them. He did not realize that there is as much freedom and latitude in the interpretation of laws as in their creation. For our mind finds the field no less spacious in restricting the meaning of others than in presenting its own. For we have in France more laws than all the rest of the world together, and more than would be needed to rule all the worlds of Epicurus. And yet we have left so much room for opinion and decision to our judges, that there never was such a powerful and licentious freedom . . . King Ferdinand, when he sent colonists to the Indies, wisely provided that no students of jurisprudence should be taken there, for fear that lawsuits might breed in this new world, it being by nature a science generating altercation and division.

Why is it that our common language, so easy for any other use, becomes obscure and unintelligible in contracts and wills, and that a man who expresses himself so clearly, whatever he says or writes, finds in this field no way of speaking his mind that is not subject to doubt and contradiction? Unless it is that the princes of this art, applying themselves with particular attention to picking out solemn words and contriving artificial phrases, have so weighed every syllable, so minutely examined every sort of combination, that here they are at last entangled and embroiled in the endless number of figures and in such minute partitions that they can no longer come under any rule or prescription or any sure understanding.

We give legal authority to numberless doctors, numberless decisions, and as many interpretations. Do we therefore find any end to the need of interpreting? Do we see any progress and advance toward tranquility Do we need fewer lawyers and judges than when this mass of law was still in its infancy? On the contrary, we obscure and bury the sense; we no longer find it except at the mercy of so many enclosures and barriers.

There Are 'Good' Yankees

Advertiser

SOMETHING new has been added Up Na'wth — new and encouraging — voices raised urging appreciation of our problems, moderation and understanding. Mon. 3-5-56

They cite the inconsistency of Yankees denouncing one form of defiance of law in the South, while condoning other and more violent disregard in their own balliwicks. Montgomery, Ala.

An' evil or error is not to be corrected by pointing out that someone is in as bad or worse case. But the practice of people with greater sins reproving the lesser faults of others was deemed odious enough to be censured in the Sermon on the Mount:

"Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye: and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye." (Matther 7:5).

38a

★

ANY Southerner who has associated much with yankees knows that many of them readily qualify to come under the general heading of "good people" — kindly, fair-minded men of good will.

But since *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the Civil War, the Yankee has had a crusader complex. He sees himself as St. George slaying the dragon of Secessionist sin. Or, perhaps unconsciously he poses as another Don Quixote laying lance in rest for some Negro Dulcinea—often with as little consideration for realities as the knight of La Mancha showed when he tilted with windmills.

Criticism of the South thus stems from two sources.

First and most blatant, Yankee politicians appealing to the Negro vote, hand and glove with organizations having a vested interest in inflaming Negro sensibilities.

Second, *honest and well-meaning people* who reflect their century-old heritage and preconceived notions, stimulated by today's propaganda. The South's best hope for a fair deal lies with these last.

★

QUITE recently, for example, two great Northern newspapers have called attention to the sordid technique of some of their own politicians—vulgar demogogues who hit the South at any manifestation of racial violence, but condone by silence or inaction much worse mob violence in their own states.

Editorialized *The Cincinnati Enquirer*:

The attempts to coerce Miss Authurine Lucy into staying away from the University of Alabama were deplored and deplorable. An angry assortment of whites formed themselves into a mob. They hurled stones and vegetables at the student, broke a window in the car transporting her.

In recent weeks the country has witnessed acts of aggravated and organized violence in strikes conducted against Westinghouse and Republic Aviation. Crowds of pickets have barred access to plants by violence, hurled rocks, overturned motor cars and assaulted workers. These incidents have been the result of systematic violence.

★

The *Chicago Tribune*, sometimes labeled South-hating, held forth in similar vein, and even more emphatically.

The *Tribune* called attention to rioutous mobs interrupting defense production in New York State, domain of the sanctimonious punk Harriman. It noted that town police of Babylon, N.Y. and the Suffol county sheriff were unable to maintain order, and—

The Babylon chief wired the governor [Harriman] that his men were exhausted by their efforts to restrain the violence of the picket mob, and that the violence was increasing constantly. He pleaded for state police, the national guard, or any other force at the governor's disposal that could restore order. His plea was ignored.

Yet Gov. Harriman has been bawling for the use of federal force to impose desegregation on the Southern States. Mobs in Alabama are anathema to him, but he shuts his eyes to a civil insurrection against law and order in his own state.

A THIRD editorial, timely and thoughtful, of a more general scope, has come to hand from the *St. Joseph* [Missouri] *News Press*. Headed "NAACP Go Slow, Please." It stated in part:

We of this border state would like to give some friendly advice to this nationwide group that seeks more equality for the Negro. That advice is this: Go slow.

The Negro has come a long and grand journey since in midst of a terrible civil conflict Abraham Lincoln enunciatied his Emancipation Proclamation. Study the story of mankind. From twilight of antiquity to this very day, name us one race that has come as far in less than 100 years!

The South has its problems and we question whether the haste demanded by NAACP will help solve those problems.

38a

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THE MODERN abolitionists may prevail, but sane voices have attained enough volume to give a gleam of hope. If they should come to be still stronger, let us hope that the spirit with which they speak will be met in the same mood.

Fireeaters and extremists on both sides helped precipitate a Civil War a century ago. Americans with a sense of history know that in the present crisis there is urgent need for moderation on both sides.

News Briefs

Weekly Sat. 10-20-56 P. 1

From Across the Nation

New Orleans La.

ESTIMATE 94,000 VIRGINIA NEGROES ELIGIBLE TO VOTE

NORFOLK, Va. (ANP)--Dr. G. W. C. Brown, who was elected president of the Virginia Voters League at its recent annual conference in Ashland, Va., is calling upon the local chapters in 18 countries and three cities to conduct an intensive campaign to get Negroes to pay their poll tax and register to vote. It is estimated that about 94,000 Negroes in Virginia are qualified to vote.

38a General

LUTHERAN CHURCH MOVES AGAIST RACE BIAS

CHICAGO (ANP)--"Any congregation which stubbornly clings to patterns of segregation and discrimination based solely on man's feelings rather than God's word should be the object of the concern of district officials of the denomination." This was the crux of the statement made by the American Lutheran Church here last week as it notified congregations that they are responsible for a ministry to their entire neighborhood regardless or racial or cultural composition.

NEGRO GI BRINGS GERMAN WIFE TO VIRGINIA

WASHINGTON (ANP)--The ire of a Southern Congressman hit the boiling point last week after he was told that his protests over a Negro GI bringing his German wife to live with him in Virginia were to no avail. Rep. Tuck (D-Va) asked and was told by the Immigration Service that nothing could be done about the Negro GI's case.

'Po White Trash' More Pathetic Than Negroes

World-Telegram + Sun

Mon. 9-17-56 P. 24

By ROBERT C. RUARK.

New York

LONDON, Sept. 17.—I sit here and read about the racial goings-on in Tennessee,

Robert C. Ruark

where my wife was born and I am just a little horrified with what I read.

This is because I believe it is possible to like most people of whatever color or creed. Over some 40 years it has seemed to me that a man distinguishes himself by what he is, what he does, how he deals with others. I think I have the President of the United States and the Supreme Court with me when I say that the right of education and travel belongs to any American citizen. And without emphasis in color.

• • •

I have heard all the arguments over the years and they have left me strictly unmoved. To be a good black man is as good as a good white man. A bad black man is bad—a bad white man is bad.

General

But there doesn't seem to be any logical reason for penalizing at the start people who are neither bad nor good by denying them schools and drinking fountains and the first seat they can find on a bus or a train.

We have a thing in the South called "po white trash." It was a term the Negroes adopted to explain the kind of people who run lynchings and inspire mob violence. The quality white folks took over the same terminology to describe the same white people.

Erskine Caldwell has written a shelf of books about "po white trash" and while there is tragedy in them they rate no higher than the worst tragic examples of their black neighbors.

In the more benighted portions of our South the po white trash have no justification of their tragedy except to find something to kick. They kick it not so much in anger as in explanation of their own misery at being exploited as sharecroppers and underpaid cotton-mill hands and just plain hangers-on and street loiterers.

• • •

Where I have known them in God knows how many southern towns—as I was born and raised in the briar patch—they are of the clay-earing one-strapped overall-wearing tobacco-chewing pellagra-belt people. They are more sociologically pathetic than the Negroes they lynch.

I have no brief for the high-pressured politics which has tried to rectify a black-white problem by an overnight changeover into a psalm-singing equality. I have no time for the Negro who cannot compete on an honest scale of equality decency and observance of the rights of others. I have much less time for the others who use white supremacy as an excuse to abuse people who are not so far away from the slave business—sold by their own Negro chiefs into the trade—and who have not been given a chance as a whole to rise above the fifth-rate people who persecute them because of color and color only.

I keep thinking about the Declaration of Independence and phrases like "free and equal" and "the pursuit of happiness" and nowhere have I found a mention of "Nigger lovers, quality white folks or po white trash."

Integration Can Be Blocked

Editor, The Advertiser:

Just a line, although belated, to tell you that I thoroughly enjoyed your article in *U.S. News & World Report*, and I thank God that we have courageous Southerners like you around.

I was born and grew up in Escambia County, Alabama, and the first paper I ever read was *The Advertiser*. I always enjoy it now, when I return to Alabama on visits, and sometimes purchase it here on the news stands.

We Southerners will never have integration—if we refuse to accept it, and fight to prevent mixing of the races.

JOHN TROUTMAN.
1619 S.W. 18th St., Miami, Fla.

Back Home Up North

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have been living in the South now for nine years. I love it and the people very much.

This last summer I went home to visit friends and relatives in New York and Pennsylvania. I was very much surprised at what I found out.

If Negroes are refused a job, they yell race discrimination and sue the company. They usually win.

My sister-in-law asked if we really hated the colored people as much as they say we do. I was astonished at such a question. I replied that we don't hate them, but accept them as they are. They have their way of life and we have ours. The two are so different that they can never be made into one.

She then asked why we didn't let colored children go to school. I told her that they do go to school and in Montgomery have very modern schools.

Just think what would happen here in the South if the colored people acted as childish as they do in the North. There would be so much trouble and bloodshed.

MRS. C. D. LEVY.
Burkville, Ala

Graham Sees South Tense On Race Mix

NEW YORK, Spet. 27 (AP)—Evangelist Billy Graham says most of the South's Negro and white ministers agree that "race relations are worse now than they were two years ago."

And, said Graham, most of the clergymen "confessed that the church is doing far too little about it."

Writing in the current issue of Life magazine, Graham said he came to that conclusion after discussing the problem of integration of the races with Southern ministers of all denominations.

The evangelist said he also believed that the vast majority of Southern clergymen do not hold extremist views on the explosive integration issue.

"Most of them feel," he wrote, "that segregation should be ended now on buses, in railroad and bus stations, hotels and in restaurants.

"However, most of them feel it is far too early to implement school integration in some sections of the Deep South.

REAL DIFFICULTY

"They seem to feel that the day will come when both races will be psychologically and spiritually ready for it, but that the time has not come yet."

While many "misconceptions" about integration exist, Graham said, there are many real "difficulties" to be solved.

"There is the fear of intermarriage and the mongrelization of the race," he wrote. "These problems, I admit, are not easy. They definitely exist. With many of these difficulties the sociologist, anthropologist, scientist and legislator can help."

Graham said he himself had decided "after study of the Bible, as well as current events," that all of his future "crusades" would be conducted on an "equal basis."

He pledged to "hold no more crusades unless all of any race can sit where they please."

U. S. Negro Caught In An Economic Trap Which Has Dominated Him, Say LIFE

New York,—The U. S. Negro is caught in an economic trap which has dominated his life and had a major effect on national population patterns for half a century. The Southern Negro's fifty-year struggle to get out from under the deadly cycle of poor land, competition from poor Whites, and poor education is told in the current (September 24) issue of LIFE Magazine.

The article points out that since 1900 there have been two major Negro migrations—large numbers have moved entirely out of the South and large numbers have moved, within the South, from farm to city. The reasons for the moves have been pri-

"The social unpleasantnesses of segregation have no doubt influenced marily economic.

many to leave the South, but the majority have moved in search of better livelihood," LIFE says.

Rural Negroes have always lived on bad farmland in the South, from which it has become increasingly difficult to make a living. In 1954 the median cash income of Negro farm families in the South was $742, whereas White farm families was $1616. But when the Negro leaves his poor farmland and moves to a Southern city he encounters massive competition from rural Whites who have also moved off the land in search of factory jobs.

"Employers will not hire a Negro for any job if there is a White man available for the same," LIFE says. "Even if discrimination in employment based solely on color were set aside, the Negro still could not compete with the White. Functional illiterates (the term for adults with less than fifth-grade education) are three times more common among young Southern Negroes than among young Southern Whites. Moveover, such schooling as the Negro does receive generally is far inferior to that received by Whites."

Difficult in North Too

a Southern city, the Negro moves North. There he finds it easier to get a job, but the job is still usually on

Failing to find a satisfactory job in the common-labor level. Northern employers do not have the South's great pool of underemployed White farm labor to draw upon, and in the past 15 years have had great need for the unskilled and semi-skilled labor which the Negro can supply.

"But the proportion of Negroes who reach the top of the ladder in the North is scarcely higher than that in the South. In comparison to the total of 8.5% of Negroes who rise to become 'managers, officials, proprietors, craftsmen and foremen' in the South, the figure in the North is 10%," the LIFE article says.

One Tenth of U. S.

The Negro population has constituted one tenth of the overall U. S. population since 1900. In 1900, however, 85% of all U. S. Negroes lived in the South, and of these, three fourths lived in rural areas. Today only 63% of all U. S. Negroes live in the South, and of these, only half live in rural areas.

In 1900 Negroes exceeded 40% of the population in six Southern states. Now they exceed 40% in only one state—Mississippi (44%). The ratio of Negroes to Whites has decreased in all Southern states, and is increasing today only in certain Northern states, such as New York and Illinois, which receive heavy migration from the South. Of the six million Negroes who live in the North today, 2.8 million were born in the South.

38a 1956

GENERAL

Notable Data In April 3 Issue Of Popular Magazine

P. 1

Globe Fri. 4-6-56

Nashville, Tenn.

Series of Articles Revealing Many Steps Taken To Obey Supreme Court's Decisions and Maneuvers Of Scofflaws Interesting Contributions To Historic Fight Over Era's Most Important Matter Since Civil War Was Fought

According to Alfred A. Knopf, author of "Rendezvous with Destiny," copyright, 1952, the instinct for liberty appeared first in the primitive Teutonic forest and spread from there as a heritage of the "Anglo-Saxon race." Because it was hereditary, it could never be acquired by those who were not Anglo-Saxon, no matter how long they lived in the United States nor how favorable an environment for the development for democratic attitudes was created around them.

38a

"The definition of an "Anglo-Saxon was left usefully vague. Usually it meant an American from Western Europe or from anywhere long enough ago unless it was Africa, and any one need not bother with the question of origins."

MOSS-COVERED ARGUMENT

The book recalls the "moss-covered " argument that "you can't change human nature" and says Progressives might have a laudable desire to lift the standard of living of Negroes and immigrants and to make women parterners in the democratic process but the progressive were fighting genes. The Rockefellers were born to be Rockefellers and the slum-dwellers to be slum dwellers; Negroes and women were created intellectually inferior and morally weaker."

It can be believed that these debunked ideas about so-called races and the tremendous population of women, white and colored, will persist with a fast-retreating element of todays population of men, who almost wholly are the persons ranting against the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954.

18 PAGES ARE USED

LOOK magazine for April 3, devoted 18 pages of the magazine to articles dealing with the segregation question. It is "must reading" for all who need to be brought up to date on the greatest domestic issue of these times. For one thing, it will show that the foes of the Supreme Court decision, even by their own actions and admissions, concede they have no chance in the foreseeable future of doing more than getting a victory for "gradualism" in desegregation. The nation's overwhelming majority of masses and of the best minds, are on the side of favor chloroforming the false ideas so long promoted on American soil by Anglo-Saxon extremists.

BOTH SIDES REPRESENTED

The well-prepared articles which LOOK publishes, gives both sides to the controversy over the UNANIMOUS opinion of the Supreme Court delivered on Monday, May 17, 1954. The article quotes the historic utterance of Chief Justice Earl Warren as follows:

"We conclude that in the field of public education 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore we hold that the plaintiffs are by reason of segregation complained of, deprived of equal protection of the laws." The article also quotes the decision of the Court reached on May 31, 1955, in which Chief Justice Warren said: "Full implementation of these Constitutional principles may require solution of varied local problems. While giving weight to these . . . considerations, the courts will require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance."

EISENHOWER VS POWELL

Thus in the two decisions, one who is not biased can see the reasonable attitude toward desegregation that has been taken by President Eisenhower, and how unreasonable is the attitude of the President's severest critic, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of New York's Harlem district. The President challenges Southern people to come together and calmly work out a satisfactory settlement of the desegregation matter. Congressman Powell, with no responsibility for the serious situation, is disposed to deal with it as an item of Tammany Hall politics. Powell is far more radical on the desegregation matter than any of the responsible leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Globe

WHAT EASTLAND SAYS

LOOK'S article, after referring to the Supreme Court's decisions by the Chief Justice, also devotes equal space to airing the views of radical Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi. He accuses the Court of responding to a pro-Communist political movement, says public opinion(even in Mississippi) is the law and that no law is of any force which does not have the force of public opinion behind it. That of course is stuff intended to inspire the wool hat boys who send the likes of Eastland to the U. S. Senate.

P. 2

The Look article has as an illustration, a map of Southern and border states, showing the progress made in carrying out the desegregation edict.

In explanation of the map it is revealed that there are only five of the Southern states that are out to circumvent the Court decision and thereby defy the authority of Uncle Sam. They are Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina.

There are seven states that have already desegregated, to some extent. They are: Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware and also the District of Columbia.

The "on the fence states" in which the article says, "some will stall and some comply" are Arkansas, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina and Florida.

TENNESSEE HURTS KEFAUVER

Tennessee's position, of course, will be a hindrance to Senator Estes Kefauver's chance of getting the Democrat nomination for president and is almost sure to thwarting Gov. Frank Clement in his ambition to be keynoter of the Democrate Party's National Convention. Nashville's Hon. Cecil Sims best qualifies for the post of Democrat keynoter, he is able, as a distinguished lawyers, to take a stand in favor of "obeying the law of the land" without any mental reservations, as compared with Gov. Clement who hasn't seemed to have gotten that far in his books, at this juncture. In addition, Gov. Clement is out of step with a large majority of Tennesseans because of the way he has soaked the state's citizens with burdensome sales taxes —and the end is not yet.

One of the devices for "meanness sake" that some states plan to use says LOOK is to keep the Supreme Court busy hearing lawsuits on desegregation. It is well understood that the Court had anticipated this maneuver. It made the Federal District Courts the arbiters of these slick schemes. The Supreme Court can takeno more time than is necessary to say, "Nothing doing" in proper legal terms to such law suits and that will be that. Nobody as yet beaten Uncle Sam, either on land or sea, even if Mississippi et al haven't heard the news.

One of the most timely of the LOOK articles is one which reveals that it is FEAR that underlies the conflict over desegregation. A paragraph in Editor William Attwood's article says this fear is "social with profound sexual undertones.

"To a white Southerner classroom integration implies a kind of social equality that does not exist even on an assembly line. He will tell you that sooner or later, some Negro boy will be walking his daughter home from school, staying for supper, taking her to movies . . . and then your Southern friend asks you the inevitable, the clinching question: "Would you want your daughter to marry a Nigra?"

AS TO "MANGRELIZATION"

"And there is nothing you can say to quiet his fear. You can reply: "She can say 'no' can't she?" You can point out that integrated schools elsewhere have not led to intermarriage. Your friend only shrugs. The fear is too deeply ingrained. The sexual neurosis makes many whites impervious to logic. They are obsessed by the notion that Negroes, given a chance, will take over their women as well as their golf clubs and legislatures. And the fact that most of America's original mulattoes were sired, in the years of slavery, by Southern white men, in a segregated society, does not inhibit them from asserting that mixed schools will "mongrelize" the race."

HATE BEGETS HATE

Further, this article says an Alabama state senator can accuse Negroes of plotting to take over the Government by electing a Negro Vice President and then assassinating the President. A Citizen's Council leader can proclaim "This isn't the United States—this is Sunflower County, Mississippi" and a Virginia legislator can brag that "it looks like we won the "Civil War."

Says LOOK: "Is it any wonder that Negroes, too are alarmed? Inflamed by equally reckless parts of their own press, (not by the Globe, of course), convinced that their white neighbors want to set back the clock, they are becoming increasingly apprehensive and hostile. Many are in a mood to answer violence with violence, reprisal with reprisals.

"Fear on both sides has aggrevated racial tensions to the danger point and many anxious Southerners are predicting that things will get worse before they are better."

(More about the LOOK article next week.)

THOMAS L. STOKES

Evening Star
Washington, D.C.
Thurs. 5-17-56

Report on Negroes' Plight in South

Four Ministers Describe Pressures On Integration Petition Signers

Sometimes it is helpful to have a first-hand report from trustworthy persons about how our democracy is faring.

Just now a trouble spot where it is threatened is the South. There, as we know, a conflict has developed over public school integration, between groups on both sides, that has been intensified by haste and emotion. On the one hand there are Negroes who are anxious to see an early end to segregation; on the other, there are are whites who are trying to prevent any integration at all, even a start. These groups are headed up, respectively, in the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, NAACP, and the "White Citizens Councils" which sprang up in many parts of the South.

In any such conflict, the weaker party always suffers. So we find that Negroes who signed petitions urging integration or who belong to NAACP have become victims of all sorts of economic harassments to deprive them of the ability to earn a living which, of itself, would seem to be a violation in spirit of our constitutional guarantees of the right of petition and of peaceful assembly.

For a case study of what some Negroes are enduring, there is available a report covering three counties in middle South Carolina — Orangeburg, Clarendon and Sumter—made by four ministers of Negro churches, two Methodist, one Episcopalian, and one Baptist, and submitted to the National Council of Churches of Christ. They set forth the needs of the Negroes. The report says in part:

"Among the original groups of school integration petition signers were some persons who operate small businesses: cafes, community grocery stores, filling stations, and the like. These are the ones who had their wholesale supplies cut off. They could get nothing to sell. The white citizens councils threatened to cut off all white patronage from dealers who wanted to continue doing business with Negroes who had signed school petitions.

"Thus the livelihood of these small retailers was effectively cut off. Others who had signed the petitions were fired from the jobs which they had held for years. In order that their patronage might be restored, it was agreed that the names of these particular petitioners be removed from the petition. Though many of them wanted to stand pat and suffer the consequences, we deemed it better to relieve them of the pressure, because there were many of us who were more able to withstand the pressure.

"There are many who have not been able to find employment commensurate with the jobs they lost. Others have had mortgages foreclosed. All of us have had our credit cut off completely. The pressure of the citizens councils now extends to all who are known to be connected with NAACP. . . ."

In their report, the four ministers suggested to the National Council of Churches how credit needs for the Negroes—there are 200 families that need such credit—could be met by setting up funds in banks through co-operation of individuals, clubs, churches and other organizations which would be repaid at the end of the crop year when the harvest is in.

It might help, too, if we had a rugged character around like old John Quincy Adams who, when he became a member of the House of Representatives after leaving the White House, submitted day after day petitions to the House asking an end to slavery. For years they were not received because of objections by Southerners. But finally his persistence won and they were accepted.

The Gallup Poll

Post + Times Herald P.15
Wed. 5-9-56

71% of U. S. Prefers Gradual Desegregation

By George Gallup

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

Washington, D.C.

PRINCETON, N. J., May 8 The American public overwhelmingly adopts the viewpoint of "gradualism" when it comes to setting a time-table Court's desegregation ruling into effect.

Seven out of 10 persons questioned in a nationwide survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion believe that the Government should try gradually to bring about integration of white and Negro children in the public schools — that is, over a long period of years.

Some people in this group—particularly in the South—volunteered the information that they didn't want integration in the public schools ever to come about.

About one person in every six, takes the view, however, that the Government should do everything it can to bring about integration immediately—within the coming year.

To sound out public opinion, the Institute assigned its staff of interviewers to talk to an accurate cross-section of Americans in all walks of life, including the proper proportions of whites and Negroes, living in every section of the country.

"The Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. Which of these points of view comes nearest to your way of thinking about the problem of segregation?"

1. **The Government should try to bring about the integration of white and Negro children in public school gradually — that is, over a long period of years 71%**
2. **The Government should do everything it can to see that white and Negro children in all parts of the country to the same public schools within the coming year . 18**

No opinion 11

100%

Of thase whco want gradual integration, roughly one person in four vouchsafed the answer that if the choice were theirs, they would never permit white and Negro children to be integrated in the public schools.

That's the picture for the Nation as a whole. In the South, only one adult in 20 today is in favor of immediate integration. Almost half of those in the 13 Southern states who want gradual desegregation also volunteered that they are against integration at any time.

Considering those who are against integration at any time as a separate group, here is the vote today in the South:

Gradually	**45%**
Immediately	**5**
Never want integration	**39**
No opinion	**12**

The survey also finds that the greatest majority for the moderate point of view, calling for gradual integration over a long period of years, comes from persons who have attended college. Proportionately the largest number who volunteered that they would never want integration come from those who have grade-school educations.

The vote by education levels, again considering those who volunteered a "Never" answer as a third category:

	College	High Sch'l	Grade Sch'l
Gradually	73%	59%	41%
Immediately	18	18	20
Never	4	14	25

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S.C. Governor Dares North To Welcome Negro Migrants

Constitution Sat. 5-12-56
Atlanta, Ga. P.2

RIVERS' BRIDGE, S.C., May 11 (AP)—Northern advocates of racial integration were challenged today by South Carolina Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr. "to cast off their hypocrisy and accept the Negro into their communities, their institutions and their families."

Timmerman called on "the integrationist to prove his sincerity" by supporting a program of voluntary migration of Negroes from the South to communities "where racial mixing is acceptable."

FEDERAL AID

He said "a federal program of financial aid to enable those who want to mix to move" to other areas "would cost only a fraction" of the billions advocated for foreign aid.

Timmerman spoke at the 80th annual Rivers' Bridge Confederate Memorial Assn. ceremonies that commemorate a War Between the States battle near here.

Calling that war the "war of Northern aggression," Timmerman charged that its cause was not Negro slavery in the South but "the determination of Northern plutocrats to establish national control under which the policies of the North would determine the policies of the nation."

"Much has changed in the last 90-odd years," Timmerman continued, "but some things remain the same. The North continues to be prone to stick its nose into somebody's business, especially the business of the South, while ignoring and even promoting deplorable conditions in its own areas.

BAD AS ABOLITIONISTS

"Northern propagandists are as loud, obnoxious and untruthful today as the abolitionists a century ago . . ."

Timmerman said "the integrationist, like the abolitionist, is a hypocrite" because "he proclaims in the name of brotherly love that Southern segregation is discrimination, while ignoring and cultivating deplorable conditions in his own area."

"The ghetto of Harlem, the lawless slums of Washington, the frequent—but frequently ignored—race riots in schools, parks and playgrounds, the muggings and switchblade cuttings and 32 months of racial disorder in Chicago's Trumbull Park, all are models of those deplorable conditions," he continued.

'END OF SEGREGATION TO BRING BLOODSHED'

Commercial Appeal P.

That Is View Of Ellender If Integration Forced In The Next 10 To 15 Years

Memphis, Tenn.

By The United Press

WASHINGTON, May 6.—Senator Allen J. Ellender (D., La.) said Sunday that "bloodshed" would result if school integration is forced on the South within the next five to 10 years.

Senator Ellender was one of several lawmakers who debated the civil rights issue on Sunday television shows.

The programs amounted to a preview of the expected bitter civil rights fight at the Democratic National Convention next August.

'We Can Solve Problem'

Senator Ellender said white and Negro leaders in the South can solve the integration problem if they are "not agitated" by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other "intruders from the North."

But he warned that "there would be bloodshed . . . in all of the Southern states" if any attempt is made "overnight" to enforce the Supreme Court's school integration decision.

Senator Ellender also said the platform adopted by the Democratic convention will determine whether there will be a 1948-stlye Dixie bolt. He said a plank calling for enforcement of the court's decision would be "too offensive" to Southerners.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.), who led the fight for the strong civil rights plank which prompted the 1948 walkout, served notice he was in no mood for compromise this year.

Sees Some Difficulties

He conceded there "may be some difficulty" at the Democratic convention but said he is convinced a party majority will adopt "a good strong civil rights program" backing the Supreme Court's integration ruling.

Senator Ellender said he doubted if integration in primary and secondary schools could be brought about in the South in the next five or 10 years. Asked if the South would accept a more gradual shift to integration, he said only that the problem should be handled "by the people involved."

Comment Of Southern Editors On Segregation

Atlanta Daily World 2/26

Ranging all the way from fear of violence to the fantastic fear of marriage between the races are some of the reasons that white editors of newspapers covering a cross-section of this region, give in explaining resistance to the Supreme Court decision on school segregation. The opinions are expressed in a poll regarding the question in the current issue of U. S. News and World Report after questioning editors of 15 newspapers of which two are Negro publications, including the Atlanta Daily World. The feature appears in the Feb. 24th issue of this national weekly magazine.

Most of the white editors give as other reasons for resistance to the decision in the South: resentment to outside interference, unwillingness to change a way of life which has been practiced a long time. One editor of a Kentucky paper gave as a reason for some of the resistence is the fact that some of the politicians have created this reaction. He said, that in Kentucky integration had already been achieved; in the University of Louisville and before that, Negroes were integrated in the University of Kentucky. He also contends that there have been a great many other advances made from this score. Atlanta, Ga.

A Virginia editor said: "Race relations are definitely worse since the court decision in question." He, however, admits that there are some Negroes in the University of Virginia and some in the dormitories. He feels that the net results would be on the numbers; that numbers are very crucially important."

In giving our view to U. S. News and World Report on the subject we stated some things that have appeared at different times in these columns. Our editor stated that the decision was due and could be applied without too much difficulty if there were a way to stop some of the politicians from stirring up tension and inciting resistance to it. He also cited the fact that political capital had been made of the racial issue for years and as a result this is a contributing factor to the present reaction expressed to the decision. It was pointed out that due to the present residential situation as to the two races there would be no mass mixing of the races if desegregation were legally put into effect.

Anyway, we recognize the fact that the court decision has been made into an issue for various reasons, of which we believe political interest is the main one. But, a fact is a fact and it should be dealt with accordingly. Fri. 2-24-56

Most of the editors interviewed felt that race relations have deteriorated since the decision. Maybe this was inevitable, but let us hope and work to restore them as quickly as possible. The two races must learn to live and work together in peace and goodwill and within the framework of the school and any other decision given by the highest court in the land.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

News P. 16-A Sun. 2-26-56

Question: Is Segregation Sinful?

Birmingham, Ala.

Ever and anon some doctrinaires arise to proclaim that "segregation is a sin." Yet a certain old book shows that Abraham and Lot "segregated" when they separated as best for both and without damage to either. Was their segregation a sin?

By the laws of Moses, administered by Joshua, the tribe of Levi was scattered among the other tribes, for priestly and levitical purposes. Each of the other tribes was to observe strictly its own boundaries. Each tribe was told not only not to marry among the heathen tribes around them, but within the tribes themselves all persons should marry strictly within their own tribes. Was that Mosiac law sinful, and did not that explicit law "segregate" each tribe very clearly, in regard to land, property and marriage?

When Jesus talked to the woman of Samaria, did He even intimate, and to even the very slightest extent, that the Samaritans should try to force their way into the worship in Jerusalem, or that the Jews should try to force their way into worship in Samaria? Did he not plainly and unmistakably say that "God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth?" That is what He plainly declared.

If some doctrinaires feel that they are far wiser than was Jesus Christ, or if they flatter themselves that they are far more religious than was Jesus Christ, does the reader think that their self-congratulatory idea is well founded? J. M. GLENN, Midway, Ala.

Ike Says Racial Dispute Must Not Divide Nation

Daily World P. 1 Thurs. 3-22-56 Atlanta, Ga.

BY JAMES LEE

WASHINGTON — (INS) — President Eisenhower warned Wednesday that the racial segregation dispute must not be viewed as "a tremendous fight that is going to separate Americans" and get the country into a "nasty mess."

The Chief Executive told his news conference that "it is incumbent on all South to show some progress" in obeying the Supreme Court order outlawing separate white and Negro schools.

In a call for moderation on both sides of the segregation issue, the President declared, "Again I plead for understanding, for really sympathetic consideration of a problem that is far larger, both in its emotional and even in its physical aspects, than most of us realize."

Mr. Eisenhower cited the worldwide efforts of the Rev. Billy Graham in trying to "promote mediation instead of conflict, tolerance instead of prejudice," as the spirit in which the segregation problem should be approached.

VERY TOUGH

The President said: "This is a very tough one and people have to search their own hearts if we are going to get a decent answer and keep going ahead.

"Now, let's don't try to think of this as a tremendous fight that is going to separate Americans and get ourselves into a nasty mess.

"Let's try to think of it of how we can make progress ..as far as I am concerned. I am for moderation, but I am for progress; that is exactly what I am for in this thing."

REJECTS DEFIANCE

The President rejected a newsman's statement that Southern legislators who signed a manifesto pledging all legal efforts to upset the segregation ban had "indicated defiance" of the Supreme Court decision.

Mr. Eisenhower said: "I don't believe they expressed their defiance. I believe they exprssed their belief that it (the Court ruling) was in error and that they have talked about using legal means to circumvent...it.'

He added that opponents of integration "have, of course, their free choice as to what they want to do."

On another phase of the racial dispute, the President said that Negroes who are being prosecuted in Montgomery, Ala., for refusing to ride on segregated buses were brought to trial under "a state law about boycotts."

He indicated his conviction that the Montgomery case was a state, not a federal matter, but commented: "I do believe that it is incumbent on all the South to show some progress. That is what the Supreme Cohrt asked for. And they turned it over to local district courts."

INTEGRATION FIGHT PLEDGED BY DIXIE BLOC

Daily Tribune Chicago Ill. Mon 3-12-56

96 in Congress to Battle Ruling

P. 1

BY JOSEPH HEARST

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, March 11 — When the Supreme court ordered desegregation in public schools it substituted "naked judicial power" for established law, 96 members of Congress

from 11 southern states charged today.

In a "declaration of constitutional principles, to be read in both houses of Congress tomorrow, the southern lawmakers pledged themselves to use "all lawful means to bring a reversal" of the decision. They commended the motives of those states which have declared intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means, but did not mention interposition, by which some state legislatures have challenged the high court ruling.

"We regard the decision of the Supreme court in the school cases as a clear abuse of

Sen. George [left] and Rep. Smith

judicial power," the declaration said. "It climaxes a trend in the federal judiciary undertaking to legislate, in derogation of the authority of Congress and to encroach upon the revered rights of the states and the people."

Two Republicans Sign

The declaration was signed by 19 senators and 77 representatives, all Democrats with the exception of Rep. Broyhill and Rep. Poff of Virginia. Sen. George [Ga.] and Rep. Smith [Va.] are to read it in the respective houses tomorrow noon.

All except three senators of the 11 states were signers. Those who did not sign were Kefauver and Gore of Tennessee, and Johnson of Texas, the senate majority leader. All or a majority of the house members from nine of the 11 states signed. Only four of the 22 man Texas delegation and four of the nine man Tennessee delegation signed.

The declaration cited earlier Supreme court rulings which, it said, established that provision of "separate but equal" facilities did not conflict with the Constitution. It said this interpretation became a "part of the life of the people of many states, and confirmed their habits, customs, traditions and way of life."

Charge Lack of Legality

It said that tho there has been no constitutional amendment or act of Congress "changing this established legal principle" the Supreme coutr, "with no legal basis for such action, undertook to exercise naked judicial power and substituted their personal political aand social ideas for the established law of the land."

"This unwarranted exercise of power by the court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the states principally affected," the lawmakers said. "It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created thru 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding."

The declaration said that "outside agitators are threatening immediate and revolutionary changes in our public school systems," and expressed concern for "the explosive and dangerous condition created by this decision and inflamed outside meddlers."

Warns of Agitators

The lawmakers, in saying they would work to prevent the use of force in the implementation of the court's decision, appealed to "our people not to be provoked by the agitators and troublemakers invading our states, and to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts."

Preparation of the declaration went on for some time in secret. News that it was being prepared leaked out last week. Sen. Thurmond [S. C.] said the final draft was worked out by Senators Fulbright [Ark.], Daniel [Tex.], Russell [Ga.], Stennis [Miss.], and himself. The original draft was drawn by Thurmond, he told reporters, and the initial meeting to put it into shape and get signers was held in the office of Sen. George.

The 11 states represented by the signers are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Stop A Fire Before It Starts

(From The Christian Science Monitor)

Make no mistake; positions on the segregation issue are hardening, tensions are rising, temperatures are going up. The trouble at the moment centers in the Deep South, in the state of Alabama in the cities of Tuscaloosa and Montgomery, but rising tensions widen excitement. Higher temperatures can cause combustion. And fires spread.

For these reasons what Governor Folsom has proposed for Alabama and Adlai Stevenson has urged for the entire nation brings notes of sanity into a situation fast becoming far too emotional. They both propose biracial commissions, that for Alabama to be appointed presumably by Governor Folsom himself. And Mr. Stevenson calls on President Eisenhower to name one for the whole country.

Such steps should receive the strongest possible support from every thinking person.

What might such commissions accomplish in today's situation? "Study commissions" are sometimes set up as devices to postpone definitive action. But these should not be primarily study commissions. They should provide concentrations of leadership for both races toward reasonable thinking, toward cooling tempers, and away from bitter resentments and frantic fears.

Some observers have asked whether there is time or room for compromise between hostile positions already so far advanced. There is more room but perhaps less time than one might think. Compromise, however, may not be the first business. The first necessity may be to agree to disagree for the time being.

Important as may be full abolition of segregation to some Negroes, as greater value, greater to everyone, at stake. That is the unity of these United States and of the people who dwell within them.

The two races, now with some 144,000,000 whites and 16,000,000 Negroes, will have to continue living side by side, in North and South alike, for time out of mind. Are they going to live in peace and friendliness or in conflict and bitterness? Not so much how the segregation issue is finally worked out as how that working out is approached is likely to form the answer.

Respected and trusted commissions might do much to persuade the leadership of both races to compromise not on principles but on pressures, and that to push temporary advantages and win local skirmishes could lose for each the goals it seeks.

Those goals are no longer "white supremacy" in the sense some whites have meant nor racial "integration" as, no doubt, some Negroes have defined it. The goal for all is a modus vivendi in which races and individuals are neither kept apart nor forced together by law—in which voluntary association and disassociation both are given the freeiest play.

An Appeal To Whites And Negroes

Once again we should like to urge all people of Christian good will to do all in their power to exercise a moderating influence now before Southern race conditions become any more serious.

And as is so often the case, the greatest opportunity may lie not in big things or gigantic programs but just in friendlier everyday relations between our white people and our colored people. As one Southerner said a day or two ago, "Since these racial tensions have increased I have increased my efforts to show the other race little courtesies and kindnesses that I may have been overlooking heretofore." We also know of Negroes who are showing increased appreciation of their white friends with a tact and courtesy such as the finest persons in the Negro race have always been noted for.

Our Negroes will make a mistake if they depend on force to compel sudden and revolutionary changes in our schools. Our white people will make as great a mistake if we fail to give our Negro people all the rights, courtesies and help we can give them short of those which might promote amalgamation of the races. As one Progressive Farmer reader suggested several years ago, perhaps the greatest force for racial good will would be for each white person and each colored person to try to find each day some opportunity to do a kind deed or speak a kind word to some person of the other race.

We also cherish the faith that in many communities there is still a chance for some of the fairest-minded white people and the fairest-minded colored people to consult together and work out policies that can keep their localities peaceful, regardless of what happens elsewhere.

—The Progressive Farmer

South Faces New Situation

News + Observer

BY THOMAS L. STOKES.

WASHINGTON.—Publicity over the University of Alabama case at Tuscaloosa and the bus boycott at Montgomery has observed a practical political situation developing in the South looking to the national conventions and the Presidential election.

It revolves about this question:

What will the Southern states do at the Democratic convention and, after that, where will its voters go in the Presidential election?

Let us begin with this fact, just beginning to be realized, that Southern leaders, as well as leaders from other parts of the country, face a new situation—an accomplished fact, not a theory or something that just might happen. Wed. 2-21-56

Hitherto, at two previous national party conventions—1948 and 1952—it was a theory that might possibly come to pass, civil rights legislation.

Rebellion was provoked among the Southern delegates when such legislation was endorsed in the party platform. Nothing yet has been done about such legislation, so it is still in the realm of theory.

But now there are two accomplished facts. Raleigh, N. C.

First, there is the Supreme Court decision banning segregation in public schools.

Second, and bearing directly on the political relationships of the Southern states to their federal government and to national parties, is the interposition movement by which it is declared that states will not carry out the Supreme Court decision.

The legislatures of four Southern states—Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia—have adopted interposition resolutions. The governors of two other states, Mississippi and North Carolina, have announced their intention to secure passage of such resolutions. And Governor Allan Shivers, of Texas, is arranging to have the interposition questions on the ballot in Texas' primary.

Those are hard, cold facts.

Now, with this interposition movement in mind, let us project ourselves forward to the Democratic convention in Chicago in August.

Anybody who recognizes the realities knows that the Democratic platform can do nothing else but declare that the integration decision is now the law of the land, which is what candidates for the Presidential nomination reiterate constantly.

What will be the position of delegations representing Southern states which have "interposed" that they will not accept integration? Even, for example, if the platform follows the Supreme Court's "deliberate speed" and construes this as gradualism, while interposition says "never," not gradually.

Will Southern delegations content themselves with voting against the platform—or will they walk out?

If they walk out, where will they and their people go?

They can hardly go into the Republican party, since no one can imagine that party doing other than insisting that the Supreme Court decision is the law of the land and denying the doctrine of interposition.

That would seem to leave only a third party as a mechanism for the position of interposition. Will it come to that again as in 1948? Then, a walkout of some Southern delegates ended up in a third party — the "Dixiecrat" movement, which carried four Southern states and kept them away from the Truman-Barkley regular Democratic ticket. In 1952, four Southern states left the Democratic party and went to General Eisenhower in the second Southern bolt in succession.

Possibility of another revolt loomed when an outstanding Southern leader —Senator Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia, who refused to support Adlai Stevenson in 1952—joined the interpositionists the past weekend and called upon the South to organize for "massive resistance" to the Supreme Court decision.

Asked about a third party, Byrd told this reporter that he has not yet heard of any and does not know of any plans for such. Was he a potential third party leader? No, he replied.

Previously Senator Byrd has stayed clear of third party movements, though the Byrd organization in Virginia gave encouragement to the 1948 "Dixiecrat" movement.

The Presidential candidate of that movement—Senator J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina—told this reporter he knew of no third party movement as yet.

Thus we have now a "wait and see" attitude among Southern leaders.

The interpositionists lack a leader who knows where he wants to go.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser 2-24-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it

Montgomery, Ala.

What The Negro Stands To Lose

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER. — Inasmuch as we are Southerners, having been born and raised in Alabama, we are familiar with segregation in the South and realize the necessity of it.

For the past several years one or both of us have lived in states other than Southern: West Virginia, Kansas and Oregon. We are therefore in the position of having a bird's-eye-view of a situation with which we are familiar.

We have a high regard for the Southern Negro as an individual. We have equally high contempt for the agencies and implements such as the NAACP and the Supreme Court decision which would, through their radical and unlawful actions, cause the Southern Negro to inadvertently lose the respect and good will of his best friend—the Southern white man.

EARL TENNIMON,
J. C. TENNIMON.
Salem, Oregon.

Tues. 2-28-56

No Help Wanted

Editor, The Advertiser:

Alabama does not need a bi-racial committee to speak its piece on segregation. Even a branchheader knows that.

W. T. BARNETT.
Pine Level, Ala.

White Retaliation

Editor, The Advertiser:

Why don't the white people of Montgomery park their cars at least one day a week and ride the buses to go to work or shopping?

Fight the Negro with his own ideas. It would help the company stay in business.

MRS. C. A. LIVINGSTON.
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

It Started With FDR

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have just read your interview in *U.S. News & World Report*.

There is no doubt that there is hypocrisy in the North. It is in the Democratic party, however. Your good friends, Franklin and Harry started it.

You must realize that there is a lot of difference between between a Southern and Northern Democrat. The strength of the Northern Democratic Party is the slums of the cities.

In the North you can tell the character of any community by the registration.

Most Northern Negroes are pawns of Democratic ward healers.

These Northern Democrats tell the Negroes that the South is behind the times and that the Democraic Party of the North does not need the South.

I wish that a lot of you intelligent Southerners could go to a slums political meeting. I am a Mason and a Rotarian. There are very few Democrats in either organization in the North.

I ejoyed the article.

CARL C. DAVIDSON.
Ellwood City, Pa.

Segregation, According To A Gallop Poll

Dr. George Gallop serves his fellowmen in his occasional reach — with a poll. He comes through this week with one on the controversal segregation question with facts and figures indicating just how strongly does the average white Southerner feel about it. The footnote at the bottom of the poll announces the next will deal with "How the Southern Negro feels about segregation." Daily World P. 4

The poll is divided into two sections, with three divisions of opinions. The first section is a poll taken from Southern whites only. The second section deals with opinions of those outside the South. Wed. 2-29-56 Atlanta, Ga.

These figures furnish an interesting study of contrast in opinions — of those white people living outside the South and who have generations of experience in non-segregated schools, residences, churches, public recreation and common carriers and those living in the South with no experience whatever in non-segregated practices and principles.

General

The ICC has ruled that racial segregation of interstate passengers on trains, buses and in public waiting rooms must end. The poll among Southern whites would stand: Approve 19%; disapprove 76%; undecided 5%.

Noting the keen contrast in those white people outside the South who have known nothing but non-segregated customs: Approve 71%; Disapprove 24%; undecided 5%.

ICC's ruling outside the South: Approve 67%; disapprove 24%; undecided 9%.

It is noted that these figures in their striking resemblance are too conspicious to dismiss as so much information.

Any open-minded person would arrive at the conclusion that logic enters into this situation where two sections afford such a proximity in the approvals and disapprovals.

Again the poll shows that in border states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Texas where the whites outnumber the Negro 8 to one, one white in every four approve. Moving in what might be termed mid-South states, Florida, Virginia, Arkansas and North Carolina where Negroes constitute approximately, the opposition rises. This would disclose where the population is

higher, the opposition likewise rises.

Those who are really interested in arriving at an unbiased solution of what has been allowed to run into a problem, would do well to emphasize that the leading fear the average Southerner expresses, intermarriage, has not been in peril all these years where there is almost an equal count of approval of the court's decision.

Too, the verdict of the experienced, over against the reduction in economic overhead and the cutting out of duplicity in maintenance and operation of facility, deserves serious consideration.

We believe that much of the opposition to the decision in this section is due to the fact that the politicians have made political use of the racial issue.

Though the Supreme Court has ruled on the question it remains for the district federal courts to act unless the issue is resolved in accordance with the high court ruling by action of the administrative authorities such as the state and local school boards.

This clearly indicates that the Negro citizens should busy themselves in getting more persons eligible to vote.

ELLENDER WARNS SOUTH ON FORCE

Times P. 1

Fears Violence Might Bring Back 'Carpetbaggers'

Herald 3-18-56

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, March 17—Senator Allen J. Ellender cautioned the South tonight to avoid any show of violence in resisting school integration. He said such resistance could invite a return of "reconstruction" government and rule by "carpetbaggers."

New York N.Y.

The Louisiana Democrat told a Louisiana radio audience in an address recorded in Washington that he and other Congressional signers of last Sunday's manifesto against integration were committed to resistance by "any lawful means." He added:

"What the South must avoid at all costs is violence, lawlessness, hatred and bloodshed. The outside agitators who seek the subjugation of both the white and Negro races in the South are hovering like greedy vultures for the time when racial antagonisms led to chaos, the breakdown of governmental authority, and general lawlessness.

"If this condition should occur, then I fear they will not hesitate to press for the use of force. If this should occur, then all our people could look forward to would be a repetition of the reconstruction regimes which brought the South only oppression and self-seeking exploitation."

Times P. 17-L

In "our fight to maintain the basic principles of our Federal, constitutional system," Mr. Ellender said, "we must not open our gates to an invasion of our states by a new and even hungrier breed of carpetbaggers."

Carpetbaggers were Northern politicians who invaded the South after the Civil War.

By the Supreme Court decision calling for desegregation of the public school Senator Ellender said, "Nine men have made it possible for 165,000,000 Americans to be made subject to a new and powerful kind of despotism."

The "declaration of constitutional principles" signed by the Southern Congressmen, he said, "is a sober warning" to the American people that the Supreme Court "has laid the foundation for what may yet prove to be a complete destruction of our constitutional system of checks and balances."

"We have served notice that the people of the South, both white and Negro, are not going to be used as either whipping boys or political pawns in order to fulfill the Supreme Court's new doctrine of sociological justice," Senator Ellender declared.

He added that the South had been invaded by "unprincipled, self-seeking, outside agitators—I refer primarily to the N. A. A. C. P. [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.]"

Wilson's Reinstatement Urged

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., March 17 (AP)—White Citizens Council members last night asked Gov. James E. Folsom to use his influence in having Leonard R. Wilson reinstated as a University of Alabama student.

The resolution was adopted unanimously at a meeting of about 375 members of a pro-segregation council organized here recently. Mr. Wilson, 20-year-old Selma, Ala., former student, presided as temporary chairman of the organization.

Mr. Wilson was expelled by the university board of trustees for leading demonstrations against enrollment of Miss Autherine Lucy, the first Negro student at the school, and for criticism of the actions of university officials. Miss Lucy later also was expelled.

Shivers Speech Protested

HOUSTON, Tex., March 17 (AP)—Officials of the N. A. A. C. P. completed plans to have 200 protest pickets tomorrow at the Texas Southern University campus for a speech by Gov. Allan Shivers.

Despite requests that Negro civic groups boycott the speech, Mack Hannah, the university board chairman from Port Arthur, Tex., has predicted a capacity audience would attend. The speech will feature inaugural ceremonies for Dr. S. M. Nabrit, new president of the state Negro institution.

A membership meeting by the Houston chapter of the N. A. A. C. P. last night approved a resolution voicing a right to refrain from listening "to a man who has publicly declared he will do everything in his power to abridge the rights of Negro citizens and their children in this state."

FOE OF INTEGRATION HEADS A NEW GROUP

Times P. 23-C

NEW ORLEANS, March 18 (UP)—Thirty Roman Catholic laymen in this area have formed an organization for "investigation and study" of compusory racial integration.

Herald 3-19-56

The president of the organization is Emile A. Wagner Jr., a lawyer and outspoken foe of integration. He recently attacked officials of Loyola University of the South for inviting Hulan E. Jack, Borough President of Manhattan, to speak at an interracial meeting.

New York N.Y.

Known as the Association of Catholic Laymen, the group said in its article of incorporation it also would "seek out and make known and denounce Communist infiltration, if there be any in the integration movements."

The group is open only to "persons of the Caucasian race who profess in faith of the Holy Roman Catholic Church."

Mr. Wagner said the founders of the group intended to circulate 25,000 membership applications in the New Orleans area.

Catholic officials here, including Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel, have said integration of the parochial schools is coming. Archbishop Rummel called segregation "a moral sin."

Of the new organization's relations with the church, Mr. Wagner said that "on questions of dogmas we would certainly consult with a spiritual adviser."

President Urged to Call Governors' Racial Parley

Evening Star P. 6-A

Washington D.C.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Mar. 23 (AP).—Gov. Leroy Collins yesterday called on President Eisenhower to convene a conference of Southern Governors to discuss racial relations.

Times 3-23-56

In a message to the President, Gov. Collins said that as a result of the Supreme Court's school integration decision and of activities of extremists on both sides "we are experiencing what well may become a serious deterioration of racial relations.

"We are fearful the progress we have made over many years may be dissipated."

In Washington, Secretary James C. Hagerty said the telegram from Gov. Collins has arrived but there will be no comment at this time.

The Florida Governor was authorized by a conference of State government leaders and educators here yesterday to call upon the President and Attorney General Brownell to meet with the Southern Governors and attorneys general. The conference was called to develop a workable plan to head off integration at the State universities legally.

Publisher Invites 'Moderates' to Act

ATLANTA, Mar. 23 (AP).—An Alabama newspaper publisher yesterday called on middle-ground whites and Negroes to work out a solution to Southern racial problems.

Buford Boone, publisher of the News at Tuscaloosa, said "moderates" have a patriotic duty to speak up and step forward in an effort to "bring some degree of sanity out of chaotic frenzy."

"Thus far, there has been no leadership for such an element," he said in a speech before the Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalism fraternity. "We need it badly."

Mr. Boone said Tuscaloosa was a tranquil city until a few weeks ago, but things are different now.

"We have been working at hating and fearing people in Alabama. We have been living in a state of mass hysteria.

"I have grieved to see a people for whom I have great affection speeding recklessly down a road leading to real trouble," he declared.

Mr. Boone described the events leading up to demonstrations against Autherine Lucy, Negro who attempted to enter the University of Alabama.

"She came down in a Cadillac with escorts," Mr. Boone said. "She was overdressed for a coed. She paid her fees with a $100 bill and she was taken around students waiting in long lines to complete the tiring job of registering."

North Carolina To Draft Program

RALEIGH, N. C., Mar. 23 (AP).—Gov. Luther Hodges said yesterday a special report recommending steps North Carolina should take in dealing with the school segregation issue will be available shortly after April 1.

It will be available before a special session of the State's General Assembly Gov. Hodges has said he will call this summer to deal with school problems.

The report will be made by a special School Segregation Committee created by the 1955 Legislature. Headed by Thomas J. Pearsall of Rocky Mount, a former House speaker, it is expected to recommend a plan similar to that which has been adopted in Virginia. This would provide for tuition grants or transfers for students who objected to attending integrated schools.

Reporting the South

Post Times Herald

Editor Thomas R. Waring of the Charleston (S. C.) *News & Courier* has made a strong indictment of the Northern press for abandoning "fair and objective reporting of the race story." The gist of his argument, printed in an article in *Harper's*, is that because most newspapers and periodicals published in the North are unfamiliar with the "facts" on the race problem, they print only a one-sided version and ignore Southern views. He cites what he says are five differences between the white and Negro races which discourage white parents from permitting their children to mingle freely with Negro children in school. These he lists as having to do with health, home environment, marital habits, crime and intellectual development.

Jun. 1-3-56

It would be foolish to contend that there are not differences between the habits and cultural attainments of Negroes as a group and white people as a group. There also are wide differences between groups of the same race. Many of the differences Mr. Waring presents as facts, however, would not be accepted as such by others. And many of these so-called differences relate to environment rather than to race.

P. 10

Mr. Waring seems to think that newspapers, in the interest of fairness, should print derogatory comment of one race about the weaknesses of another race. Other persons have felt that such race-libels contribute to bad inter-race relations and have treated them as they would treat libels against individuals. Of course, such derogatory comment can reach a point where it becomes newsworthy. Racial antipathies cannot and should not be ignored when they become significant factors in public life. But we think the press has not ignored the existence of views such as Mr. Waring expresses. The meeting last week in Memphis, at which prosegregation forces from 12 states were organized into a group to fight the Supreme Court decision, for example, received full attention.

Washington D.C.

There is, to be sure, some basis for the sort of regional resentment Mr. Waring voices. No section of the country has done well enough in solving its racial problems to exhibit a pious superiority toward any other section. Too often there has been superciliousness rather than sympathy toward communities that have staggering problems of adjustment. It is important to understand without any self-righteousness the views Mr. Waring sets forth in good conscience—particularly the feeling that the South is being coerced.

What Mr. Waring seems to want, however, is something more: he seems to want agreement with what he says are Southern views, and to have such views influence the presentation of racial news. Here is the rub. Fair and equal treatment of all persons, regardless of race, has long been the proclaimed national policy; and the Supreme Court's decision prohibiting racial segregation in public schools is now the law of the land. It is proper, we think, that reporting of the racial question should start with this recognition.

'The Court Ruling Insults My Race'

Advertiser

[Zora Neale Hurston is a Negro novelist and playwright, a Barnard graduate and holder of both Rosenwald and Guggenheim Fellowships.—ED.]

Sat. 1-7-56

I PROMISED God and some other responsible characters, including a bench of bishops, that I was not going to part my lips concerning the United States Supreme Court decision on ending segregation in the public schools of the South. But since a lot of time has passed and no one seems to touch on what appears to be the most important point in the hassle, I break my silence just this once. Consider me as just thinking out loud.

The whole matter revolves around the self-respect of my people. How much satisfaction can I get from a court order for somebody to associate with me who does not wish me near them?

P. 4-A

The American Indian has never been spoken of as a minority and chiefly because there is no whine in the Indian. Certainly he fought, and valiantly, for his lands, and rightly so, but it is inconceivable of an Indian to seek forcible association with anyone. His well-known pride and self-respect would save him from that. I take the Indian position.

Montgomery, Ala.

Clamor for Rights

Now a great clamor will arise in certain quarters that I deny the Negro children of the South their rights, and therefore I am one of those "handkerchief-head niggers" who bow low before the white man and tell out my own people, out of cowardice. However, an analytical glance will show that is not the case.

If there are not adequate Negro schools and there are some residual, some inherent and unchangeable qualities in white schools, impossible to duplicate anywhere else, then I am the first to insist that Negro children of Florida be allowed to share this boon. But if there are adequate Negro schools and prepared instructors and instructions, then there is nothing different except the presence of white people.

For this reason, I regard the ruling of the Supreme Court as insulting, rather than honoring, my race. Since the days of the never-to-be-sufficiently-deplored Reconstruction, there has been current the belief that there is no greater delight to Negroes than physical association with whites, the doctrine of the white mare.

The Habits of Mules

Those familiar with the habits of mules are aware that any mule, if not restrained, automatically follows a white mare.

Lead a white mare along a country road and slyly open the gate and the mules in the lot would run out and follow this mare. This ruling being conceived and brought forth in sly political medium with eyes on 1956, and brought forth in the same spirit and for the same purpose, it is clear then they have taken the old notion to heart and acted on it. It is a cunning opening of the barnyard gate with the white mare ambling past. We are expected to hasten pell-mell after her.

It is most astonishing that this should be tried just when the nation is exerting itself to shake off the evils of communist penetration. It is to be recalled that Moscow, being made aware of this folk belief, made it the main plank in their campaign to win the American Negro from the 1920s on.

It was the come-on stuff. Join the party and get yourself a white wife or husband. To supply the expected demand, the party had scraped up this and that off of park benches and skid rows and held them in stock for us. The biggest types of Negroes were held to be just panting to get hold of one of these objects. Seeing how flat that program fell, it is astonishing that it would be so soon revived. Politics indeed makes strange bedfellows.

The South had better beware in another direction. While it is being frantic over the segregation ruling, it had better keep its eyes open for more important things. One instance of government by fiat has been rammed down its throat.

It is possible that the end of segregation is not here and never meant to be here at present, but the attention of the South is directed on what was calculated to keep us busy while more ominous things were brought to pass. The stubborn South and the Mid-west kept this nation from being dragged farther to the left than it was during the New Deal.

But what if it is contemplated to do away with the two-party system and arrive at government by administrative decree? No questions allowed and no information given out from the administrative department? We could get more rulings on the same subject and more far-reaching any day. It pays to weigh every saying and action, however trivial, as indicating a trend.

In the ruling on segregation, the unsuspecting nation might have witnessed a trial balloon. A relatively safe one, since it is sectional and on a matter not likely to arouse other sections of the nation to the support of the South. If it goes off fairly well, a precedent has been established. Government by fiat can replace the Constitution. You don't have to credit me with too much intelligence and penetration, just so you watch carefully and think.

No Elation From White Mare

Meanwhile, personally, I am not delighted. I am not persuaded and elevated by the white mare technique.

It is well known that I have no sympathy or respect for the "tragedy of color" school of thought among us, whose fountainhead is the pressure group concerned in this court ruling. I can see no tragedy in being too dark to be invited to the White House.

The Supreme Court would have pleased me more if they had concerned themselves about enforcing the compulsory education provisions for Negroes in the South as is done for white children. The next 10 years would be better spent in appointing truant officers and looking after conditions in the homes from which the children come. Use to the limit what we already have.

"Them's my sentiments," and I am sticking to them. Growth from within. Ethical and cultural desegregation. It is a contraditiction in terms to scream race pride and equality while at the same time spurning Negro teachers and self-association. That old white mare business can go racking on down the road for all I care.

Says South Segregates Self By Maintaining Race Discrimination

Ex-Bishop Tells N. C. Group Southerner Can't Head U.S.

Daily World Atlanta Ga. Wed. 1-11-56

WILMINGTON, N. C. — (INS) — A former bishop of the Methodist Church Tuesday termed the Supreme Court school segregation decision "The greatest thing that's happened in this country."

Dr. Stanley Jones, former missionary to India and author of a long list of books on religion, said the South by maintaining racial segregation was at the same tome separating itself from the rest of the nation.

"You will notice," he told the Wilmington Rotary Club, "That no president can be elected from a Southern state. You are segregating yourselves from leadership."

Dr. Jones said he had grown up and bad been educated in the South and had studied segregation problems during long service in India. He predicted the South will have to acquiesce to integration.

"We can take it grudgingly or graceful but, in the end, we will give up to it."

He said he realized one of the fears expressed by white people in areas where Negroes outnumber them. The supposition that by bloc voting the Negro citizens would control political affairs, is unfounded, Jones said.

He said the same argument was advanced for years in India but minority groups there acted as individuals rather than a group. (This pattern is observed in the sections of the United States where, civil rights not being the issue, Negroes vote in accordance with other wishes and interests and do so strictly as individuals.)

Insult Not For All Of Race-Lanham

Daily World Sat. 1-7-56

While announcing that he has never been a member of the Ku Klux Klan, Rep. Henderson Lanham from Georgia declared on the floor of the House Thursday: "The good people of Georgia and the Southland will find a way to protect our Southern womanhood from black rapists."

Lanham was supported by other members of the Georgia delegation which included Reps. Jack Flynt, James C. Davis and E. L. Forrester.

Lanham had become aroused over an FBI investigation of the Cobb County Jury selection methods. Cobb County is Lanham's district.

The investigation in Cobb County followed the U. S. Supreme Court's ruling in the case of Amos Reece, a Negro charged with the assault of a white woman. The ruling was that Reece had been improperly indicted.

Atlanta, Ga.

Meanwhile President Eisenhower in his State of the Union message Thursday asked full investigation of of racial troubles in the South.

"It is disturbing," he said in his State of the Union message, "that in some localities allegations persist that Negro citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and are likewise being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures.

Lanham, said in a telegram to C. A. Scott "those who pose as the friend of the Negroes continue to try to interfere with the orderly process of the courts of the state in their efforts to protect the women of the South from the black beasts who attack them, the white men of the South and even the good Negroes in the South will respond in a manner that will be surprising to the NAACP."

The above statement came from the office of Rep. Lanham in Washington.

In a telegram to Rep. Lanham, Mr. Scott said:

"You are quoted in an article by Ken Turner, in January 5, Atlanta Journal as referring to members of Negro race as black rapists in reference to Reece case in Cobb County. I hope this is incorrect and you will ask a correction by Mr. Turner. To refer to people as beasts is highly insulting, and I am sure you and I want to act as responsible persons in testing times like we confront. We cannot ignore this statement."

In his answer, Lanham said:

". . . was discussing case of Reece, convicted Negro rapist and used words "black beasts" only with reference to such as he and had no idea of applying terms to race as whole." He also inferred that his statement meant "any man who attacks a woman, white or black.

Billion persons overseas get facts on U.S.

Baltimore, Md. Nov. 1-1-56

WASHINGTON

Over a billion persons overseas were provided facts about the United States during 1955 by the U.S. Information Agency.

This information was made available by USIA's international press service.

It was composed of news commentaries, pamphlets, books and other publication material about U.S. foreign policy, American domestic events and the maneuvers and contradictions of international communism.

* * *

IN A YEAR-END report to Theodore C. Striebert, director of the Information Agency, the L. S. Briggs, said that more than 10,000 overseas newspapers and magazines, published in a total of 64 languages, were supplied with visual and text materials aimed at furthering U.S. policies and unmasking communist objectives.

* * *

MATERIAL NEEDED abroad immediately for the Agency's information program is transmitted six days a week in a 7,000 word wireless file.

Texts of all important speeches by the President and other top U.S. officials are sent by this file, which is monitored by 67 listening posts overseas.

Negro Speaks Up For Segregation

Commercial Appeal

'Prophet' Thoroughly Approves Citizens Council

To The Commercial Appeal:

I sincerely believe the White Citizens Council is one of the greatest organizations that ever could have come to the human mind.

Sun. 1-8-56

The White Citizens Council is not an organization to oppose the rights of others, but only to develop purity among their own race; neither is it an organization to create violence, but to prohibit it. I know several of these men personally.

This group should be looked up to and not tagged as Negro haters, as some might think. The way I see it, if the colored group would organize the same among themselves, we would have less crossbreeds among us. As to the integration of schools, I am certainly glad that Jackson has waked up to my 1953 prediction—that is, you will never have a peaceable integration until the parents on both sides agree, Supreme Court or no Supreme Court.

I am afraid the white people of the South have failed to consider the Bible; Psalms 76:6—"Promotion cometh neither from the East, nor from the West, or the North or South, but God is the judge, He taketh down one and He setteth up another." The South will never be able to survive under Northern leadership simply because they do not understand the conditions of the South, and in every Democratic or Republican convention for the past 45 years I have noticed that we pick out North, East or West leadership, and as long as the South depends upon such, it makes the South the underdog. They feel that you have made them your superiors in judgment, wisdom and leadership.

As a Negro minister in Chicago, I was a victim of one of the worst deals that could ever be pulled off on any American citizen. I traded for a 1951 Fleetwood air-conditioned Cadillac, with clear title, to one of the motor companies, with good credit references from the South, which they accepted. Six weeks later they repossessed the car while I was asleep. The notes were paid up from Nov. 1, 1955 to Jan. 1, 1956. Their alibi was that I needed a co-signer who was a property owner there before they could release the car. This has left me without the use of my car for 60 days even though the notes were paid up to date.

Not only did I get this experience, but I find many poor Negroes in Chicago who buy their television sets, and cars, and after they get one day behind they are pulled in under the kangaroo law. They receive garnishments on their jobs and are made to pay for those things even though the company has repossessed their property and disposed of it. These are facts, and this is what happened to me in Chicago. This has never happened to me in the South out of my 35 years in business.

PROPHET M. D. WILLETT.
P. O. Box 667,
Little Rock, Ark.

South's Newspapers And Race Matters

Advertiser Sat 2-18-56

From Time Magazine

THROUGHOUT the South virtually every page last week told the news of 26-year-old Autherine Lucy's fight to become the first Negro to enter the University of Alabama (see Education). Yet, like other desegregation news that has crowded its way increasingly into the Southern press since the Supreme Court decision, it got there almost against the will of most editors. Southern newspapers—with scattered exceptions—are doing a patchy, pussyfooting job of covering the region's biggest running story since the end of slavery. P. 4-A

The measure of the Southern press was taken last week by Jere Moore, editor of Georgia's Milledgeville weekly *Union Recorder*, who once routed the Ku Klux Klan in a local battle. Said Moore: "The newspapers of the South have failed to take the leadership demanded of them in this issue. They have been weak-kneed when they should have been strong. We have not tackled the issue." Montgomery, Ala.

Fear Of Community

Privately, many Southern journalists are far more enlightened than their fellow citizens on the segregation issue, but professionally they are hamstrung by front-office pressure and fear of community wrath. Others are too tied up in their own emotional knots to do justice to the problem. They have struck an uneasy balance between their jobs as newsmen and what they feel is their duty as Southerners.

Most Southern news executives have adopted a buck-passing rule of thumb: When in doubt about a racial story, use the press-association copy. For example, in the Autherine Lucy riots, papers in nearby Birmingham were the only out-of-town dailies in the South to send their own staffers to Tuscaloosa to cover the story. Sometimes papers lean on the wire services for racial news even in their own areas. When one major daily recently got tips of forthcoming anti-segregation statements by religious leaders, it passed the word along quietly to a wire service instead of going after the story itself.

The press associations do an even-handed job of straight reporting, but in the rush to meet deadlines with fast-breaking news, they give only bits and pieces of the whole story. Inevitably, they put the accent on spot news of conflict. Without any further effort to see the integration problem whole, so do most Southern papers.

The Extremists

At its worst, notably in Mississippi, the Southern press is full of slanting, suppression and rabble-rousing against integration. The most violent is *The Jackson Daily News* (circ. 38,813), whose ripsnorting old (78) Editor Fred Sullens incites readers against "mongrelization" under such front-page scare-lines as "You Are For Us Or Against Us." The best that Editor Sullens could say of the Negro was in a sentimental story on the funeral of an 83-year-old onetime janitor at the University of Mississippi; the paper started a scholarship fund in his name, and sang his praises as "a good Negro who knew his place."

Such papers as Sullens' *Daily News* now run more Negro crime news under bigger headlines than ever before—even when it means going as far afield as Chicago. They spike occasional wire stories that show integration working, *e.g.*, a recent AP dispatch about the acceptance of three Negroes at the University of North Carolina. They print and reprint testimonials by Negroes who say that they prefer segregation and ignore Negro leaders on the other side, except to quote them out of context to make them sound like wild radicals.

Against this strident tone a new Jackson daily, the *State Times* (*Time*, March 7), tried to sound a more moderate note on racial issues. When the paper started about a year ago, Editor Norman Bradley, an alumnus of the liberal Chattanooga *Times*, played desegregation news calmly, sometimes chided the state for abuses and injustices committed in the name of segregation. But the paper's directors opposed his policy, and he quit in December to return to *The Chattanooga Times* as its executive editor.

More dignified than the extremists is another group of stalwart prosegregation papers typified by *The Charleston* [S.C.] *News & Courier* (circ. 53,286). It occasionally offends rabid racists by printing constructive news of the Negro community, and its editor, Thomas R. Waring, appeared in *Harper's Magazine* gently pleading "The Southern Case Against Desegregation."

But Editor Waring makes the case for his own readers with harsher strokes. He plays up news of muggings in Harlem and race riots in Chicago to support a recurrent editorial theme: look what happens where you have integration. In his editorial last week calling the Lucy uproar the result of "appeasement of colored people," his strongest word for the rioters was "impolite."

The Montgomery Advertiser

But the Southern press, up against tough and delicate problems, also has its shining examples of courage and fairness in handling its No. 1 story. In Tuscaloosa, from offices less than two miles from the University of Alabama, Editor Buford Boone of *The News* (circ. 15,681) topped off thorough coverage of the Lucy story with a hard-hitting editorial: "The University administration and trustees have knuckled under to the pressures and desires of a mob . . . We have a breakdown of law and order and abject surrender to what is expedient . . . *The Montgomery,* [Ala.] *Advertiser* (circ. 60,144) which sees no integration possible in the Deep South in the foreseeable future, nonetheless has given full coverage to the Negro boycott of Montgomery buses (*Time*, Jan. 16). It has devoted columns to interviews with leaders of the boycott, also ran a story showing that the first-come, first-seated policy demanded by the Negroes was already working in many Southern cities, including some in Alabama.

Texas

In Texas the only major dailies to take a flat stand for integration and the Supreme Court decision are the locally owned and jointly run *San Antonio Express* and *News* (circ. 141,734). Tomme Call, editor of *The News* editorial page, won first place in the 1955 annual editorial awards of the Texas Associated Press Managing Editors Association for a piece urging complete compliance with the Supreme Court decision.

"It was our feeling [that] any area trying to combat integration would be making trouble for itself and worsening race relations," says Call. "We went into it blind. We had no way of knowing what public reaction would me. We were pleasantly surprised at the almost complete lack of opposition."

Well-played stories of how integration succeeded in local schools have also distinguished the coverage of *The Nashville Tennessean* (circ. 113,439) and *Banner* (circ. 91,262).

Thick Hides

Southern editors who try to call their shots as they see them must develop thick skins. Notable example: Hodding Carter, whose Greenville *Delta Democrat-Times* (circ. 11,980) delivers courageous coverage in the midst of hostile Mississippi. "We print anything about the controversy locally, regionally or nationally that we can get our hands on," says Editor Carter. Mrs. Carter often gets threatening telephone messages for "that damned nigger-lover husband of yours."

Actually, many Southern newsmen took it for granted that their papers would soft-pedal such an emotionally explosive issue. But the surprise is that so many editors are now willing to stick their necks out.

Newsmen feel that any great improvement in the coverage of integration will come just as gradually as integration itself. Says Colbert ("Pete") McKnight, editor of *The Charlotte* [N.C.] *Observer*, one of the region's most conscientious dailies: "Northern editors try to oversimplify our problem. It just cannot be done. It will be at least a decade before many changes take place in Southern journalism."

TO THE RESCUE
The Cincinnati Enquirer

This year, the typewriter sentence should read: "Now is the time for all hungry politicians to come to the aid of the farmer."

DEMOCRATIC SOLIDARITY
The Chicago Tribune

House Leader McCormack claims Democratic unity is stronger than it has been for years. Witness, for example, Adlai's generous refusal to contest a probable Kefauver victory in the New Hampshire primary.

IF

If all Printers were determined not to print anything till they were sure it would offend no body, there would be very little printed.

—Ben Franklin, 1731

Patterns Of Resistance To Race-Mixing In The South

Advertiser Mon. 2-13-56

. . . While Jim Crowism on city transit systems in the border states and in some cities of the "upper" South has been disappearing gradually, cities of the "deep" South appear ready to fight to the last ditch to retain the long practiced seating arrangement.

Montgomery, Ala.

Thus concludes *The Baltimore Evening Sun* in a survey of city transit and segregation in the South, a survey which included Montgomery's stalemate over the "first come, first served" demand of Negro boycotters as well as a number of other conflicts. P. 4-A

With the glaring exception of Mississippi, and parts of Louisiana, *The Sun* reports, the South has by and large

accepted "with good grace" the Interstate Commerce Commission's order affecting segregation practices in interstate commerce — waiting rooms and rest rooms. What *The Sun* does not bring out, however, is that this compliance is in more instances than not a token gesture to appease the all-powerful ICC. While signs have been changed in so-called "interstate" waiting rooms, the conventional patterns of segregation continue in most instances.

Broadly [*The Sun* continues] the degree of difference between interstate travel and intracity travel seems to be analogous to the difference between a municipal golf course and a municipal swimming pool. Quite a few cities in the South where the Negro ratio of population isn't particularly large have recently been dropping the color ban on the golf links, voluntarily or by court order. But this is not true in respect to swimming pools or wading pools and other facilities in the public parks.

Now before the U.S. Supreme Court is a suit involving city bus segregation in Columbia, S.C. The Circuit Court of Appeals, overruling the district court, decided in favor of the Negro complainants. Presumably, the Supreme Court will uphold the appellate court, if it follows the logic and precedent of the school segregation cases. Other significant developments:

¶ By direct Supreme Court order, Atlanta has just recently opened its golf courses to Negroes, but other recreation facilities are still strictly segregated. And, *The Sun* suggests, the issue of racial commingling at municipal swimming pools and the like, soon to be faced, will generate considerably more heat.

¶ A federal district judge has ruled in St. Petersburg, Fla. that the municipal swimming must admit Negroes, but the order has not been put into effect, and *The Sun* says, most cities in the Deep South are prepared to dispose of such facilities if race mixing is forced. In Greensboro, S.C., for instance, not "deep" but "upper" South, the city has ordered the sale of the city golf course and moved to close a nine-hole course built a few years ago expressly for Negroes.

It appears to us that *The Sun* has correctly assessed Southern resistance as directly proportional to the degree of intimacy involved in any given issue. Thus resistance is palpably greater to integration in classrooms, swimming pools and buses than to token removal of signs in interstate waiting rooms. The line is vague, but as the contact ceases to be commercial expediency (as, for instance, the integration in Montgomery elevators) and becomes something approaching a social relationship, resistance is immediate and resolute.

ADVERTISER INCLUDED

Advertiser, p. 10-A
Montgomery, Ala.
Sun. 2-21-56

Poll Of Editors Shows Racial Strife Worsened By Desegregation Mandate

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20 (AP)—Most of 15 newspaper editors interviewed on the segregation issue believe relations between white persons and Negroes in the South have worsened since the Supreme Court ordered an end to separate public schools for the two races.

Some of the editors—who come from the Deep South, border states and Texas—voice fear of bloodshed stemming from the integration move. There is marked difference of opinion whether the high court action has slowed or hastened progress toward equality of educational opportunity for Negro pupils.

The copyrighted interview in U.S. News and World Report, an independent weekly news magazine, include a statement by a Negro editor, Percy Greene of the Jackson, Miss., Advocate, that relations between the raes are "infinitely worse" than before the 1953 decision.

NEAR MURDER

In similar vein a white newspaper publisher, Buford Boone of the Tuscaloosa News, says his community "was almost an eyewink away from murder" in the rioting that developed over admission of a Negro girl to the University of Alabama.

"The mob on the University of Alabama campus would have killed this girl if they could have gotten their hands on her," Boone says.

And Frederick Sullens, editor of the Jackson, Miss., News, predicts:

"Violence will inevitably follow any hasty movement to force Negroes into the white schools of Mississippi."

Others expressing the view that race relations have worsened included editor Grover C. Hall Jr., of the Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser; James G. Stahlman, publisher of the Nashville, Tenn., Banner; Thomas Waring, editor of the Charleston, S.C., News and Courier; Hodding Carter, editor of the Delta Democrat-Times at Greenville, Miss.; and Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond, Va., Times-Dispatch editorial page.

Estimates vary widely as to when, if ever, integration will be accomplished in the South.

5-10 YEARS

C. P. Liter, executive editor of the Baton rouge, La., Advocate and State Times, says he would be surprised to see it in his lifetime. Mark F. Ethridge, publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal, says he believes it could be achieved in 5 to 10 years.

C. A. McKnight, editor of the Charlotte, N.C., Observer, offers the opinion that integration will spread gradually in the South but "There are some sections that are simply not going to desegregate their schools even at the point of a bayonet."

E. B. Braswell, editor of the Athens, Ga., Banner-Herald, is one of those asserting progress toward equality of educational opportunity has not been hampered by the Supreme Court ruling.

Similarly, editor John M. Tapers of the Tallahassee, Fla., Democrat, says his state's "excellent start" in that direction has not been affected. Tapers says, however, "You can look for trouble" if attempts are made to enforce integration in the immediate future.

In the southwest, says editor Charles E. Green of the Austin, Tex., American-Statesmen, people are taking the integration move "pretty much in stride." He adds, however: "I think if the enforcement is too rapid it could set things back."

C. A. Scott, editor of the Atlanta, Ga., World and one of the two Negroes among those interviewed, says he believes most people would accept integration if they were not stirred up by authorities "for political, selfish reasons."

RACIAL EQUALITY TRACED TO BIBLE

Times p. 30-C

Segregation Affronts God and American Democracy, Dr. McCracken Declares

Mon. 2-13-56

There is no Christian argument for racial discrimination, the Rev. Dr. Robert J. McCracken declared yesterday.

The Bible is "crystal clear" on this point, he told the congregation of the Riverside Church. It holds, he said, that "there are no inferior races."

"Anyone who takes seriously the Christian interpretation of life will assent to the New Testament dictum, 'One God and Father of us all,'" he added.

American democracy also upholds the creed that "all men are created equal," Dr. McCracken observed. He noted that the United States was being branded "hypocritical" because of a divergence from these avowed principles.

"We arouse suspicion and even hatred by our discrimination against our own racial minorities," he went on.

"Racial discrimination imperils our world leadership and plays into the hands of communism."

Stand of All Churches

Dr. McCracken emphasized that "segregation based on color or race had been unqualifiedly condemned" in every interdenominational gathering of Christian churches since 1928.

The National Council of Churches, he added, "hailed the Supreme Court decision as 'a milestone in the achievement of human rights.'"

Individual denominations have taken similar stands, he said, making "an integrated church in an integrated society the declared policy of American Protestantism."

The Roman Catholic Church has "condemned racial discrimination as unjust and un-Christian," the minister pointed out, and added: "There is no difference of standpoint among the churches."

But the pronouncements of the churches, he warned, become "glittering generalities if they are not implemented."

"Segregation is still more entrenched in the Protestant Church than in any other institution," he said.

In another sermon on the racial issue, the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. decried incidents in the South of "lawlessness, murder, violence and contempt for the law of the land."

Speaking at the Abyssinian Baptist Church, 132 West 138th Street, he said: "This is an hour for a voice like Lincoln's to speak once again with moral courage. Such a voice must speak temperately without any reference to violence, but it cannot be a voice of gradualism and moderation."

Letters to The Times

Times
Jan. 2-12-56

To Understand the South

Race Problem Linked to Population Decline, Unbalanced Economy

P. 10-L

The writer of the following letter, Professor Emeritus of Vanderbilt University, is visiting lecturer in political science at Hamilton College.

New York, N.Y.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

As a Southerner sojourning in the North, I should like to point out a collateral condition of race relations in my region which the press and commentators of different regions have tended to overlook in discussing the unfinished business of ending the inherently unequal treatment of the Negro in public education and other public services. The condition calls for sympathy.

The recent election returns from Virginia on the segregation issue and reports of organizational activities in other Southern states in support of "white supremacy" indicate that there is a substantial minority support, including white support, for school desegregation in the growing industrial centers and areas of the South. The reports also suggest the generalization, not rigid or perfect in all particulars, that the most militant pro-segregation agitation is brought about by inhabitants or spokesmen of regions of relative or absolute decline in population and of unbalanced economy.

The accounts of the Tennessee group calling on Governor Clement and urging him to jump into the fight against the Supreme Court decision noted that members from the western part of the state predominated. West Tennessee counties to the number of twelve or more lost population between 1940 and 1950.

Decline in Mississippi

Mississippi, which is not silent in the present racial situation, registered a net decline of population between 1940 and 1950 (by a few thousand) and had not a single city of a hundred thousand at the latter date.

Rural Mississippi and other parts of the cotton country and cut-over timber country have been exporting people, including a substantial number of whites, to urban-industrial centers of the South, North and West.

This human export includes a large proportion of active and productive persons between the ages of 18 and 45. It leaves behind an unbalanced population to wrestle with an unbalanced economy, frequently without success.

This is a condition, not a theory, that produces frustration. It is not conducive to harmonious race relations. It tends to breed a two-way prejudice, a two-way aggression. Signs of unshared progress guarantee no immediate relief for the emotional tensions of frustrated individuals in disintegrated communities of the kind which have been poignantly portrayed by Mississippi's William Faulkner.

Psychiatric adjustment may be sought and found through response to demagoguery, partly with an escape of emotional steam through attacks on minority or segregated groups. The civic disease and its drastic remedy are contagious.

Political Situation

It is unfortunate for the cause of civic progress and the sense of moderation that in most Southern states a disproportionate and undeserved political power is exercised by static or declining counties and communities, where, incidentally, there is little or no Negro voting. This lopsidedness of power has a technical basis in the lag in redistributing seats in the state legislatures, in spite of constitutional provisions for decennial reapportionment.

Alabama has had no general reapportionment since 1901, and Tennessee is still moving along as if there had been no population census since 1900. Louisiana is rather modern with a heritage only from a constitutional make-up of 1921. Georgia is consistent in its backwardness with a county unit system for state primaries to bring the Executive branch in line with the Legislature as the product of a lagging and rural-weighted constituency.

This rural bias is not limited to the South. "Rotten boroughs" are found in Connecticut as well as in Alabama or Georgia. With few exceptions, urban people throughout the nation are under-represented in state, if not national, legislative halls. But the discrepancy offers striking manifestations in the South, where extensive urbanization is new and race cleavage is old.

Status of Cities

Birmingham, with a large Negro vote and labor vote, may have its county power in the State Senate balanced by the power of a constituency of less than a twentieth the population of the Birmingham metropolis. Its power in the lower house may be a little better but is distinctly fractional.

Atlanta, with an elected Negro on its city school board, may have a healthy organized movement for interracial cooperation. But that city is just a fraction of itself in the Georgia Legislature.

Nashville may have two Negroes on its elective City Council, a Negro on the School Board by appointment and real beginnings of desegregation in colleges and universities, including Vanderbilt University, once attended by the late Senator Bilbo. But the State Legislature cuts Nashville down to nineteenth-century size.

The ruralized legislatures tend to ruralize party politics, party committees and governorships. Many important economic interests adjust their political relationships accordingly, without battling for their urban deserts. They do not concern themselves for a Reform Act like Britain's of 1832.

But urban Negroes cannot go to the countryside for political justice. The city is their hope of democracy.

H. C. NIXON.

Clinton, N. Y., Feb. 1, 1956.

Moderation as Solution

The writer of the following letter, whose latest novel is "The View from Pompey's Head," is the author of several books dealing with the South, and is a native of Louisiana.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Shameful and saddening as was the attack upon Autherine Lucy at the University of Alabama, it is not impossible that it can be productive of good.

As you said in your editorial of Feb. 8 "Mob Rule at Tuscaloosa," it is not surprising that there should have been this flare-up of violence. My point is that this very flare-up may be diverted to useful ends. What do we do now?

I should first like to suggest that the first thing we do is to realize that even a Supreme Court ruling cannot change a way of thinking that has persisted for generations. It is also my suggestion that we realize—and here the burden of realization falls on the South—that when a sovereign state yields to mob rule it no longer fits into the definition of a sovereign state.

Atmosphere of Warfare

In a letter which you published on April 10, 1955, in commenting upon a visit to the South I mentioned that the mood and temper of the section was one of secession. I have just returned from another visit to the South, and now I find that the atmosphere is one of open warfare.

The segregation issue has more than got out of hand. What has happened over the past twelve months is that it has got into the hands of extremists on both sides. In one set of trenches we find those represented by the mob, which at least for a time brought the state of Alabama to heel. In the opposite set of trenches we have those elements in the North who would almost seem anxious, judging from certain questions put to Adlai Stevenson, to compel the immediate end of segregation by returning the bayonets of Reconstruction to the South.

It was Miss Lucy's misfortune to be caught in the crossfire. I find it impossible to believe that she would have been so maltreated a year ago. But just as the attack upon her must not be brushed aside as undergraduate irresponsibility, neither must the action of one mob be taken to represent the prevailing spirit of the South.

Preventing Fear

I may be disagreed with, and even proved wrong, but it is my conviction that once the South is rid of its fear that it will be required to reorganize the whole of its society within a few months or years it will begin noticeably to obey those impulses of decency, kindness and honorable behavior which, because of the statements of its extremists, would now seem to be blocked off.

Moderation admittedly has become almost a dirty word. However, if we examine the decision of the Supreme Court, what we find is that the justices revealed a very clear preference for moderation. And here we would all of us, North and South, be well advised to follow the lead of the court.

Extremism will get us nowhere. The answer is neither mobs nor bayonets. There indeed can be no answer unless it is provided by the moderate leadership of both sides, supported by equally moderate men and women who are able to join together in patience, tolerance and mutual goodwill.

If what happened to Miss Lucy helps bring this about, she will deserve our thanks as she now requires our apologies. HAMILTON BASSO.

Weston, Conn., Feb. 9, 1956.

Rise in Debt Examined

Low Delinquency Percentage on Loans, Absence of Inflation Noted

The writer of the following letter is Assistant Director of Research, the Amos Tuck School of Business Administration, Dartmouth College.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

In a letter published Feb. 5 the distinguished economist, Prof. Seymour Harris of Harvard University, argued that the recent great expansion of our economy was based on an excessive rise in mortgage and installment debts. I believe it can be shown that this rise was not excessive and was more beneficial than harmful.

The two criteria by which we can determine whether the growth of debt was excessive, are: (1) has it produced inflation and (2) has it been extended to people who lack the ability to meet the repayments?

Government statistics show that consumer prices have been stable (up 1 per cent since 1952) and that the delinquency rates on mortgage and installment loans are low, even for a period of prosperity.

There are two main reasons for the debt rise:

Almost five million homes have been purchased over the last four years and many families have shifted from renting to owning. While

the shift from renting to owning does not involve much change in the financial burden of housing it does normally cause a rise in mortgage debt.

People have been progressing from the under-$5,000 annual income bracket (where only 45 per cent of families own their homes) to the above-$5,000 bracket (where about 70 per cent own homes). This progress in living standards results in greater mortgage debt, which is not necessarily more burdensome over the long run than rental payments.

The rise in installment debt has been due mostly to the rise in car purchases. Auto debt is up 76 per cent from 1952, while car purchases rose 80 per cent in this period. If the rise in debt was bad it must be because the sharp increase in car purchases was bad. Few persons believe this.

Consumer Spending

There have been both advantages and disadvantages in the recent rise in debt. The advantage was that it promoted a rapid and complete recovery from the 1954 recession without producing inflation or a high delinquency rate on debt. The disadvantage was that the rate of debt repayment is now rising. This in turn is slowing the growth of consumer spending. I believe, however, that it is better to have slower economic expansion from a point of full employment than it would have been to experience a slow recovery from the 1954 economic recession.

It is not possible merely to look at the growth in debt and over-all income to know whether the rise has been good or bad. Also to be considered are the shifts by families from lower to higher income brackets and the resultant effect on their pattern of consumer spending.

Shifts from lower to medium income brackets are quite apt to produce a new spending pattern which involves more debt. Healthy progress in living standards can be achieved in this transition which should not be arbitrarily denied the consumer.

THEODORE A. ANDERSEN.
Hanover, N. H., Feb. 7, 1956.

Propaganda Tack

Herald Tribune
Sun. 2-12-56 P. 1

South's Segregationists Take to Quoting Lincoln

New York, N. Y.

Related articles appear in this section on Pages 17 and 20 and in Section 2 on Page 1.

By Robert S. Bird

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb 11.—It may surprise Northerners to hear on Lincoln's Birthday that probably for the first time in history Abraham Lincoln this year is a hero in the South.

Lincoln has been transformed into a hero of the anti-Negro, anti-integrationist South. He has become the adopted hero of the White Citizens' Councils, the widespread movement that has suddenly sprung up all through the South to preserve segregation to the bitter end.

The whole South is being bombarded with the Lincoln propaganda put out by segregationists ranging from the moderates to the Negro-hating extremists. Lincoln's speeches and writings are being finecombed for morsels which will lend support to their arguments that he himself was a segregationist to the core.

Lincoln is being quoted in speeches everywhere—in letters to the editor, in editorials, newspaper columns and on the air—to show that he did in fact advocate separation of the races.

Whether or not these Lincoln utterances are taken out of context of his writings and lifework, the fact remains that as a propaganda instrument they are a major phenomenon in the agitation going on throughout the Deep South today. They are being used to give a purported weight of historic authority to a movement which up to now is striving hard to mask its defiance of the Supreme Court under a cloak of respectability.

Unlike the Ku-Klux Klan of former days, the White Citizens' Councils up to now pretend to be abhorring physical violence. Instead they are resorting to more subtle and perhaps more dangerous methods.

Negroes who "get out of line" are suddenly finding themselves out of jobs and rendered, for practical purposes, unemployable. The weapon of retaliation is economic, and the Negroes are responding with the same weapon here in Montgomery. They are carrying on a boycott with extraordinary success, and this success is engendering a racial hatred which has not been felt here in many years.

As a Northern observer who has passed only a week in this heartland of Southern racial tension, this reporter has heard and observed enough to realize that a lifetime of study would be needed fully to understand the titanic forces which are coming into head-on collision in the South as a result of the Supreme Court decision on integration in the schools.

Herald Tribune

Expressions of Violence

Almost any conversation with a taxicab driver is replete with hatred and expressions of violence against the Negroes. The more successful politicians are hardly more moderate in their explanations of the situation. Newspaper editors, even those on journals which advocate at least a gradual integration policy, say the situation is "a dilemma without a solution in sight." Negro leaders say the upwelling of feeling among their people is getting beyond their own ability to control, and they are as fearful as responsible white leaders of the danger which looms. This description of the tension and peril which exist here is heard on all sides and at all levels of both white and Negro society. It is not exaggerated.

P. 16

In Montgomery, dynamite has been thrown twice at homes of Negro leaders in recent weeks, though everybody marvels at the fact that except for these two incidents there has been no report of physical violence between a white and a Negro recorded since the integration decision. In a left-handed way, this is worrisome to people because it makes them wonder when such an incident will come and how bad it will be.

Incident Expected

That such violence has not occurred may very well be due to the efforts made up to now by the Citizens' Council to prevent overt action. Yet nobody outside this anti-integrationist movement, which embraces all classes of Southerners, has any confidence that the organization's mounting inflammatory propaganda barrage can long be maintained without the occurrence of physical incidents.

The way Lincoln is being made to lend support to the anti-Negro campaign can be illustrated in a column which will appear tomorrow in "The Montgomery Advertiser." J. Fred Thornton, associate editor of this newspaper (which is regarded as extremely moderate for the South), points out on the editorial page that the "god of the Yankees" has been given in the North "a crusading halo—sending forth the hosts of the righteous against infidels. When the Yankee of today sets out to give sinners and segregationists a foretaste on earth of the hell that is to be theirs hereafter, he devoutly believes that Father Abraham looks down and applauds.

"White Supremacy"

"That Lincoln was an outspoken advocate of 'white supremacy' is conveniently overlooked. Lincoln opposed the extension of slavery, but he was no abolitionist. After the Civil War had been raging a year he wrote, 'If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it.'

"If Lincoln were alive today he could qualify as an organizer for the White Citizens Councils. He wanted to segregate the Negro—all the way back to Africa, or to other tropical countries. In a speech delivered while running for the United States Senate, on Sept. 28, 1858, just two years before he was elected President, he said:

"'I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races—that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white peoples; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.'

"Looking to the future of the nation, I would say that much depends on which concept of their god is to prevail in the Yankee soul—that of the kindly, compassionate Lincoln, or the one that pictures him as smiting the Phillistines south of Mason and Dixon's line hip and thigh. Right now the harsh, hostile interpretation is on top, as the Yankees strive to ram down our throats a social revolution that Lincoln never believed in and that they do not practice themselves. As with other religions, a lot depends on who does the interpreting and applying."

BAD TASTE AND BAD HISTORY

Times P. 28

Spokesmen for the Republican party in the coming campaign are clearly going to make the most of the present Administration's record in promoting the integration of Negro citizens into the normal life of America. They have much to be proud of in that record, and they are entitled to boast about some genuine advances.

Herald Tribune

But there is such a thing as carrying partisan claims in this area too far. Vice President Nixon did exactly that in talking about the segregation decision of the Supreme Court in his Lincoln Day dinner speech before the National Republican Club in this city. Mr. Nixon listed some truly impressive gains for our Negro citizens. But then he said: "And, speaking for a unanimous Supreme Court, a great Republican Chief Justice, Earl Warren, has ordered an end to racial segregation in the nation's schools." And, he added, "we did this, mind you, we did this all in just three years."

By thus directly linking the desegregation decision to the political campaign Mr. Nixon has done an immense disservice to the Chief Justice, to the court and to the nation. Statements such as his feed the fires of the die-hards; weaken the authority and the prestige of the court; reinforce the will to resist; heighten emotions that are already dangerously high, and enhance the crudest kind of political partisanship.

Times, 2-16-56

Furthermore, the implications are not even accurate. Though the Chief Justice was, of course, appointed by President Eisenhower, only one other justice of the Supreme Court was named during this Administration. Each of the remaining seven is a Truman or a Roosevelt appointee. If anything could be bipartisan, the unanimous desegregation decision was; and it is as misleading to include it in the list of Republican accomplishments as it would be to claim it for the Democrats.

Let Mr. Nixon ponder the words of a well-known Republican when he was asked about the desegregation decision being "brought out under the Republican Administration." He replied: "The Supreme Court, as I understand it, is not under any Administration." That was the way President Eisenhower felt about it in May, 1954, and we have no doubt that that is the way he feels about it today.

The Integration Debate

Times Newark City, N.J.
Mar. 3-4-56

An Analysis of Leading Candidates' Positions on a Paramount Issue

P. 16

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13—The solemn debate over the Supreme Court's desegregation decision is providing some striking evidence about the leading candidates for the Presidency.

President Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, the leaders of the two major parties, are emerging as the moderates who wish to keep race relations out of the campaign as much as possible.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon, Governor Harriman of New York and Senator Etses Kefauver of Tennessee, other leading candidates, are pressing the issue and intruding it into the Presidential race.

The President has spoken of this question with great caution since the University of Alabama crisis. He has taken the position that the fulfillment of the Supreme Court's school desegregation order is still before the courts and that aggressive Federal action now can only inflame and retard progress toward racial equality.

He also has refused to support those who would deny Federal funds to states that do not comply with the court's desegregation order.

Mr. Stevenson has taken the same position. Meanwhile, he has appealed for patience and unity in a gradual solution of the problem.

Nixon Attacks Democrats

"I can think of no greater disservice to our country," he said in a formal statement in Portland, Ore., yesterday, "than to exploit for political ends the tensions that have followed in the wake of the Supreme Court decision."

Vice President Nixon, meanwhile, in a return to his slashing political style after several moderate speeches, took precisely the opposite position in New York tonight.

He discussed the issue in wholly partisan terms before a Lincoln Day audience at the Waldorf Astoria, stating that the "Democrats know that their hybrid party is helpless and futile in this field and will stay that way."

They know too, he added, "that President Eisenhower's great Republican Administration has registered the greatest advance for the rights of racial minorities since the Emancipation Proclamation itself."

He added that the Republicans had abolished racial segregation in the District of Columbia, the armed forces and in Federal contracts and civilian employment; that they had "abolished racial discrimination in travel by bus, boat and rail; and that "a great Republican Chief Justice, Earl Warren, speaking for a unanimous Supreme Court, has ordered an end to racial segregation in the nation's public schools."

Mr. Nixon's conclusion was that "the only hope for continued progress toward the realization of the American dream of equal opportunity in every respect for every American is through the election not only of a Republican President but a Republican House and Senate.

All the candidates agree with the objective of the Supreme Court decision. They differ clearly, however, about how it should be put into effect, what role the Federal Government should play in the University of Alabama case and how segregation should be debated in the campaign.

Governor Harriman said yesterday, "I think the Executive Branch of the [Federal] Government should see to it that the orders and decisions of the Supreme Court are enforced."

Mr. Stevenson said on the same afternoon, "as a practical matter we must recognize that punitive action by the Federal Government may actually delay the process of integration in education."

Governor Harriman would deny Federal school building funds to states that maintain segregation. Mr. Stevenson, like President Eisenhower, has taken precisely the opposite position.

"True integration," he said yesterday, "requires more than the mere presence of children of two races in the same classroom; it requires a change in the hearts and minds of men. No child can be properly educated in a hostile atmosphere. * * *

"We will not * * * reduce race prejudice by denying to areas afflicted with it the means of improving the educational standards of all their people. * * *"

Difference in Both Parties

Senator Kefauver has been much nearer to Governor Harriman's position than to Mr. Stevenson's. Thus there is a basic difference in both parties. President Eisenhower is avoiding any partisan argument over the race question; Mr. Nixon is embracing it. Mr. Stevenson is using all his eloquence for patience; Governor Harriman and Senator Kefauver are advocating Federal action and sanctions to achieve the end of equality.

Politically, this line-up creates an interesting contrast in opinion, policy, tactics and character. If President Eisenhower runs again, Mr. Nixon's views will, of course, be overwhelmed by the President's views.

But if the President does not run again, the campaign could well develop into a contest between the moderates and those who speak and advocate more extreme and partisan solutions of great national problems.

Accordingly, it was a matter of some comment here tonight that the Vice President reverted tonight to the old position of the aggressive divisive attacker, while Mr. Stevenson sides with the President in calling for unity and harmony.

Stevenson Keeps Promise

Mr. Nixon's role is, on the whole, popular with many political elements that will be powerful at the Republican convention in San Francisco. Mr. Stevenson's position is not popular with the liberal elements that well may dominate the Democratic convention in Chicago.

Nevertheless, the former Illinois Governor is carrying out on segregation a promise he made to himself at the end of the last campaign and announced in California on Feb. 4.

"I shall try in these coming months," he said, "to fool no one—not with slogans or false promises or easy answers to hard problems. * * *

Human Dignity, Key To Minority Problems, Labor Leader States

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.
Fri. 2-10-56

NEW YORK—Recognition of the dignity of the human individual is the "central and basic philosophy" for the solution of minority problems in America and throughout the world, A Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters said in an address here.

"If we believe that God created all mankind, then we believe that all men are brothers. If we are all brothers, we are all equal before the law and equal before government," the Negro labor leader told the Catholic Interracial Forum last night.

A vice president of the newly-merged AFL-CIO organization, Mr. Randolph said: "The American labor movement is gearing itself to the recognition of this principle by concerte and practical developments."

He predicted that the merged labor organization will exert a great influence in eliminating racial discrimination "within the ranks of labor and in the various areas of American life" through a special department it has set up to deal with questions of civil rights.

Among other indications of the strong position the AFL-CIO is taking on interracial justice. Mr. Randolph cited the following:

President George Meany of the AFL-CIO "strongly committeed against racial discrimination."

The constitution of the AFL-CIO has a major provision at all wage earners are entitleld to the benefits of organized labor.

Two Negroes have been appointed to the Executive Council of the organization.

A million-and-a-half Negro members will exert a strong influence for integration.

A special department has also been set up in the union to deal with problems of communion. "Free trade unionism and communism are incompatible and exclusive forces, Mrs. Randolph declared.

"The communist ideology is the monoply of total power in the national community and the monoply rests in the hands of a dictatorship Under communism there can be no free trade union movement, no free management, no free church, no free cooperative society and no other institution which is a source of authority, power and responsibility."

A third special department of the new organization will guard against corruption.

The AFL-CIO leadership is determined, Mr. Randolph said, that: "There must be honesty with respect to the destiny of wage earners and the handling of their funds."

Powell Accuses Ike Of Washing Hands of Blood In South, Like Pilate

Call P. 1
Fri. 3-9-56 Kansas City, Mo.

WASHINGTON.—(INS) — Rep. Adam C. Powell (D) N. Y., Friday accused President Eisenhower of "trying to wash his hands like Pilate of the blood of innocent men and women in the southland."

Powell's remark came as he made public part of a letter he reeived from the President advising him that Congress had taken no action on Mr. Eisenhower's recommendation for establishment of a commission on civil rights.

The legislator had asked the President to use his powers to protect the "lives, physical security, and civil liberties" of the Negroes arrested in Montgomery, Ala.

Charging that Mr. Eisenhower's action amounts to buck-passing, Powell declared that the President alone has the "clear and immediate duty" to summon to the White House leaders of both races in all areas of tension.

The congressman said: "He cannot delegate this conference to anyone else. The amount of time that he has spent shooting quail could have been profitably spent in conference with Negro and white leaders to keep Negroes from being shot."

Powell said "right thinking American People" demand that Mr. Eisenhower show that "he has the physical strength for an immediate conference." Otherwise, Powell said, "We are not going to be able to accept his words that he is physically fit to be President of the United States for another four years."

Powell's remarks were made in a speech prepared for delivery at founder's day exercises at Howard university in Washington.

Star 3-9-56 Kansas City, Mo.

The New York Democrat also attacked Democratic presidential hopeful Adlai Stevenson, who has asked that civil rights be taken out of the campaign. Powell said Negroes reject completely Stevenson's "moderation" proposal and said: "The only way out of the morass is bold imaginative thinking, not straddling — consecrated, alert and positive leadership, not middle-of-the-road shilly-shallying, pussyfooting, doubletalking."

Election Brings Passions To The Surface

Herald P.6-A

Politicians Heat Up Integration Issue

Thurs. 2-16-56

By WALTER LIPPMANN

THERE IS MOUNTING evidence of grave trouble ahead over integration in the public schools of the Southern states. For in recent weeks we have come nearer to the question which can divide the country dangerously.

LIPPMANN

Is the decision of the Supreme Court to be put into effect gradually and with the eventual consent of the leaders of Southern opinion or is the Federal government to be called upon to enforce integration against the resistance of the South?

Miami, Fla.

This question poses as fateful a dilemma as any internal American question that has arisen for several generations.

It arouses great human passions which cannot be reconciled, which can only be assuaged and accommodated in this generation.

They are passions which boil up quickly into violence, and they can be kept within bounds only when and only while there is great wisdom and resolution in the leaders of the country.

The temptation to play politics with these passions is almost overpowering. And it is the approach of the national election, the struggle between the two parties and also the struggle within the parties, particularly within the Democratic party, which have brought the dilemma to the surface.

★ ★ ★

IT IS SIGNIFICANT that the closer a public man is to the presidency, the more he will shrink from the idea of Federal enforcement, as distinguished from persuasion and accommodation.

Governor Stevenson has been notably firm and decisive and the President, though his words were a bit cloudy, is certainly not considering intervention by the Federal executive power.

It is the politicians, the men who have little or no prospect of themselves being in the White House and bearing the President's responsibility, who are heating up the issue.

There is no likelihood that the Republicans in Congress will agree to take the issue out of politics. For it is a most damaging issue to raise among the Democrats. Nor is there much likelihood that Governor Stevenson's rivals for the nomination will forbear to raise it. It is such an easy way to make things difficult for him.

The issue will have to be debated in the open. The fundamental question to be debated is whether integration is to be promoted by persuasion or by Federal enforcement. These are two different roads, and no one should think he can go down both of them at once.

★ ★ ★

CONSIDER, for example, the Powell Amendment which would withhold Federal aid from states or school districts that do not integrate their schools.

Let no one suppose that the Southern states will give in and accept integrated schools because some Federal money is withheld from them. To suppose that they will give in is to mistake the temper of the South, particularly the temper of the Deep South.

What, then, are Rep. Joseph L. Martin and Governor Harriman going to propose next, once they find that withholding money does not induce the Southern states to yield?

If they start on the path of coercion, the authority of the executive power will be engaged and new measures of coercion will be demanded to uphold that authority. For unless the Federal government is going to confess that it is beaten, it must, keeping the path of Federal enforcement become more and more coercive.

No one should doubt that the attempt at Federal enforcement will intensify and harden the resistance of the South. Those who are disposed to try to work out integration gradually will resent the Federal government's efforts to coerce them.

The problem of integration will become progressively more insoluble in the South, the racial passions will become increasingly sharp, the sectional feeling increasingly disruptive.

Let us stop and think before we let irresponsible politicians push us into the whirlpool.

End Race Clashes, Williams Demands

Herald P.13-A

Fri. 2-17-56

CHICAGO—(UP)—Michigan's Gov. G. Mennen Williams has clashed with both President Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson in demanding federal action to halt racial disturbances in the South.

Williams charged that the President has "remained inexcusably inactive" and has a "duty" to uphold the rights of Negroes.

Miami, Fla.

The Democratic governor also criticized any Republican or Democratic leader who "would temporize with this question, or wait for it to go away."

This was apparently a criticism of Stevenson, who is on record against denying federal aid to segregated schools or the use of federal troops to enforce the Supreme Court's anti-segregation order.

Stevenson is campaigning for the Democratic presidential nomination and Williams has been mentioned as a possible dark horse candidate.

Another possible candidate, Gov. Averell Harriman of New York, sides with Williams in demanding no aid for segregated schools.

Other top Democrats, including presidential candidate Sen. Estes Kefauver, Tennessee Democrat, have called for presidential or congressional action to speed the end of racial segregation in the schools.

Williams made the attack on the President in his speech before 1,000 persons at a dinner of the Israel Histadrut campaign.

"I think it is time for the President of the United States, and I believe it is his duty, to exert the great power and prestige of his office, as head of the federal government, to see that the rights of United States citizens are protected in every part of the Union," Williams said.

Dr. Gallagher Links Senator Eastland To Demagogues Inflaming Racial Issue

Times 2-20 Herald 2-21

Thurs 2-16-56

Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of City College, called "disgusting" last night "the manner in which demagogues like Senator [James O.] Eastland fan the popular anxieties of the moment to start the flames to warm their own political pots."

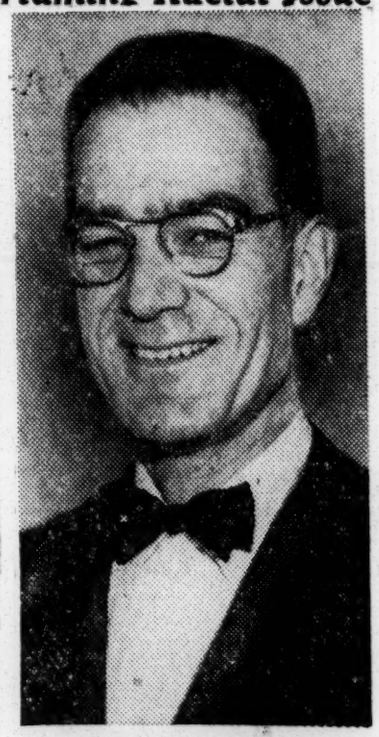
His reference to the Mississippi Democrat was made in an address at commencement exercises of the Mount Sinai Hospital School of Nursing, held in the hospital's Blumenthal Auditorium, Ninety-ninth Street and Fifth Avenue. Sixty-one diplomas were awarded.

Dr. Gallagher deplored "the discrimination at places like the University of Alabama and the intrusion of mob violence from outside the university in determining the pressures which guide responsible academic authorities." He said:

"What society desperately needs right now is a fresh infusion of white corpuscles in the civic blood stream. The poisons of racial prejudice and religious bigotry are liberally fed into our common life by the ignorant, the uninformed and the small-minded, not to mention those with vested interests."

He praised nursing as one of the few professions substantially free from prejudice and expressed the hope that the day would come when no Negro doctor would need to hand over his patient to a white doctor at the reception desk of a hospital.

Dr. Gallagher took the press to task for emphasizing the negative incidents in the race and religious prejudice picture and not giving sufficient attention to progress being made. He mentioned the former State College for Negroes in West Virginia, where 700 Negroes and 400 white students were studying together within four months after the Supreme Court's ban on segregation in the schools.



Dr. Buell G. Gallagher

South Covered Like War By North, Editor Asserts

Times New York

COLUMBIA, S. C., Feb. 18 (AP)—Thomas R. Waring, editor of The Charleston News and Courier, declared today that the South was being covered like a war zone by northern newspapers.

Herald 2-19-56

Addressing the final session of the South Carolina Press Association's midwinter institute here, Mr. Waring said northern newspapers and magazines had a "corps of correspondents" deployed all over the place" because of the race-segregation problem.

"If we maintain decency and some semblance of order," Mr. Waring said, "we may be able to convince some of the people of the North that we are not a complete bunch of in the South are not a complete bunch of barbarians."

RABBI CHAMPIONS NEGROES OF SOUTH

Times

Klein, in Presbyterian Pulpit, Proposes Relief for Those Suffering From Injustice

Mon. 1-16-56 P. 18-C

A proposal to set up a relief program to help Negroes in the South was made in a sermon yesterday morning by a rabbi at a Protestant church.

Rabbi Edward E. Klein of Stephen Wise Free Synagogue, 30 West Sixty-eighth Street, was the guest preacher at the Presbyterian Church of the Master, 360 West 122d Street, in Harlem.

Pointing to what he termed grave injustices and economic reprisals against Negroes in the South, he said that relief should not be given away as a charity but should be provided to "make those suffering people feel that they are not alone in their struggle against injustice."

Speaking on "Black and White Justice," the rabbi declared that the American Revolution was a recognition of the Biblical commandment: "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

New York

The Declaration of Independence, he commented, stressed that all men were created equal. This, he said, was "the American translation of the vision on the hills of Judea."

N. Y.

But, he went on, "all men are not treated equal," some being treated by separate standards of "black and white justice."

Referring to the recent killing of the Negro boy, Emmett Till, in Mississippi, the rabbi said that there justice had been made a mockery for the state's 986,000 Negro citizens.

It is time to realize that "what happened to a small child in Mississippi had its repercussions in Washington, Moscow and New Delhi," he emphasized.

He commended the Supreme Court's decision of May, 1954, to end segregation in schools as "an act of faith," and he voiced the hope that it would provide people with a zeal to end injustice.

Rabbi Klein declared that attempts by some Southern states to flout the decision of the court represented "subversion of the greatest magnitude" because because they were "subversive" of the Constitution.

In this election year, the rabbi asked the voters to demand that their legislators compel the Justice Department to investigate "subversion" by the White Councils in the South.

"Desegregation will not be a reality," he said, "until the color of the skin becomes as unimportant as the color of the eyes or the color of the hair."

All Human Races Are Just Alike

Some Have 'Wrong Idea' About Desegregation

Commercial Appeal

To The Commercial Appeal:

The Negro is the same as any other race in the world.

When a student studies to become a doctor, whether he is white or Negro, he takes the same courses. If there were any difference, the ones to use their knowledge of medicine on the Negro would have to take special courses. When the student is graduated he can practice on any one, regardless of his race.

The Negro eats, drinks and sleeps the same as any race, no more, no less. When a baby is born his mother shares the same months of pregnancy as anyone else. There are classes of people in the world in all races, high, medium and low. And they act in a manner fitting their class.

When God said "all men were created equal," He was not looking at the color of the skin. He went beyond that. He was looking at the vital part of a man, the heart or soul. When one of these is black, regardless of how white the face or body is, the man is still black in God's sight.

When speaking of equal rights, some people get the wrong idea. Some think the Negro wants to visit the white man, or court his daughter. That is wrong. He only wants equal rights in education, jobs and other opportunities.

If he is qualified for a job as teller in a bank and the bank needs one and he applies, he would like to get the job. Negroes and whites have worked together for many years and have been friendly; but at quitting time the friendship is left on the job.

And if the children hate and despise the Negro as the parents say they do, then there should be no fear of love between the children of the two races in desegregated schools.

OBSERVER

Vicksburg, Miss.

CULTURE TAKES TIME

To The Commercial Appeal:

Our racial problems in the South, where Negroes in many instances are in the majority, are much different from those in communities where there are only a small number of Negroes.

No thinking person in the South wants anyone to take advantage of the Negro and does not want to prevent the Negroes from having equal facilities and opportunities. We Southerners recognize that as the races now exist they are very far from being equal and are far from being ready to be made equal.

A race cannot be made equal, it must earn equality, and the white race has been developing its civilization for seven thousand years. It is not reasonable to think that the Negro race could develop the same civilization within 200 years out of the jungle.

F. C. DEUPREE.

P. O. Box 8337, Jackson, Miss.

Ex-Boss Of Sears Hits Court Ruling

Advertiser Sun, 1-15-56

CHARLESTON, S. C., Jan. 14 (AP)—Gen. Robert E. Wood, who retired last year as chairman of the board of Sears Roebuck & Co., said today "I don't believe in integration or in the decision of the Supreme Court."

P. 2

He made the statement in reply to a question from a student at The Citadel, the military college of South Carolina, where he addressed the cadet corps.

The first question in the discussion period which followed his speech was, "What effect will the race question have on the South's economic progress?"

Ala.

"I don't believe the race question will have any effect on the economic problems," Wood said. "The race question will be solved. I don't believe in integration or in the decision of the Supreme Court. I believe that compromises will be worked out."

Indian Saw Little Bias In South

Herald Tribune Mid-Year City N.Y. P. 2

Bombay Writer Describes Trip

Fri. 1-6-56

By William J. Humphreys

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

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PARIS, Jan. 5.—An Indian writer, here on the way home, said tonight that he recently made a fourteen-week visit to the United States and traveled in the Deep South without anywhere seeing "any evidence of widespread segregation."

Chunilal K. Madia, thirty-three, a novelist and newspaper man of Bombay, boarded a plane for Frankfurt en route home. He said he visited ten American states and that his companion on the trip, a Gold Coast native employee of the United States Information Agency, was treated as wel as he was himself.

Near "Incident"

Mr. Madia, a U. S. I. A. employee at Bombay, said the only thing resembling an "incident" occurred at Chattanooga, Tenn., when a soda fountain attendant conferred briefly with her employer before serving him.

"I visited the so-caled diehard states in the South," he said when asked about possible discrimination at hotels, "and there was no evidence of the widespread segregation in the Southern states that Communist newspapers allege in writing for Asian peoples. I experienced no discrimination."

Interracial Clashes

He said he was much impressed upon seeing white and colored students seated side by side in classrooms at the University of Oklahoma, and even more impressed by the fact that American students at universities and colleges are able to work to pay their way. In India, he said, young people have little hope of getting advanced education unless they have parental support or full scholarships.

Mr. Madia has won two prizes in international competitions sponsored by the European Edition of the New York Herald Tribune. He writes in the Gujarati language, the native tongue of the late Mohandas K. Gandhi. Mr. Madia won a third prize in a 1950 competition and three years later won a first prize.

'Revolt Of The Rednecks'

Advertiser

One of the more graphic and soundly researched books on Southern politics we have encountered of late is *Revolt Of The Rednecks*, by Prof. Albert Kirwan of the University of Kentucky. It deals with the politics of Mississippi from Reconstruction through Bilbo.

P. 2-B

It's theme is the story of how the Delta plantation aristocracy—aristocracy of brains and training as well as money—lost control of the state to demagogues such as "White Chief" James Vardaman and "The Man" Bilbo. The direct primary was the chief means.

Montgomery, Ala.

Mississippi has more Negroes than any other state, so it is, of course, more impassioned on race matters than the others. But for a while in Reconstruction, Mississippi had a Negro in the United States Senate. Then, after federal troops were removed, there were so many Negro voters that the white man had to trade with Negro politicians. Remarkable as it sounds today, they agreed on slates in which Negroes were elected to some offices. Of course in the end a constitutional convention was held, as in Alabama, to disfranchise Negroes.

Mississippi's story is not basically different from that of Alabama, but the passions and extremes were greater.

You get the feel of today's Mississippi in this judicious, balanced chronicle of its past.

Methodist Bishop of Indiana says U. S. must solve Race problem or give over to Russia

OMAHA — Businessmen of Omaha were told last week that what America does about solving its race problems will determine its continued leadership in world affairs.

The Ad-sell League, a forum of 1100 Nebraska men, received this counsel from Bishop Richard C. Raines, head of the Methodist church in Indiana and recently returned from a six-months tour of Europe, Africa, and Korea.

Wherever he went, the churchman told the league, the first question asked him was, "What is the United States doing about its Negro problem?"

"Our attitude on segregation is doing much to hurt America's prestige abroad. If America is going to . . . lead, she has got to be forthright in living up to the fundamentals of democracy, namely, that all men are created equal.

Stating it his belief that "God wishes America to have world leadership, the prelate said, "I'm convinced that there is a lot wrong with the United States. But no other country has so much right about it."

He said there are four adjustments America must make, and listed them as:

1. Learning to worship with the Negro; opening our churches to him;

2. Learning to live with the Negro as a human being;

3. Backing the desegration of schools;

4. Taking away the artificial barriers that keep Negroes in the low economic bracket."

He continued: "The world needs the United States—but it needs it cleansed and purged with a sense of spiritual discipline.

"This generation of Americans must cleanse itself of racial prejudice if America rather than Russia is to lead the world."

Assertion of State Rights Is Aim of Interposition

Evening Star Thurs. 1-12-56 P. A-26

RICHMOND, Jan. 12 (AP).—A resolution of interposition as a means of delaying, at least for a while, the enforcement of the Supreme Court's ruling against compulsory segregation in schools was introduced yesterday as the Virginia General Assembly opened its 1956 session. Washington, D. C.

Other States where interposition is being given serious consideration include Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina. Georgia's Legislature has a formal resolution before it now.

While the doctrine of interposition is almost as old as the Union itself, it apparently was first mentioned as a possible weapon in the segregation-integration controversy by William Old, a Chesterfield attorney, in a pamphlet he distributed last summer.

Pushed by Editor

Widespread attention was attracted to interposition when, in one of the most intensive editorial efforts in recent years, James J. Kilpatrick, Richmond News Leader editor, began in late November to discuss it editorially and reprint resolutions from the past.

The News Leader editor urged a resolution of interposition be adopted by the special assembly session which met November 30. Gray Commission members, after considering the theory, decided to wait. Whether the commission itself will recommend interposition to the regular session is not clear. At any rate, State Senator Harry Stuart of Elk Garden agreed to introduce an interposition resolution.

One proposed resolution would declare: "That the State of Virginia has at no time surrendered to the general (Federal) Government its right to maintain racially separate schools or other public facilities.

"That the State of Virginia, in ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment under compulsion, did not agree, nor did other States ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment agree, that the power to operate racially separate schools and other facilities was to be prohibited to them thereby. . . ."

Asks Congress Action

The resolution would say the State "explicitly denies that the Supreme Court had the right, asserted in its said decision, to enlarge the language and meaning of the compact in an effort to withdraw from the States powers reserved to them and daily exercised by them for almost a century."

To settle the dispute, the resolution would call on Congress to propose an amendment to the Federal Constitution which "would declare, in plain and unequivocal language, that the States do surrender their power to maintain public schools, and other public facilities, on a basis of separation as to race; and that if three-fourths of the States assent to such amendment of our compact, Virginia agrees it will be bound thereby."

The assembly would resolve that until the dispute had been settled by Federal constitutional amendment, the antisegregation decision would be "null, void, and of no effect. . . ."

Virginia's congressional delegation would be asked to propose a proper amendment in Congress.

Practical Politics

It is at this point that practical politics would enter the picture and the question of the effectiveness of interposition must be considered.

An amendment to the Federal Constitution may be proposed in two ways. Two-thirds of the members of Congress may approve an amendment, then submit it to the States. For it to become effective, three-fourths of the States must approve it. Or, two-thirds of the States may, in effect, force Congress to propose an amendment; then three-fourths of the States must approve it.

Chances that two-thirds of Congress would approve such an amendment cannot be determined. There is one proposal however, which might make it more likely.

The amendment to be proposed could be a reverse twist: It would say, for example: "No State nor Congress shall have power to segregate by race in any publicly operated institution."

Reverse Play

The argument, to get the measure through Congress, would be that even the northern representatives could not vote against that idea.

Then, following through on the reverse twist, interpositionists would try to defeat the amendment, once it had been proposed by Congress. By having the amendment stated in negative terms, then defeated, interpositionists would contend the Federal Government had failed to take away the power to segregate; therefore the power still would exist. Thirteen States could prevent the adoption of such an amendment. Interpositionists think they could swing it. Other

This is the last in a series of three on the doctrine of interposition, taken from articles written by W. L. Wright, jr., and made available to the Associated Press by the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

observers are quite doubtful that even 13 States, generally regarded as Southern, would go along with the scheme.

How probable is it that these things—beyond a resolution in Virginia and perhaps six or seven other Southern States—will come to pass? Observers say it is not very probable.

So what good is interposition?

Assertion of Old Right

It represents, advocates contend, the assertion of an old right of the States. It would call attention, at least for the time being, to what interpositionists constantly mention: "Federal encroachment upon the States."

An interposition resolution might have some weight, too, in a court. Possible contempt proceedings against a school board for failure to comply with the desegregation decision might find interposition, with the declaration the decision is void in Virginia, cited as a reason for delay. This might persuade some judges. It might displease others.

Several persons, after studying interposition, seem to have come to the conclusion that, at most, it will represent a sort of formal protest by the State against the court's action. The permanent effectiveness of interposition probably would be as inconclusive as in the past.

At best, it would, apparently, be only a temporary measure. There are many who feel that even if an interposition resolution is adopted, all other normal preparations for making an effort to operate racially nondiscriminatory schools should be made with all "deliberate speed."

Caffey Denies Race Bias Talk

Star P. A-9 Tues. 1-31-56

ATLANTA, Jan. 31 (AP).—Maj. Gen. Eugene Caffey, judge advocate general of the Army, says remarks he made to the Georgia Legislature expressing admiration for a speech favoring segregation have been "misinterpreted" in news reports. Washington, D.C.

He addressed both House and Senate of the General Assembly briefly yesterday, explaining he had read a speech made to the Legislature last Tuesday by Representative John J. Flynt of Griffin.

"If I were going to make a speech I would hope to make one like that," he told House members. Then he visited the Senate, repeated that he had read the address by the Georgia Congressman, and declared:

"There was a lot of meat in that speech. I, for one, admire it."

"Not in Politics"

A newsman asked him afterward if that meant he was going along with Mr. Flynt's appeal to Gergians to join the interposition movement to preserve segregation.

"Listen, I'm not in politics," Gen. Caffey said.

Later in Washington, Maj. Gen. Guy S. Meloy, Army chief of information, said he talked with Gen. Caffey by telephone and declared the judge advocate general said his remarks had been "misinterpreted."

Gen. Meloy quoted Gen. Caffey as saying: "Representative Flynt is a friend of mine, but nothing I said was an indorsement of anyone or anything. I simply paid tribute to Jack Flynt's ability to make a speech."

No Further Comment

Gen. Caffey could not be reached for further comment in Atlanta last night. He is a native of suburban Decatur.

The Kelley bill reference was Mr. Flynt in his speech urged adoption of a "resolution of interposition" and sharply attacked the Kelley bill pending in Congress to provide school aid. He said the measure "in a sense is an effort to bolster the weak position of the Supreme Court decision" against school segregation.

to a measure offered by Representative Augustine B. Kelley, Democrat of Pennsylvania, that would provide $1.6 billion in Federal aid to States for school building over the next four years.

Interposition is the big gun—

Crossfire of five Dixie Legislatures centers on court's segregation ruling

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

With five Southern states holding legislative sessions, U. S. Supreme Court decisions against racial segregation are being challenged in a variety of proposals.

The little known doctrine of interposition appears to be the major hope of many Dixie advocates in the South's traditional separation of races. Through it they seek to nullify the segregation decrees.

But at the same time legislators in Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi and Virginia are pondering many other moves to maintain segregation in face of the decisions.

Meanwhile there appears to have been a slackening of litigation to force desegregation and activities such as economic sanctions—designed to discourage integration supporters.

However, in an irregular pattern, integration continues to encroach gradually upon the Deep South.

SPONSORS of the interposition doctrine hold that the federal government has only such powers as have been surrendered by the states, that the states have never surrendered the right to operate segregated schools, and that the U. S. Supreme Court exceeded its authority in holding public school segregation illegal.

Therefore, they contend, the states can interpose their sovereign power and declare the Supreme Court ruling to be void and of no effect.

Alabama has passed such a resolution, one is awaiting committee action in the South Carolina Legislature and one is ready for introduction in Georgia. In Virginia, a milder resolution, strongly protesting but not defying the court ruling, has been introduced.

Gov. Luther H. Hodges, who may call a special session of the North Carolina Legislature before next Fall, also favors that possibility of curbing "assumption of authority" by the Supreme Court.

INTERPOSITION and other legislation to maintain segregation probably will be discussed Tuesday at a meeting called by Virginia Gov. Thomas B. Stanley. Attending will be governors of three other Southern states now holding legislative sessions, Marvin Griffin of Georgia, J. P. Coleman of Mississippi and George Bell Timmerman Jr. of South Carolina.

At the same time, Georgia is moving toward a private school system. Administration bills to close public schools which are forced to integrate and make direct grants to students, were unanimously passed in the Senate. They will encounter House opposition, but passage there also seems assured.

The Georgia Legislature also has before it bills to close state parks if segregation cannot be enforced, to prohibit mixed athletic contests and to revoke charters of cities which do not maintain segregated parks and other facilities.

AT THE DIRECTION of voters, the Virginia Legislature has called a constitutional convention on the Gray Commission proposal to give grants to students who attend private schools either because parents refuse to send them to integrated schools or because public schools are closed.

Other legislation pending includes:

Bills in Georgia and Mississippi to require separate waiting rooms despite a recent Interstate Commerce Commission order.

A Mississippi proposal which could bar out-of-state attorneys in segregation cases.

A proposed Alabama "freedom of choice" constitutional amendment to let parents say whether their children will attend integrated or segregated schools.

A South Carolina bill to remove the tax exemption on church property which is used for meetings by Communists or the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

THERE ARE A NUMBER of segregation lawsuits, most of them seeking school integration pending in the various states. But there were few reports of recent new cases.

Use of economic sanctions by segregation supporters apparently has been sporadic, and in only a few instances, organized.

Most of the targets of such tactics have been individual Negroes signing petitions seeking integrated schools or NAACP leaders.

However, the Falstaff Brewing Co. was partially boycotted for a time in Mississippi and in Georgia, Roy Harris of Augusta, States Rights Council leader, in his political newspaper is urging boycott of Ford products because of activities of the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic.

The Southern Gentlemen, a Louisian pro-segregation group of unknown strength, claims to have effectively boycotted several companies, including the Ford Motor Co.

In at least two instances, Negroes have fought economic pressures with counter boycotts. Such a move cut heavily into city bus patronage in Montgomery, Ala., and some Orangeburg, S. C., businesses are reported to have been hurt by loss of Negro business.

THE SEGREGATION situation is quiet for the time being in Louisiana, where Gov.-elect Earl Long pledged to maintain it, and in Florida where the theme of officials is gradualism.

The situation also is calm in Tennessee, where courts have ordered some school integration by next Fall, and Arkansas, where some schools already have ended segregation and others are under orders to do so.

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Race Ruling Challenged By 5 Sta

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PROGRESS HAILED FOR EQUAL RIGHTS

Harrington Sees New Era for South in 'Crumbling' of Superiority Idea

In spite of recent setbacks in the South, this country is progressing toward a society of friendliness based on the principle of equality, Donald Harrington said in a sermon yesterday.

At the Community Church of New York, 40 East Thirty-fifth Street, he preached on "Live and Die in Dixie!"

In support of his optimistic view he cited recent incidents in which Southerners had supported racial integration and noted that the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in the public schools had legally established equal rights and thus opened a way to combat injustice.

Nevertheless, Mr. Harrington said, there is much to be done, such as emergency measures in the South so that Negroes can register and vote without fear. He said their lives were now being threatened when they attempted to assert their rights.

He went on to say that American citizens should make every effort to assist the small farmer in the South, to support the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and to encourage trade unions in fighting segregation.

He attributed the troubled situation in the South to a flaw in its culture—the false idea that naturally some men were superior and some inferior. Although that notion is now "crumbling," he went on, the South's cultural heritage is a barrier to progress and it will prolong the struggle, but the barrier is bound to fall.

America stands for a humane and dignified way of life, Mr. Harrington observed, and its whole history gives evidence of this. Reviewing the development of a democratic society in this country, he called attention to the Emancipation Proclamation. And he read a passage from Ralph Waldo Emerson praising Lincoln's statement as an inspiration for all mankind.

The culture based on the equal rights of all men will triumph, the minister declared.

"Effects of Integration"

In connection with the article "Effect of Integration" by E. T. Smith in your paper on Jan. 18 it is shocking to note that as closely as the United States is being watched by other countries to see how she handles the Negro problem there are still certain individuals and groups who want to prove that integration won't work.

Why not try integration? All Americans know the effect of segregation, and judging from this article the writer is just as dissatisfied with these effects as are those Negroes and Caucasians who have a knowledge of the psychological effects of such an institution.

Mr. Smith did interpret some statistics in a different light. There are many different interpretations on various compilations of statistics, depending on the person who interprets them. As a law-abiding citizen who has a good psychology background and who respects the judgment of the well qualified men who sit in the Supreme Court of the United States, I interpret the statistics compiled by the American States Rights Association, showing "60 per cent of Maryland's convicts to be Negro, when less than 20 per cent of the population is Negro," to show how this race has been psychologically harmed by segregation.

Physical environment, including financial circumstances, plays an important part in personality development. Poverty, starvation, diseases brought on by improper diet and famine are good breeders of criminals.

In the areas of health and sexual conduct it is the poor underprivileged individual whose case is reported to health officials while those better off financially pay their private physician and never become a statistic. Thus again, a difference in interpretation of figures.

Would it not be lack of knowledge and training that causes many illegitimate births among the Negroes in seven Southern states?

The Negro has been greatly hampered by the generally impoverished cultural environment from which he comes. Poor adjustment in society, low morale and lack of interest in the finer things in life result from mistreatment and segregation itself.

Integration could be accomplished here in the United States if the majority of Caucasians and Negroes wanted it. The Negro is a human being and a citizen of the United States. He is not responsible for his plight and he must be aided by other citizens of his country. Just give the Negro a few years with improved conditions in the home and community, with schools where his facilities are equal to those of the Caucasian and then compare statistics.

The results will show fewer juvenile court records, welfare institution reports, police file cards and psychiatric studies. The eventual outcome will be our willingness to recognize the fact that there are not two separate races here in America, but all people are members of the human race.

We should be always consciously aware of the fact that the United States will not be respected as a world power until it accepts integration throughout the Nation.

ALICE L. RHODES
Washington.

The author of the letter is letting his good judgment be overridden by emotion prodded with loaded statistics.

Assume that on a per capita basis there are three Negro convicts for every white. How do those odds work out on comparative economic and social levels? Also, how many were residents and how many were going through?

Maryland lies astride one of the main arteries of migration for Southerners going North for better jobs. From what I have heard of the wage scale for unskilled Negroes in the South, they should have a particular incentive for making up the major part of the stream.

As for the other two manifestations of social irresponsibility, where was the data collected? Municipal and charitable institutions would be in the best position to supply large amounts of that type of information. The well-off and the rich handle those problems through private physicians. Those statistics may only prove that the majority of poor people in those cities are Negroes.

The best argument for integration is that very few areas opposing it can afford a dual system; so without it even the favored group will be cheated.

ARTHUR W. STIER
College Park, Md.

Southern Senators Plan Caucus On Plans to Thwart Integration

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27 (UP) —Senator Walter F. George said today he had agreed to call a meeting of Southern Senators to discuss the possibility of interposition, or intervention, by Southern states to nullify the Supreme Court's ati-segregation ruling.

The Georgia Democrat said several Southern Senators had asked him to call such a meeting and that he had agreed to do so. He said no date had been set.

George said he thought the session should be delayed until Senator Richard B. Russell returned from Florida. The Georgia Democrat, a leader of the Southern bloc, is in Florida recovering from a mild virus infection.

WALNUT RIDGE, Ark., Jan. 27 (AP) — Three Negro children tried to enroll at the white elementary school today, the second such attempt in Arkansas this week.

The children, accompanied by three adults, were turned away by A. W. Rainwater, Superintendent of Schools in this northeast Arkansas town.

"Walnut Ridge is committed in its plan for this school year insofar as integration is concerned," he told the Negroes.

Mississippi Bills Voted

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 27 (AP) —The Mississippi House of Representatives passed today three bills to keep Negroes out of white waiting rooms and rest rooms in railroad and bus stations. The Senate must act.

The bills apply to all passengers, intrastate and interstate, despite the Interstate Commerce Commission decision ruling out segregated facilities for passengers traveling between states.

Failure or refusal to provide the segregated facilities could bring fines of $1,000 a day.

To obey the proposed laws and also the I. C. C. order, railroad and bus companies would have to provide three waiting rooms and six rest rooms.

One waiting room and two rest rooms would be for interstate passengers. These presumably would not be segregated. There also would be segregated waiting and rest rooms for intrastate passengers.

Speeding Arrest Protested

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 27 (AP)—A Negro leader in the bus boycott said yesterday that the city commission's new get-tough policy was the cause of his arrest on a speeding charge.

The Rev. M. L. King was fingerprinted and held in jail before being released on his own recognizance.

Negroes have refused to ride buses here since Dec. 5 in protest against the seating arrangement required on buses by segregation laws.

'New Low' Laid to Eastland

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27 (UP) —James C. Hagerty, President Eisenhower's news secretary, accused Senator James O. Eastland today of hitting a "new low" by injecting the President's grandchildren into politics.

Mr. Hagerty replied to a speech in South Carolina yesterday by the Mississippi Democrat. Senator Eastland, attacking the Supreme Court's school integration decision, noted that two of General Eisenhower's grandchildren, David and Barbara, attended a private school in Virginia.

"Ike's like all interracial politicians," Senator Eastland was quoted as saying. "He wants it for the other fellow."

Mr. Hagerty, asked about the Eastland statement, noted that Maj. John Eisenhower, the President's son, had said that integration had nothing to do with the fact that his two eldest children attended a private school.

Mr. Hagerty also said that Major Eisenhower's youngest child, 4-year-old Susan, was attending an interracial kindergarten at Fort Belvoir, Va. A spokesman at the post said the Eisenhower children also attended an integrated Sunday school almost every week.

South Shows Varied Reactions To Transit, Other Bias Issues

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. P. 4
Wed 1-11-56

By PAT J. McDONNELL
For International News Service

Two Southern states resorted to police powers Tuesday to enforce racial segregation at Terminals serving interstate travellers, while other states generally ignored the order of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The ICC order to end seperaae facilities in airline, railroad and Bus terminals went into effect at midnight Monday. But there was no general effort in the South to comply.

Meanwhile, there were other developments in the South touching upon segregation in the schools and public recreational facilities.

Gov. Thomas B. Stanley and Virginia pro-segregation leaders moved ahead with plans for a constitutional convention to authorize a "private" school system supported by tax money. Virginians approved the plan by a 2 to 1 majority in a statewide referendum, in a rejection of the Supreme Court's school segregation order.

COLUMBUS GOLF CASE

In Columbus, Ga. Negro citizens formally asked the city commission for authority to use the municipal golf course, which is operated under lease by the Lions Club. Negroes had been turned down in an effort to play on the course earlier.

This Commission accepted the petition and advised a 20 man degelation. "You will hear from us in due time."

A. L. Haden, Jr., Director of the county States Rights Council of Georgia told the Commission it should not consider itself bound by the recent Federal decision which opened Atlanta Municipal Golf Courses.

Louisiana and Mississippi resorted to police powers [illegible] serve segregation in disrega[illegible] he Interstate Commerce Comm[illegible] order.

In Jackson, Mi[illegible] where railroad and Bus lines re[illegible] "for Colored Only" signs in w[illegible] ng rooms, city police put up ne[illegible] nes, and extra uniformed police were on duty at terminals to "preserve order." Similar action was planned in Laurel, Gulfport and Greenwood.

LOUISIANA ACTION

In Baton Rouge, La. Governor Robert Kennon termed the ICC order "unconstitutional" and ordered police of all levels to enforce the State's segregation laws.

There were no reports of attempts by patrons to cross the segregation lines.

Elsewhere in the South, the picture was one of transportation companies trying to observe conflicting Federal and State directives.

Bus terminals said they would not enforce segregation in Nashville, but the traditional "white" and "Colored" waiting room signs remained in place.

At the city's Union Railroad terminal, waiting room signs came down, but passengers continued to use separate waiting rooms, and restaurant patrons were served on a segregated basis.

At Tallahassee, Fla., patrons were segregated at the airport and two Bus Station. Seabord Airline Railroad took down a "White Only" sign over its big waiting room, but put up a new "colored intra-state" sign, and announced only Negroes holding tickets for Interstate transportation would be allowed in the White waiting room.

Church Asked To Eliminate Racial Bias

World Fri 1-6-56 P. 5

ATHENS, Ohio—(NNPA)— Christian leaders from East and West were told here Friday that a primary task of the church in the modern world is to smash the barriers of racial segregation and prejudice everywhere.

Birmingham, Ala.

The statement was made by the Rev. John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary.

Dr. Mackay and others from the United States, India and Africa spoke at a general discussion during the fourth day of the six-day quadrennial meeting here of the Student Volunteer Movement. About 3,500 students from eighty nations attended the interracial gathering.

RACIAL BIAS

An Indian, a native South African and a United States missionary to Brazil said the "strongest blow" the United States had struck against communism was the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools.

In India and the Union of South Africa, they said students rose and stood at silent attention when the decision was announced.

The policy of apartheid (racial segregation) in the Union of South Africa was attacked and defended at meetings by native Africans and whites from South Africa.

As African clergyman said the chief problem on that continent 'is to liquidate white supremacy without nessarily liquidating the white people."

"Africans are convinced that until the doctrine of white supremacy is done away with present social economic and political inequalities in Africa will continue," the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, Congressional pastor from Southedn Rhodesia, said adding:

FIVE MILLION

"The present racial tensions are due to five million white people who are determined to dominate 193 million Africans.

"White supremacy means no participation by Africans in the government,' he said. "This means lower economic status, third-rate citizenship, humiliating treatment and surrender of human dignity."

They Still Haven't Learned

Afro-American P. 4
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 1-21-56

Viola Knapp was white. She lived in Vermont.

At the end of the Civil War she felt the call to go South and teach the freedmen who, for 240 years, had been denied either public or private education.

She reached Virginia and one of the Federal Government's newly established schools. She found herself a social outcast, despised and sneered at by all the white people in town.

No one spoke to her. No one even looked at her.

She had great difficulty in finding a place to live and finally moved to a tumbled down, two-room, abandoned house close to the school.

* * * *

HER OSTRACISM was complete. If she walked down one side of the street, any persons who happened to be on that side silently and instantly crossed over and walked on the other side.

If she went into a shop to buy something, every white person, present turned at once and went out leaving her alone with the clerk who served her without speaking or looking at her.

This 20-year old girl would have suffered from this a great deal except that she was from Vermont and she didn't care much about the disapproval of the neighbors because she felt sure she was doing the right thing.

What helped her ignore the disagreeable experience was her liking for another Northern white person who was ignored and ostracized in the same way.

* * * *

THE TWO LIVELY outcasts made each other's acquaintance, got themselves engaged to be married, did actually marry and raised a fine family.

Final result of all this was that the two persons whom the Virginia whites ostracized enjoyed a greater and wider horizon of life than if they had not gone crusading.

Secondly, one of the first pupils taught by the Vermonters when they came to Virginia was Booker T. Washington.

Strange, isn't it, that pretty nearly everything about that area of Virginia where Viola Knapp taught has been forgotten except for the fact that Booker T. Washington was born there and that is where he first went to school.

* * * *

ALL THE WHITE people of that area who ostracized the Vermont school teachers for teaching Booker T. and his other friends, are still ostracizing colored people.

They still haven't learned that prejudice and hatred throughout history have never paid and never will.

Dr. Moron Speaks Out

In this crisis on civil rights in education, there has been too much cowardly silence among college presidents and other school administrators.

That is one reason we were heartened by the boldness of Hampton's brilliant president, Dr. Alonzo G. Moron, in the heat of the debate over Virginia's plan to sidestep the Supreme Court decision.

Dr. Moron not only sharply disagreed with Colgate W. Darden, president of the University of Virginia, but demanded and received equal television time to answer him.

Especially significant was Dr. Moron's observance that two governors of Virginia had refused to name any colored persons on the commission created to study and advise them on the integration problem.

The President of the United States, he pointed out, had appointed two Virginians to sit as American delegates in the United Nations.

One was Colgate Darden. The other was Robert Lee Brokenburr, a native of Phoebus, Va., who now resides in Indiana.

Both men are eminently qualified to represent the United States. They sit side by side in a world forum.

But they dare not sit together in their native Virginia to advise the governor and the legislature on the problems of a single state.

That is the prohibitive price that Virginia and other Southern states are required to pay to maintain outdated customs and traditions.

This is the real tragedy of segregation.

We strongly commend Dr. Moron's outspoken example to presidents of other institutions, both public and private.

Colgate Darden didn't allow his position as president of a state school to silence his advocacy of segregation and the status quo.

If there's freedom of speech for white college presidents, in all fairness there should be freedom of speech for colored college presidents.

Rights vs. Wrongs

Despite his rantings about states rights, South Carolina's Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr. continues to look the other way while bigots pile up a depressing record of state's wrongs.

Because of his indifference, the DeLaine case is now disturbing millions of decent Americans. Timmerman wouldn't give him protection; so the minister had to flee his home for his life.

More recently, klansmen, supposedly outlawed in South Carolina, met at Elloree and tossed threats at the 74-year-old NAACP president, L. A. Blackman.

Thus far Timmerman has uttered not a word.

Threats against citizens who seek only what is rightfully theirs under the Constitution at Lake City, Manning, Paxville, Sumter, Elloree, Orangeburg and other areas have gone unnoticed.

The miracle is that there have not been worse incidents in the state.

South Carolina's governor, like all other Americans, must soon be brought to realize that you don't kick people around anymore because of their race or color and get away with it.

You can no longer talk about principles of government out of one corner of your mouth while placing both hands over your eyes when these principles are being trampled to satiate emotional, hysterical prejudices.

Dr. Hutchins Reelected

The re-election of Robert M. Hutchins as president of the Fund for the Republic is a happy sign that the Fund's trustees have not been intimidated by the yappings of his enemies.

Actually, there is solid reason to believe the target of Dr. Hutchins' detractors is not Dr. Hutchins at all.

Their main design is to smear and, if possible, slow down the Fund's forthright promotion of greater interest in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Displeasing to them is the fact that under Dr. Hutchins more than $1 million has been granted by the Fund to the Southern Regional Council, the NAACP, the American Friends Service and the Catholic Interracial Council, and other organizations dedicated to making real the American ideal of equality.

The very bitterness of the attacks launched by the Eastlands, the Hearsts, the Talmadges, aided and abetted by the American Legion is ringing tribute to the substantial progress that is being made.

It Won't Work

Suggested by the rabidly segregationist editor of the Richmond News Leader, some officials of several Southern states are reportedly giving serious consideration to interposition.

The News Leader in a series of long and tortured editorials has presented this doctrine as a means of circumventing the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision.

In simpler language interposition is merely a fancy name for nullification or, carried to its ultimate conclusion, secession.

But the South tried that once and lost.

The issue was settled once and for all when General Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox.

If nullification didn't work back in 1863, ordinary common sense dictates that it has no possible chance of success in 1956.

No Reason For Delay

President Eisenhower, in his State of the Union message to Congress, suggested an investigation of charges that Southern states are depriving colored persons of the right to vote and are enforcing illegal economic sanctions.

The Americans for Democratic Action has criticized the President's proposal as a delaying tactic.

The ADA insists that action, not an investigation is needed now and that the FBI has in its files sufficient information on which to act.

However, the President asks Congress to make a study so that it will have its own first hand information on which to develop necessary legislation.

Such a probe should take no longer than a month or six weeks at most.

What is needed is not only the President's action on the basis of FBI findings, but action by Congress to give the Department of Justice the necessary weapons to halt Dixie defiance and lawlessness.

Can They Beat Nature?

Three doctors in Israeli are reported to have found a way to distinguish the sex of a child before it is born.

That might be important if the prospective parents are to determine whether they should order a blue layette for a boy or a pink layette for a girl.

No other reason occurs to us why parents need to know eight months ahead of time the sex of their unborn offspring.

If the Israeli doctors can tell us how to regulate rather than determine the sex of offsprings so that a family that needs a boy can have one and one that needs a girl can have one, they will be rendering the world a real service.

The parents who have three girls in succession could be certain to have a boy the next time.

The musician who has hopes of a girl trio for orchestration or vocal purposes could be certain of another girl.

The athlete who has dreams of a basketball team of brothers could work toward that end with mathematical certainty of success.

On second thought, however, we suspect that once the Israeli or any other scientists uncover this secret, humanity will not be able to do much better with it than nature which has been on the job for millions of years.

SEGREGATION:

Newsweek p. 24
Mon. 1-23-56

Voting and Talking

Some Southern politicians were talking tough last week—tougher than they had talked at any time since the Supreme Court in May 1954 banned segregation in public schools.

Herman Talmadge, former governor of Georgia, got cheers from a rally of 600 in Americus, Ga., when he shouted: "We fought overseas to keep our rights. Why not at home?" Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi told audiences: "Before God, I now make the people of Mississippi this solemn promise: I will carry our fight in the North [and] in the South . . . The choice is between victory and defeat."

That much of the South will resist enforced integration to the last ditch was demonstrated only last week when Virginians voted 2 to 1 in favor of amending the state constitution to continue separate schools for those who wish them. Laws to be enacted under the constitutional change will provide private-school education at the expense of the state for children whose parents do not want them to attend integrated schools. (Integration is scheduled to begin in parts of Virginia next September.)

Predictions differed on how much the private-tuition plan will cost. One estimate is that the cost will be $1 million for each 1 per cent of the public-school population transferring to private schools. Also Virginians voted for the amendment in the face of warnings from numerous legal authorities, including Dean Frederick D. Ribble of the University of Virginia law school, that the tuition-grant is unconstitutional.

'PUBLISH IT NOT IN THE STREETS OF ASKELON'—III

Advertiser
Mon. 3-26-56
P. 4-A

In Dearborn, Michigan —Population 130,000— Not A Single Negro Is Allowed

Montgomery, Ala.

By Tom Johnson

[This Advertiser interview (recorded) is, in some degree, in the interest of newspaper economy. Which is to say, think of all the fat expense accounts the Detroit papers could save if, instead of dispatching their reporters to Montgomery for race strife tales, they would keep them in Detroit to cover that with which their backyard reeks. Why send a man all the way to Montgomery to interview Mayor Gayle about segregation when the man could stay in Detroit and interview the Mayor of Dearborn? Not only does the Dearborn mayor emit more lusty interviews than Mayor Gayle, but he obviously is a far more successful segregationist than Montgomery's mayor. Anyhow, what follows is another in an Advertiser *series to jam home the validity of our sorrowful contention that wherever in America the Negro migrates in significant numbers, he encounters rejection, candidly in the South, pharisaically in the North.—Ed.]*

"I AM FOR complete segregation, one million per cent, on all levels. I believe in economic equality [for Negroes] but social equality is a horse of a different color. If a man works—I don't care what color he is—he ought to be paid. But I'm against any of this social dream stuff."

JOHNSON

The man who uttered these words is no Jim Eastland or Sam Englehardt. He does not belong to the White Citizens Council and couldn't, practicably, if he wanted to. There is not a chapter within hundreds of miles of his home.

His views on segregation are intimately known by his constituents; yet they return him to office term after term as mayor. The reason is simple: Orville Hubbard, the peppery, ball-of-fire mayor, is just what they want in Dearborn, Mich., wherein resides not a single known Negro. Repeat: *not a single Negro.*

"They can't get in here," says Hubbard. "We watch it. Everytime we hear of a Negro moving in—for instance, we had one last year—we respond quicker than you do to a fire. That's generally known. It's known among our own people and it's known among the Negroes here."

Remarkable? More so, when you realize that Dearborn, with a population of 130,000, is the state's fourth largest city. It is the home of Ford's River Rouge plant and heavy industry which employ at least 15,000 Negroes.

Dearborn is jam-smack against Detroit, in Montgomery-Prattville fashion. Approximately 500,000 Negroes live there. Many of them commute to and from Dearborn to work, and it would be reasonable to assume that a few of them find it convenient to do their shopping in Dearborn. But live there? Not a one.

'Social Dreamers'

ORVIE HUBBARD—as his constituents call him—is as much responsible for the absence of Negro residents as anyone. He led the fight 10 years ago to keep the U. S. government from locating a 4,000-unit Negro housing project in his city.

Recalling that fight, Hubbard says: "We fought it openly. I think at that time the 'separate-but-equal' provision prevailed and I think even then they hadn't knocked out the occupancy by other than the Caucasian race [clause], which we had in all our [property] deeds up here."

Dearborn's residents were successful in keeping the "social dreamers" from locating the project in or adjacent to the city.

Orvie Hubbard's position is so well known that he has had little trouble in recent years, as this excerpt from our recorded telephone conversation shows:

Q. Has the NAACP ever called on you?

A. No, we'd chase 'em to hell out of town.

Q. When is the last time any Negroes called on you?

A. I think when I was running for circuit judge. A colored fellow brought me a petition. I gave him a can of beer and two bucks or something. He's from Detroit. He wanted to see me. He said he'd heard that I had horns.

Editor Praises Mayor Hubbard

BEFORE calling Hubbard, we talked with Royce Howes, a prominent editorial writer of the *Detroit Free Press*, to get set.

Said Editor Howes: "Orvie Hubbard is a very colorful and dynamic sort of character. In his own right, he's a political eccentric. You may find yourself embroiled in a hell of a fight with him, or you may find Orvie telling you everything there is to know about the subject. One thing I will guarantee you: you will get him on the telephone. Orvie answers all telephone calls personally. He, apparently, will talk to anybody about anything."

As an example of Orvie's eccentricity, Editor Howes said Mayor Hubbard was once restrained, under a libel judgment, from leaving the county for a long period of time. During this time, Hubbard had occasion to go to Chicago. Two fully-costumed clowns wearing make-up and sporting the other paraphernalia of circus buffoons boarded the train for Chicago.

Says Howes: "The question was, was one, or either, or none, of them Orvie?"

Apparently, the people don't mind his eccentricities.

"He is immensely popular and he runs a good town," said Howes. "The garbage is picked up regularly, the streets are paved, the fire department answers promptly when called, and it's a vastly cleaner town, in street tidiness, than Detroit. Everything about it—school system, good everything."

"Orvie Hubbard will fight like hell with you and very bitterly over something. But then when you're through with that subject, he'll forget the bitterness. It's never a lasting animosity."

'No Ifs, Ands, Or Buts'

WITH this picture of Hubbard in mind, we called him with some uneasiness. The uneasiness proved to be completely unjustified. We found Hubbard a friendly firecracker with a ready wit, a sense of humor and a robust willingness to talk.

This is where Hubbard stands:

"The politicians have made the race question a football. It's hot up here, but we've taken an open stand in our community. Detroit hasn't done it; they're in a hell of a mess.

"We're for complete segregation, no ifs, ands, or buts about it. That is my position and I tell the Negroes the same thing. I say, 'We don't have equality among the whites and you don't have equality among the Negroes. Why stir up something when you're getting along all right?'

"I say, 'Where in the history of the world has any man on the face of the earth progressed as fast as you folks have since the American civil war?' As recently as 1860, they brought 500 of them out of the Belgian Congo directly to the South.

"The politicians are trading out their votes. Our governor up here [G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams] is way over on the thing. He's doing it for votes, right? And civilization is suffering over it."

Against The Law, Don't You Understand?

BUT HOW are the Negroes kept out of Dearborn?

"We say it's against the law to live here," says Hubbard. "They say 'what law?' They say, 'You know what the Supreme Court says.' I tell them we're talking about the law of custom, the law of habit."

We persisted.

Q. But how do you actually do it?

A. It's against the law.

Q. Do you mean a city law?

A. The unwritten law.

Q. In other words, all the property owners would have to be in agreement with you.

A. Well, that's why I'm still mayor, 15 years.

'So Goddam Quick'

Q. THEY just wont sell to Negroes?

A. That's the way you do it.

Hubbard, proceeding with my higher education in Northern race strife, said the population of Dearborn has been doubled since 1950 by a large influx of Poles and Italians who were "crowded out of Detroit by the colored people coming in.

Those people, he said, "are so anti-colored — much more so than you in Alabama, if you took a vote on it."

There is no doubt in Hubbard's mind as to the sentiments of the North.

"If they ever took a vote on this up North, you'd be shocked at the results," he says. "But, no, people don't like to talk out loud because they don't want to stimulate the thing. If you ever got a constitutional vote before the people, it would pass so fast—so godam quick—that a lot of these politicians would take a spin for themselves and leave."

Morally Wrong

HUBBARD was born on a farm in Branch County, Mich., 53 years ago, but his heart is elsewhere:

"I'm a great lover of the South. If they'd only spend a fraction of the billions we poured all over this earth trying to buy friends that you can't buy—if they just poured a fraction of that down South to help rehabilitate the country they gave a commercial raping to, we'd have a mighty prosperous world today.

"Now don't misunderstand me: I'm not against a man necessarily because of his color, but I feel bitter about this aggression in trying to force them upon each other. I think it's basically wrong. It's morally wrong to force one race upon the other."

'You'd Be Surprised'

"YOU'D be surprised, honestly, at the people up here who are on your side. In the big cities particularly, it's worth. And they're playing it for everything it's worth.

"Then you've got these trouble makers and anders, like these fellows who learn a little bit about Blackstone and then go around creating trouble. Then you've got the sympathizers. The sympathizer with the problem is generally the fellow just as bad. They're blaming everything on everybody's mad about it. New York is a hell of a mess. It's Philadelphia—New York, Puerto Ricans for coming in there. But, you see, you've got these Democrat mayors. You've got one in Philadelphia, You've got the same thing in New York, who doesn't have it, like Humphry [Sen.

Hubert] in Minnesota. He doesn't have any up there. And then you have a few of these frustrated school teachers. You have that sort of a problem. I don't know, I'm getting old now."

'Don't Push Us Around'

Q. WHAT about your schools in Dearborn?

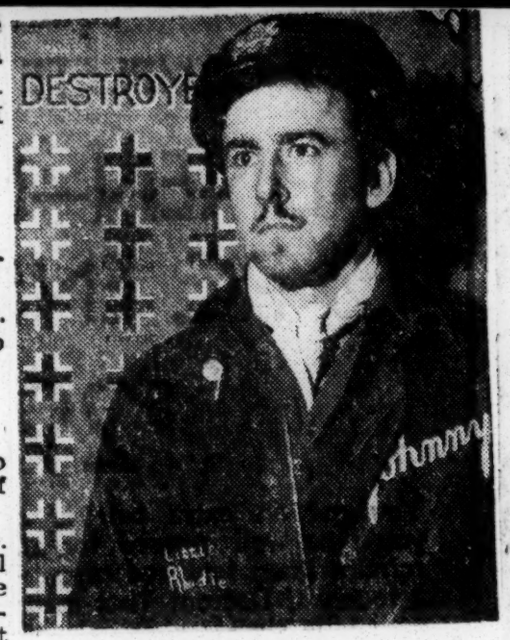
A. We don't have any there either. In our Henry Ford College, they do have a few.

Q. But that's a college?

A. Yes.

So says Orvie Hubbard, who also spoke these lines, which sound as if they're a long way from home:

"Like the colored fellow said to me. He said, 'You think the Negro's all right in his place.' I said, 'You're right. I have nothing against the Negro, but don't push us around. Quit pushing the whites around. We've been pretty good to you. We've nursed you along, we've kept you here since the Civil War, put shoes on your feet. Don't push us around.'"



—(AP) Wirephoto Specially Transmitted to Advertiser

Mayor Orville Hubbard of Dearborn, Mich. advises The Advertiser: "Our Italians and Poles are so anti-colored—much more so than you in Alabama."

★ Tell It ★

Advertiser P. 4-A

To Old Grandma

Mon. 3-26-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it

Montgomery, Ala.

Ah, Wilderness

Editor, The Advertiser:

I have read with interest your article in the *U. S. News & World Report*. In fact I was half-way through the article before I recognized your style and felt I was back at Debden [England] again.

JOHN T. GODFREY,
[Pres., Casco Laces, Inc.]
Freeport, Maine.

¶ *Capt. Godfrey, of Woonsocket, R. I., was one of the great U. S. air aces of World War II. Flying with the famous Maj. Don Gentile (now dead) from the 4th Fighter group airdrome at Debden, England, Godfrey shot down many German aircraft in the classic daylight bombing onslaught that turned the tide. It seemed doubtful to his wartime friends that he would ever be able to get over the great days in a Mustang cockpit. How wrong: he returns to view as a middle-aged corporation president who has gone to reading* U. S. News & World Report.—*Ed.*

A SOUTHERNER FACES FACTS

As the South seethed and rumbled around him, Mississippi-born Publisher Mark Ethridge of the Louisville Courier-Journal, *speaking at the University of Florida, had some telling words last week for his fellow Southerners. Excerpts:*

Time p. 21

DESEGREGATION, integration—call it what you will—hangs like a dark cloud over the South, and no editor can dare ignore it as a major editorial problem. Unfortunately, even tragically, the supreme court decision has set in motion some of the evil forces and evil actions which are too reminiscent of our darkest days. Councils have sprung up throughout the South that are, despite the feelings of their respectable sponsors, nothing more than uptown Ku Klux Klans, using instead of tar and feathers and the lash the equally destructive economic pressure. They say they are dedicated to the idea of defeating desegregation "by means short of violence." But already the spirit of violence has manifested itself . . .

ASSOCIATED PRESS

PUBLISHER ETHRIDGE

Now nobody desires to hurry the transition which the Supreme Court decreed to be the law of the land, which our intelligence told us was inevitable, which our consciences told us was right. Nor has the Supreme Court insisted upon a hurried transition. It has given the 17 states affected a "reasonable time" and, moreover, it returned enforcement to the local courts, knowing that special problems are presented where the population is overwhelmingly Negro. But Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana have not responded with the same understanding which the court had.

Chicago Ill.

THE SPIRIT OF SECESSION

Under the leadership of Virginia, which presented an idea, not a plan, they have ridden off like headless horsemen into the woods of nullification—even though they call it interposition—and in the pursuit of every evasion of the decree that slick, if not smart, lawyers may devise. Nobody has proposed firing upon Sumter again, but the spirit of secession is there: secession from the moral conscience of the rest of the country and indeed of the world that is giving men of color—who far outnumber us of the white race—their civil rights, their right to be free and to share fully in the bounties of civilization . . .

I must in candor say that the N.A.A.C.P. is vulnerable to attack. It is not one of my favorite organizations. It is as radical on its side as [Mississippi's] Senator Eastland is on his. By trying to hurry too fast, it could violate the spirit if not the word of the Supreme Court decision quite as grossly as Senator Eastland in trying to defeat it. It is contributing nothing toward a calm and rational working out of a very difficult situation. The reasonable people of the South are caught between two [dangerous] forces: one of them sitting down in the traces like a balky mule, the other trying to move it by setting firecrackers under its belly.

Mon. 3-5-56

THE NEED FOR EVIDENCE

But when all that has been said, it must be repeated that there are hard facts to be faced by calm and sober people—facts not advanced by political demagogues or agitators.

One of them is that the South will not be allowed to withdraw from the union; it will not be allowed to establish defiance of the Supreme Court as the law of the land; it will not be allowed to bend the will of the union to denial of the civil rights or full citizenship of a tenth of our population any more than it was allowed to continue to enslave that minority. It will not profit by attempts at slick evasion, even though it may long delay integration.

The rest of the country, I repeat, has no desire to hurry the process of integration, but it does most earnestly want some evidence of good faith and good will.

Race Relations In A Larger Picture

Advertiser Montgomery Ala.

Editor Edward J. Meeman In The Memphis Press-Scimitar

RACIAL tension in the South which has resulted in some violence shows that things have been moving in a dangerous direction. The progress of the South was set back several generations by one great unnecessary conflict which clear thinking and right feeling, reason and patience on both sides could have avoided. We cannot afford another conflict, great or small.

It is time to stop and think where we are headed, and make sure we are headed in the right direction.

No race in human history has made such progress as the American Negro since 1865. That progress has been accelerated since 1933. The rate of progress was still increasing when came the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 and 1955. At first it was thought that these meant further progress for the Negro. But in the South, where most of the Negroes live, the effect has been different from what was intended and expected. Since these decisions, not only has a brake been applied to the progress of the Negro but there has been some movement backward. Race relations in the South have deteriorated.

In order that we may deal intelligently and effectively with the present situation, in order that good race relations may be restored in the South, and progress in improvement of race relations resumed, we need to put race relations in a larger picture.

LET both races look at the larger picture. 3-2-54

Today the biggest issue in the world is the struggle between communism, tyranny, slavery, atheistic materialism and militarism on the one hand and democracy, freedom, individualism and spiritual religion and peace on the other. 3-2-54

Those of us who want to win that great struggle cannot afford to lose our heads, be we white or Negro.

Put the questions now being debated between white Americans and Negro Americans against that background of danger which threatens to overwhelm both races, and there should be no difficulty in settling our differences peaceably and amicably.

We cannot win this struggle without the loyalty of our Negro people. Of our total population of 150,697,361 as shown by the 1950 census, 15,042,286 are Negro. That is a sizable and important minority. In the South the proportion of Negroes is much greater.

Thinking, patriotic white people will recognize that we cannot afford, by any lack of justice or goodwill on our part, to lose the loyalty of this minority.

Thinking, patriotic Negro people will recognize that the "equality" which communists offer them is only equality in slavery, poverty and torture. It is strong evidence of the good sense of the Negro people that only a few have failed to see through the deceitful temptations the Reds offer them.

All over the world colonialism is coming to an end and colored races, yellow, brown and black, are being lifted to a position of equality. American Negroes, too, are asking for equality. Modern science tells us that all races have equal potentiality for development.

NEVERTHELESS, in the United States, and especially in the South, while right-thinking white people want the Negro to have every opportunity for equal development, most of them do not believe too intimate association of the races is a good thing. There is resistance to forced desegregation of schools and swimming pools, and the like. Such resistance should be only by legal means, should never be in spirit of hatred.

We believe the Negroes themselves want to associate with their own people in school, church and social life more than some of their present leaders will admit. If Negroes do not prefer their own modes of life and entertainment, why does it profit white men to run all Negro radio stations?

We believe that once the Negro wins recognition of his equal dignity as a human being, once he is no longer treated with contempt but is treated with respect, instead of there being more mixing of the races, there will be less, because the Negro and the white equally will prefer association with his own kind.

Why should we withhold from the Negro the equal respect his heart craves? A man who belittles one of another race only belittles himself.

The problem we must solve is not easy. But there is no question that if the citizens who are men of good will and moderate views will take responsibility for what is to be done, we will do the right thing, and come through safely.

The Gallup Poll

Post + Times Herald

White, Negro South Find Mixing Inevitable

Fri. 3-2-56 P. 19

Washington, D.C.

(Editor's Note: Following is the last report in a special series of articles on the problems of integration in the South by John M. Fenton of the Institute staff. Today's story deals with the future of segregation in the South.)

PRINCETON, N. J., March 1 Although an overwhelming majority of Southern whites—especially in the Deep South—are opposed to integration, a good many expect the day to come when segregation will end.

But they hope that day is a long time off.

With much bitterness at having something "shoved down our throats," 55 per cent of the white Southerners admit today that the time will eventually come when whites and Negroes will be going to the same schools, eating in the same restaurants, and generally sharing the same accommodations.

On the other hand, an important and articulate minority holds that integration will never come to Dixie. This group tends to feel it is something that "the South just won't permit."

Negroes—a majority of whom want to have mixed schools—are more optimistic about the chances of full-scale integration. They, too, however, think it will involve many years before it comes.

In seeking to determine the future chances for integration, we asked the following question:

'Do you think the day will ever come in the South when whites and Negroes will be going to the same schools, eating in the same restaurants, and generally sharing the same public accommodations?"

The results for white and Negroes:

WILL DAY EVER COME?

Southern Whites Only	
Yes	55%
No	33
Don't know	12
Southern Negroes Only	
Yes	70%
No	15
Don't know	15

This is how the Southerner feels about the eventual outcome of integration. When it comes to the question of any immediate acceptance of the Supreme Court's decision, his views are quite different.

Only about one white person in eight in the South thinks that the people in his community will accept the decision quietly without any trouble or attempts at delay.

A majority of the Negroes are hopeful of cooperation of some kind in setting up mixed schools—even though many think it will be delayed for some time.

To a great many white persons, the prospect of integrating with the Negro is so remote as to be unworthy of serious thought. These people are convinced that segregation will "just be kept like it always was."

The possibility that the South—if forced into integration—might not "have schools at all" is one discussed frequently. One hears much talk about the introduction of a private school system or—if that is not possible—"just keeping the kids out of school altogether."

Adding up the score on the question of what people will do, one finds that the "bitter-enders"—those who are thinking only in terms of preventing integration—outnumber the "go along reluctantly" group—by about 2-to-1.

A stubborn determination to "just not go along" with the Supreme Court's decision is most noticeable in the Deep South—in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina and Mississippi.

In these states, all of which have a Negro population larger than 30 per cent (and in some instances, counties where more than 7 out of 10 persons are Negroes), only about one white person in five thinks there will be any kind of acceptance—willing or unwilling—of the integration decision at present. The rest talk about ways to continue segregation.

For many Southern whites eventual integration is a bitter pill that they feel they will be forced to swallow because of "outside interests" and a North that doesn't really understand their problems.

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American Institute of Public Opinion

Equality for All Asked By Archbishop O'Boyle

Evening Star P. 4-A

Wed. 2-29-56

Washington, D.C.

The Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington, last night said the United States cannot pose as a truly Christian Nation until equality of opportunity exists for all Americans "in fact as well as in law."

He urged all Catholics to accept the challenge of battling persecution of minority groups, including Negroes.

In a speech before 800 Catholics at the fifth anniversary dinner of the John Carroll Society of Washington in the Mayflower Hotel, the archbishop said the United States cannot win the war for the minds of men until the challenge is met. He called for "an honest audit" of the race problem in America.

"To me," the Archbishop said, "the remarkable thing is not that some members of minority groups are retarded, but rather that so many have been able to advance as far as they have.

All Face Problem

"This is a real problem and it confronts us in every area of our Nation. Difficulties may be more publicized in some places, but we all face the problem in one way or other. Here is a real challenge to us as Christian laymen, to take leadership in bringing about full equality of opportunity, in fact as well as in law, to every American citizen.

"Until we do this, we cannot pose as a truly Christian nation. Nor can we win the bitter war for men's minds in the world struggle if the Communists can tell the hundreds of millions in Asia and Africa that they, rather than Christians, practice the doctrine that all men are equal."

The archbishop said the race question was not as difficult as it might appear to some "once we acknowledge that we are all children of the same Father."

Two Approaches

He offered "two broad lines of approach":

"First, each of us should ask: In what area, that I can influence, are Negroes discriminated against merely because of their race? Do I know of competent doctors who are not free to practice their profession in the same way that a white doctor of equal ability could?

"Are there areas of employment closed to qualified persons merely because of their race? Would we raise a social barrier against someone whom we would have welcomed, had not the mere accident of color intervened?"

The second approach to the race issue, the archbishop said, is suggested by an argument which runs this way: "It is foolish to seek to integrate Negroes into a white community, because the cultural and educational levels of the two groups are too far apart. How can we mingle two groups so different, without creating intolerable tensions?

"Perhaps the best answer to this objection is to go back into history and read what was said about our own ancestors. I will not offend your ears," the archbishop continued, "by repeating the scurrilous remarks that were common, not too long ago, about the Irish, the Italians, the Hungarians, Polish and many other peoples represented here.

"We were considered by some to be the dregs of Europe, the products of Old-World slums, the unsuccessful type that could not make a living in our native lands. We do not hear much about this today, precisely because this was a land of opportunity. We had a chance to advance and assimilate."

He said, however, the chance was made possible by the "accident of color."

"But racial prejudice bars this advance to members of the colored races. Negro or Chinese college graduates may be waiting on tables because they have no outlet for their training and talents. Can you expect a people to advance in the face of such discouragement? To me the remarkable thing is not that some members of minority groups are retarded, but rather that so many have been able to advance as far as they have."

Full Justice a Problem

The Archbishop said he recognizes "that the securing of full justice for our colored brethren presents problems. . . . not easily bridged."

"That there are difficulties, no sensible person would deny," he said. "But what is our attitude in the face of these problems? Are difficulties an excuse for inaction, or, on the contrary, a challenge to vigorous and intelligent action?"

"Are we negative and passive as steps are taken to bring full justice to the colored, or are we in the midst of the struggle, willing to risk mistakes, if necessary, but always striving to do the fair, the just, the kindly, the Christian thing?"

Safeguard for Workers

In a discussion of labor-management relations in the United States, the archbishop said the "strong union movement and enlightened social legislation" are serving as safeguards for the Nation's workers.

He said he would not enter into "the question of the relative power of business and labor or to compare the sins of one with the sins of the other." He described the groups as "partners in production . . . they prosper and decline together."

He called, however, for leadership in the field "with the imagination and courage to press forward toward positive harmony and friendship."

Cites "Grievous Price"

Archbishop O'Boyle said the United States is "paying a grievous price in world affairs today because we fail to keep in mind the Soviet philosophy of oppression of peoples."

He scored the preachings of Karl Marx, which "became a reality under the guidance of Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev."

The Archbishop said he wanted to "emphasize that communism based on the denial of God and the deification of man has always been insincere, wrong and evil."

"Any dealings with the Communists based on any other beliefs are almost doomed to failure from the start," he said. "Statesmen may at times be compelled to deal with the devil but they cease to be statesmen when they confuse him with an angel of light."

There's a Pocketbook Angle To Racial Tensions, Too

Courier-Journal 3-6 Louisville, Ky

IN A distinguished contribution to understanding, *The New York Times* on Tuesday published an eight-page "Report on the South: The Integration Issue." It is the product of ten veteran *Times* reporters, thousands of miles of travel, interviews by the hundreds, weeks of patient digging for the facts. It may well achieve the classic status of another report on the South made by a *Timesman* of a century ago, FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED, whose dispatches became famous in book form as *The Cotton Kingdom*.

Notable in the current report, which merits the thoughtful study of all Americans North and South, is the introduction and summary by *The Times's* Southern Regional Correspondent, JOHN N. POPHAM. Nowhere have we seen so reasoned and dispassionate an interpretation of the many-sided South of today and of what WALTER LIPPMANN has termed the most dangerous internal problem faced by the nation as a whole.

Few who study the report can doubt *The Times's* conclusion that "some form of compliance with the Supreme Court's order to desegregate the public schools seems inevitable in most Southern states—perhaps in all." Few will reject its editorial opinion that "patience, restraint and moderation are required on both sides—as much in New York as in Alabama," or fail to be cheered by its opinion that "this delicate situation, despite all the difficulties, is in the last analysis a hopeful one."

For the diehards and for the fanatics in either camp, however, we would suggest a close perusal of the state-by-state reports that suggest the enormous economic cost to the South already being exacted by the businessman's fear of the possibility of prolonged racial turbulence.

As Mr. POPHAM summarizes: "The 'new south' with its expanding economy and industry is involved with the rest of the nation in promoting a decentralized defense and production economy. Many believe this will tend to contribute to civic and business harmony as a matter of national welfare and therefore emphasize interracial adjustments."

From Mississippi, to cite but one classic example, GLADWIN HILL reports: "The strongest immediate pressure for the achievement of a *modus vivendi* is economic. The state's economic future hinges critically on industrialization. Northern capital is not likely to choose Mississippi in preference to more stable parts of the South."

That could be said, of course, about any part of the South where racial tension and instability threaten to dry up the stream of Northern industries flowing steadily Southward since World War II. It was stated most strikingly by Florida's Governor LEROY COLLINS in a recent speech at Tampa, as quoted in the current issue of *Southern School News:*

"Believe me when I say Florida cannot afford an orgy of race conflict and discord. I have talked to many here and in other regions of the United States now poised preparatory to making substantial investments in Florida. One of the most effective appeals has been that we can offer soundness, stability, and security. Nothing will turn these investors away quicker than the prospect of finding here communities hepped up by demagoguery and seething under the tension and turmoil of race hatred."

There are other more morally and ethically impressive factors working toward a rational acceptance of the social revolution the Supreme Court has bespoken, of course. Not the least are the sense of justice and right preached by WOODROW WILSON and powerfully present in the consciences of millions throughout the South, nor the fact, as Mr. POPHAM reminds us, that "virtually all the principal religious faiths have spoken out against racial discrimination." But the economic aspects are a striking reminder to the intemperate and the fanatic that irrationality can wound not only the conscience of the South but strike directly at its pocketbook.

Southerners Who Find Segregation Immoral Forced to Shut Up or Leave

Herald. Sun. 3-11-56 P. 14-A Miami, Fla.

The years-old relationships between Negroes and whites in the South have been torn apart by the Supreme Court's order to end segregation in the schools. Daily the tension grows.

The Knight newspapers have sent Edwin A. Lahey, one of the country's top reporters, to check on the situation. Lahey has wide experience in reporting in Dixie. Here is the first of his reports.

38a

By EDWIN A. LAHEY
Chief of Our Washington Bureau

CHARLOTTE, N. C. — Southern thought is rapidly becoming set.

That is perhaps the most ominous fact about the segregation crisis in the South.

Here in the traditionally "liberal" atmosphere of North Carolina, an influential man sums it up this way:

"There doesn't seem to be any middle ground left. And there's not even any humor left in the situation, mostly, I suppose, because of the aggressive militancy of the National Ass'n. for the Advancement of Colored People."

Until the Supreme Court issued its orders in the school cases, and the NAACP demanded action on these orders, Southern whites showed a humane tolerance for local white intellectuals or clergymen who tried to point out that the institution of segregation was morally indefensible.

Today, most of the Southerners who cannot make the fact of segregation square with their Christian conscience have but two alternatives—to shut up or get out of town.

A Congregational minister near Charlotte is getting ready to leave, at the insistence of his church members, partly because he irritated them with his belief that there was no moral way to circumvent the Supreme Court order against segregation in the public schools.

There are no statistics readily available, but one well informed Southerner believes that a dozen or more clergymen in the South have had to leave their pulpits because of the strong pro-segregation feelings of their church members.

Without scratching very deeply in the South, a visitor can detect the same anguished mental twisting that Southerners went through a century ago, when their backs were to the wall on the issue of slavery, and a way of life demanded moral justification.

In 1956, just as in 1856, many Southerners are dipping into scripture to convince themselves that God intended all along for Negroes to have the seats in the back of the bus.

And one well established anthropologist in the South is busy with theories of racial differentiation that are a grim echo of the Germany of the 1930s, when Nazi scientists were determined to prove that Jews weren't people.

It is on the fringes of the South that the mental anguish prevails.

In the states that form the hard core of resistance to the Supreme Court, they are done with soul-searching. Instead, they are ruthlessly committed to the proposition of maintaining the pattern of racial segregation, in public schools and elsewhere.

Alabama has been occupying the stage in this show of resistance, what with the Autherine Lucy crisis at Tuscaloosa, and the bus boycott in Montgomery.

But Mississippi, where the idea of the White Citizens Councils was conceived, remains the heart of the resistance movement.

The state legislature in Mississippi in recent weeks has passed a number of laws intended to be used as tools to circumvent the Supreme Court.

One of these laws abolishes common law marriage. The effect of it officially brands as "illegitimate" any child born out of wedlock.

Of the 56,724 babies born in Mississippi in 1953, 7,337 were born out of wedlock, and 7,070 were Negroes.

The Legislature received no information as to how this law would help fight integration, but it was generally assumed that the official tag of "illegitimate" on the Negro offspring of common law marriages would be useful later in the administration of a pupil placement law based on the morals, health and welfare of the community.

Another new state law in Mississippi requires the personnel in the public school system to file affidavits listing the organization to which school employes have paid dues in the last five years.

This law will put the finger on any members of the NAACP in the Mississippi school system.

Still another law makes it illegal in Mississippi to foment or agitate litigation, or to solicit or contribute funds to finance litigation. The purpose is to put another crimp in the NAACP. The penalty for violation of this law is a year in jail.

Leo Aikman

Constitution 3-13-56 Atlanta, Ga.

As a Briton Sees the South

What does a student from abroad remember after a year in America? Many things, no doubt, but here is a summary on one young Englishman's impressions after a year's study at Duke University. This is what he went back and told the folks at home:

P. 4

"I shall remember long trips over a vast, sprawling country; a hundred friends made and friendly coeds, attractive with skilfully used make-up and stylish clothes; newspapers of good quality and, on Sundays, the length of a short encyclopaedia; television, crazy with commercials, going all day and most of the night with a choice of half a dozen different channels; and

the serious-mindedness of the students, many of whom, this time last year, regarded a certain senator from Wisconsin as something akin to a psychopathic case.

"Over all, I shall remember the Southland, the barrenness of its backward areas, its new and growing industries, the richness of its culture, the soft, slow accents, the magnolia, the warmth of its people. And for better or worse I am returned from my year profoundly and unashamedly pro-American."

* * *

IN THE MAIL: Chiding note saying, "Goodness gracious, in commenting on Daytona Beach motor races, how could you leave out the name of Sir Malcolm Campbell, the great English racer!"

Answer: I did not leave out Sir Malcolm. I wrote that in 1935 he set a world's mark of 276 miles an hour on the sand at Daytona.

Sir Malcolm, sir, was eliminated in the composing room. And speaking once finally of Daytona, I would like to do business with Al & Bennie's Friendly Auto Auction or the Welcome Travelers Furniture Store.

* * *

HIGHLINES: The creeks are running, land is being turned, and a lot of guano is moving towards the fields. If the wind will subside before all the topsoil blows into the next state, folks stand a chance of planting crops under ideal conditions.—"Bub" Lang in The Omega News.

We know of no case where the church steeple fell on a worshipper, so you can go to church next Sunday if this is what has been keeping you away.—Jim Chism Jr. in The Pelham Journal.

Said the judge to the defendant, "I am going to give you the maximum punishment. I am not going to send you to our nice jail. I am going to let you go free and worry about taxes, politics, war, unemployment, traffic and the high cost of living just like the rest of us."—Bernice McCullar in The Stewart-Webster Journal.

Fascell Denounces Segregation Resolution

Herald

By AL NEUHARTH
Herald Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—Rep. Dante Fascell of Miami called the Dixiecrats' proposed resolution on segregation mere "chest thumping" without a solution Saturday and said he will not go along with it.

Several other Florida congressmen said they are still undecided whether to sign the decree which condemns the Supreme Court for its integration rulings. P. 2-A

Most of them, however, were expected to sign it before it is presented to Congress on Monday. Sun. 3-11-56

Selected congressmen, including Rep. Robert L. F. (Bob) Sikes of Florida's third district, were secretly circulating copies Saturday collecting signatures. Miami, Fla.

Sponsors of the movement, which originated in the Senate, said they are hopeful of getting near-unanimous support from Southern delegations. They predicted 100 signers.

The still-secret resolution, which was first reported in The Miami Herald last Thursday, has become one of the hottest political topics on Capitol Hill.

Many Southerners, including Sens. Spessard L. Holland and George A. Smathers of Florida, balked at "inflamatory" language in the original draft.

It has since been toned down, but Smathers said it still "denounces the Supreme Court in strong language."

Both Smathers and Holland

FASCELL

SIKES

now apparently are among the 19 senators who have signed the final dratt.

There has never been any disagreement among Florida congressmen on the basic issue of segregation. All are on record as being strongly opposed to integration of the races.

But the differences lie in the approaches to be used in trying to meet the touchy issue.

HOLLAND

SMATHERS

Fascell said, "I feel this is a problem which the people can solve only with calm, logical reasoning. I dont believe the resolution will accomplish anything, except maybe fan the public emotion."

Rep. Paul Rogers of West Palm Beach said, "I think I will sign it," although he indicated he would do so with some reluctance.

Rogers said he feels the school integration situtaion "is a matter of state jurisdiction, rather than a field for federal interference."

Rep. W. C. (Bill) Cramer of St. Petersburg, Florida's only Republican in Congress, said he has not yet seen the draft. Those close to him predicted he will sign it.

No copies of the resolution have been made public, but unofficial sources said the final draft does not include any reference to "interposition" as a means of fighting the Supreme Court rulings.

The movement began with the "hard core" of the Dixie senators, including James Eastland and John C. Stennis of Mississippi; Strom Thurmond of South Carolina; Richard B. Russell and Walter F. George of Georgia; and Sam J. Ervin Jr. of North Carolina.

'FOREIGN POLICY' NEEDED

Journal & Constitution

Georgia-Alabama Relations Are Bad

Atlanta, Ga. P. 15-E

Sun. 3-18-56

By M. L. ST. JOHN

GEORGIANS ARE more concerned than ever about foreign relations. Sen. George heads the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee. Former Gov. Talmadge, preparing to oppose Sen. George for re-election, is criticizing the nation's foreign relations policies.

M. L. St. John's column appears regularly in the daily Atlanta Constitution.

It, therefore, is interesting to see what is happening to Georgia's own "foreign relations." This state's dealings with its neighboring states are becoming somewhat muddled.

ALABAMA DISPUTE

During the past week, Gov. Griffin sought to intervene in a segregation dispute within the State of Alabama. His wrists were slapped by Gov. Jim Folsom. The Georgia governor offered to guarantee personally the education of a boy whom the University of Alabama expelled for attacking college officials in the segregation dispute and for leading a demonstration against a Negro student (who also was expelled). Gov. Griffin recalled that no one was expelled from Georgia Tech for demonstrating against him. Gov. Folsom said the Georgia governor was aiding "mobology" in Alabama. Gov. Griffin declined to comment on Gov. Folsom's statement.

The official relationship between Georgia and Alabama might be said to be a little strained.

CRACKS AT TENNESSEE

However, Gov. Griffin's move in Alabama was quiet compared with the remarks made by Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook and chairman John Sammons Bell about Tennessee policies. Mr. Bell was unusually vicious in his comments when Sen. Estes Kefauver announced his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination and when Gov. Frank Clement was mentioned as a possible running mate for Adlai Stevenson. Mr. Cook told Tennessee how it should deal with its segregation problems. Gov. Clement hadn't requested Mr. Cook's advice.

When they returned from a meeting of Southern Governors in Virginia some time ago, Roy Harris was unhappy because no other Southern governor was willing to go as far as Gov. Griffin in the battle against the United States Supreme Court's antisegregation decision.

Georgia's relations with other Southern states have varied over the years. Gov. Ed Rivers was a founder of the Southern Governors Conference, seeking to unite the South in its efforts to improve itself and to erase discriminatory freight rates. Gov. Ellis Arnall didn't have much to do with the Southern Governors Conference. Instead, he carried Georgia's fight for freight rate equality directly to the Supreme Court. Gov. Herman Talmadge worked closely with the conference and was chairman of the Southern Governors organization.

LINDER'S FIGHT

Georgia's associations with her neighbors has been good and bad at the same time, with some elective officials warring on other states while the administration was friendly to its neighbors. For instance, former Commissioner of Agriculture Tom Linder had a long running fight with the state of Tennessee when he refused to recognize their dairy inspections. He also irritated Alabama, South Carolina and Florida from time to time with his wall around Georgia.

Georgia's dealings with her neighbors have improved, though. Commissioner of Agriculture Phil Campbell has removed some of the barriers. And the state of Georgia has acted to cripple the "marriage mills" on the Georgia-Tennessee line, where "quickie" marriages resulted in filled divorce courts in Chattanooga.

Yes, Georgia's "foreign relations" are muddled right now, with good and bad exchanges between this state and its neighbors. Perhaps the friendly Secretary of State Ben Fortson Jr. should be given the added duty of working out a "foreign policy" for Georgia.

Just Count Them

The Daily Oklahoman

WE WERE NOT aware that the country had such an amazing number of coronary experts until whole battalions of Democratic congressmen began to point out that all of the experts who treated Eisenhower were completely and hopelessly wrong. Nevertheless and notwithstanding, if we should acquire a pain in the ticker, we believe that we would call a doctor instead of a congressman.

The Race Issue And Instinct

Edward Fike, editor of the Rocky Mount (N.C.) Evening Telegram, reports in an editorial about a conversation he had with one of the area's most distinquished citizens on the race question.

What this citizen said was so impressive, according to Mr. Fike, that he invited him to put it in writing.

However, we are told the distinguished citizen, for professional reasons, declined and so Editor Fike had to put his thoughts down in his own words.

Afro-American 9-2

THIS IS WHAT, in brief, he said:

1. That what colored people really want ultimately is social equality and interracial marriage, and
2. That the white people resist integration because it is contrary to their instincts.

Baltimore, Md.

He defined 'instincts' as something that is natural, existing, cannot be killed, and is difficult to control.

Sat. 1-14-56

It's small wonder that any man who makes such absurb statements, whether he is distinguished or not, would hesitate to sign his name to them because they are absolutely false.

385

There is a story of two boys, one white and one colored watching a locomotive go by pulling a long line of passenger cars.

The white boy turned to the colored boy and said: "Don't you wish you were white so you could run that train?"

And the colored boy answered: "I would like to run that train black as I am."

* * * *

ANYONE WHO says the object of integrated schools is intermarriage is crazy.

The object of integrated schools is the best possible education for both races. The colored boy wants the best education available free of penalties because of accident of birth.

Moreover, as a citizen of the United States, he has a right to the use of public institutions.

Intermarriage is furthest from his mind and the minds of his parents. Besides, marriage is a personal matter.

There are many white persons who would not want their children to intermarry with other white persons. There are millions of white persons who would not invite millions of other white persons into their homes.

Colored people are equally as discriminating.

* * * *

NOW AS TO the matter of instincts.

Instincts go back to the earliest period of mankind when man was a barbarian dressed in animal skins.

Take the first law of nature—the instinct of self-preservation. Few would argue that that is an instinct which should not be modified and regulated.

And it has been modified by religion which states that we are to regard our brothers as ourselves.

Our heroes are those who have sacrified their lives for others, who have overcome the natural instinct of self-preservation, and have given their all for the common good.

Our natural instincts include hatred, greed, jealousy, avarice—all of the human impluses which we commonly call sin.

The individual who has the better control of these instincts is the individual who is the most civilized.

The civilized person in these days is the one who draws a circle and brings everyone in.

The person who is unquestionably an unhappy hangover from the barbaric period is the one who draws a circle and keeps everyone but members of his own little tribe out.

He's lost, a misfit and out of place in this bright, new era of 1956.

He Proves Our Case

Thomas R. Waring, editor of the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, presuming to speak for white Southerners, outlines five reasons in the current Harper's magazine, why white parents oppose desegregation of public schools.

He says first that it would be bad because of health, arguing that incidence of venereal disease is much greater among colored people than among white.

Afro-American

But he neglects to state that the incidence is no greater among a certain class of colored people than among white people of the same economic status.

Secondly, he complains that the master-servant relationship is still the rule rather than the exception in the South, neglecting to observe that that's no sound argument for its continuance in the future.

Baltimore, Md.

His third complaint that one colored child in three is illegitimate is on its face a questionable statistic, but even if true is no worse than in Sweden or France.

He ignores the more important and undisputable fact that there are millions of colored families with no illegitimate children.

Sat. 1-14-56

His fourth charge that the crime rate is higher among colored people overlooks the fact that our own country's crime rate is higher than Great Britain's, Germany's or Liberia's.

And further that at one time in this country the crime rate was highest among the Italians, the Poles, the Irish and every other minority group which was disadvantaged.

And finally, Waring asserts that the average colored child in Southern schools is two grades behind the average white child of the same age.

Ignored is the fact that for generations $70 per year was spent by Mr. Waring's South Carolina on the average white child's education while $6 was alloted for the average colored child's instruction.

The average colored child, under such an inequitous system is doing exceptionally well to be only two grades behind her more fortunate white school rival.

But more revealing than this is the proven fact that the average Southern white child is a grade behind the average Northern child, white or colored!

Here then, by his own thesis, whether it was his intention to do so or not, Editor Waring proves exactly what the Supreme Court said on May 17, 1954 and repeated on May 31, 1955.

That is that segregation is harmful to both races, is unconstitutional, and therefore must be eliminated.

BIAS BOARD HEAD URGES EQUALITY

Times

C. S. Abrams Outlines Policy of Promoting Complaints to End Discrimination

Mon. 1-9-56

Charles S. Abrams, chairman of the New York State Committee Against Discrimination, said yesterday that the commission should have the added function of promoting equality.

In common with similar agencies in sixteen states, Mr. Abrams said, the commission should promote equality "as an affirmative policy" in addition to being a policing agency against discrimination.

The former State Ren Administartor spoke at the annual conference of the Workmen's Circle Division of the Jewish Labor Committee at the New School for Social Research, 66 West Twelfth Street.

New York

Mayor Wagner, addressing the same meeting, said that the world, the nation and the city should wipe out the last vestiges of discrimination. The city, particularly, can not hold its head high "if we find even one little particle of discrimination," he declared.

Group's Policies Outlined

Mr. Abrams, who has been in his new office three week, made his first policy statement at the meeting. He made these points:

¶The commission cannot rely solely on the 350 formal complaints it receives each year. It should go out into the field, find where discrimination exists and then deal with its elimination.

Mon. 1-9-56

¶The commission should initiate investigations and com-

plains directly. Quoting Governor Harriman to the effect that the winning of the "cold war" itself might depend on eliminating discrimination in employment, housing, education, public accomodation and other areas, he said the Governor had recommended this extension of the commission's authority last year and to the current legislature.

¶The commission should assume responsibility of minority problems in all its facets. Even where it has no power to act, it should make violations known so that they can be corrected.

¶Cooperation with city-sponsored programs and city agencies in human relations should be encouraged.

¶Industry-wide investigations should be instituted where conditions indicate discriminations.

¶Discrimination in publicly assisted housing is responible for creating a huge gulf between city and suburb and also for overcrowding and high rents within the cities.

¶Complains where violations occur should be encouraged as part of a program of greater public information.

Mr. Abrams called New York City's slums among the worst in the world. He said it was "about time that this problem, which lies at the root of discrimination, juvenile delinquency and inter-class tensions."

Declare War On Supreme Court

Defender

Sat. 1-7-56

MEMPHIS — Die-hard racists from 12 southern states, including a governor, several former governors, U. S. Senators and Representatives, met here last week to plot a revolt against the United States Supreme Court.

The new group, set up to fight racial integration calls itself the Federation for Constitutional Government.

Among those holding membership in the new organization are: Sen. James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi; Judge Tom P. Brady of Mississippi, author of a book called "Black Monday"; former Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, the 1948 States Rights candidate for vice president; Herman Talmadge, the former governor of Georgia; and former Govs. Sam H. Jones of Louisiana and Coke Stevenson of Texas;

THURMOND PRESENT

Also Sen. J. Strom Thurmond, former governor of South Carolina; Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia; Reps. John B. Williams of Mississippi; F. Edward Hebert of Louisiana; James C. Davis of Georgia; L. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina and Watkins M. Abbitt and William M. Tuck of Virginia, former Virginia governor;

Chicago Ill.

Leander Perez of Louisiana, district attorney of Plaquemines and St. Bernard parishes; Fred Jones of Inverness, Miss., and W. J. Simmons of Jackson, Miss., two of the founding members of the infamous White citizens Councils.

Senator Eastland, in a speech before the meeting, called on the group to fight "the NAACP, the Supreme Court and the CIO." Some 100 persons were elected to the group's advisory board.

COMMITTEE TO RULE

Control of the organization was put in the hands of an executive committee of 12 members, one for each state represented.

Chairman of the executive committee is John U. Barr, a New Orleans industrialist. Barr is giving up his work to devote full time to the federation.

Defender

Barr reportedly said that the new group would work to "coordinate" the efforts of such state groups as the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi.

The councils were formed shortly after the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, barring segregation in public schools.

Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook, a rabid racist, said he was attending the secret meeting "just as an observer."

Observers also were present from New York, New Jersey and Illinois.

Meanwhile, in Washington, the Justice department announced it is giving "careful attention" to activities of the Citizens Councils.

Assistant Attorney Gen. Warren Olney, III, in charge of criminal prosecutions, and Arthur B. Caldwell, chief of the civil rights section, gave this information to the Jewish Labor Committee of New York City. The committee recently asked for an investigation of the councils.

In Jackson, Miss., Gov. Hugh White called the Justice department a "bunch of meddlesome jackasses," commenting "They can't do a thing. I'm not very interested."

A Challenge To 'Nullification'

BY ALFRED MYNDERS
(In The Chattanooga Times)

Times 2-12-56

The "right of interposition" which Georgia's Legislature will be asked to assert this week, on the segregation question, envisions a federal constitutional amendment to test the Supreme Court's right to order desegregation in the public schools. The fact that Thomas Jefferson helped draft a Kentucky resolution of interposition and that James Madison did the same thing in Virginia has been widely cited as justification for the present move in Georgia, Virginia and several other states. As pointed out yesterday, those two resolutions were in protest against the infamous Alien and Sedition Laws which had been enacted by Congress. Jefferson and Madison were defending the constitutional rights of freedom of the press and freedom of speech for all Americans, not merely for those in separate states.

The resolutions written by Jefferson and Madison are being widely circulated to uphold the present "interposition" movement. Those resolutions were written in 1798. They were not pushed because the Alien and Sedition Laws were allowed to expire.

Birmingham

THE NEXT GREAT crisis on this question came in 1830, and it was the subject of perhaps the greatest debate ever held in the Senate, that between Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and Robert Young Hayne of South Carolina, both great orators. Presiding over the Senate was the vice president, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, secret author of the Carolina nullification movement. Carolina was in revolt against the "tariff of abominations."

The doctrine was that a state had a right to nullify a tariff law or any other law which it felt was unconstitutional.

There is not space to review that great debate. Hayne cited the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798: "Mr. President, the South Carolina doctrine is the republican doctrine of 1798; it was maintained by Kentucky and Virginia in the worst of times . . ."

Ala.

The eloquent Hayne cited the anger of his home state against the tariff. "Sir, if acting on the high motives—if, animated by that ardent love of liberty which has always been the most prominent trait of Southern character—we should be hurried beyond the bounds of a cold and calculating prudence, who is there, with one noble and generous sentiment in his bosom, that would not be disposed, in the language of Burke, to exclaim, 'You must pardon something to the spirit of liberty.'"

THE GREAT Webster in reply, cited that the Constitution, framed by the people, declares that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land. He further pointed out that the Constitution declares that "the judicial power shall extend to all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States." The Supreme Court cannot rule on the Constitution except in cases brought before it, and that was true in the segregation matter.

Webster's great speech ended with Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

The South Carolina crisis continued. In 1832, President Andrew Jackson actually feared insurrection. He declared "Nullification means insurrection and war. I will meet it at the threshold and have the leaders arraigned for treason."

He sat down with Livingston, his secretary of state, to prepare his answer to the threat of war in South Carolina. They wrote the Proclamation against Nullification addressed to the people of South Carolina.

BUT BEFORE completing it, President Jackson asked Livingston to carry it to the father of the Constitution, James Madison. The aged Madison, the same man who had helped Virginia write its resolution of interposition 34 years previously, was deeply aroused. He condemned the Carolina Doctrine. "This colossal heresy has gone too far. It must be stopped." He had already been told that the Nullifiers were quoting the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions he and Jefferson had written 30 years before.

James Madison made a number of changes in the Jackson draft, and on the following day, Jackson propounded that famous proclamation: "The Federal Union must be preserved." He declared: "I consider the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one state, incompatible with the existence of the union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed."

Henry Clay began pushing for a compromise tariff, and that finally resulted in the end of Carolina's Nullification battle.

James Madison was the author of Virginia's "resolution of interposition" in 1798, which is being so widely distributed in the South today. He was also the revising consultant in Andrew Jackson's proclamation against nullification in 1832. He was consistent in both cases, because he believed in the Constitution which he had done so much to create.

STEVENSON URGES EISENHOWER CALL BIRACIAL PARLEY

Times Jno. 2-28-56

He Proposes Southern White and Negro Leaders Meet to Allay Rising Tensions

P. 1

VISITS CAMPAIGN OFFICE

New York, N.Y.

Repeats He Will Not Try to Win Delegates Here, but Implies Friends May

38a

By DOUGLAS DALES

Adlai E. Stevenson proposed last night that President Eisenhower summon a meeting of Southern Negro and white leaders in an effort to allay mounting racial tensions.

The former Illinois Governor and candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination made the suggestion at an interview during his first visit to the Stevenson for President headquarters at 270 Park Avenue.

Questioned on whether his remarks on civil rights at Hartford, Conn., last Saturday represented a clarification or qualification of earlier remarks on the subject, Mr. Stevenson declared:

"I didn't change my stand in the least at Hartford or at any place else."

Perturbed by Tension

With respect to his proposal for a biracial conference of Southern leaders under Presidential auspices, Mr. Stevenson said:

"I for one have been very much disturbed by mounting tension in the South. In order to avoid any possibility of further disorder or further damage to the nation's reputation abroad, I think the situation merits the prompt attention of the President.

"The office of President of the United States has great moral influence and great prestige and I think the time has come when that influence should be used by calling together white and Negro leaders from the areas concerned in the South to explore ways and means of allaying these rising tensions."

Mr. Stevenson added that such a conference would "strengthen the hands of the thoughtful and the responsible leaders of bath races by whom such conspicuous progress has been made desegregation and in maintaining good relations with the races."

The candidate said he thought the prestige of the President could curb the tensions in the South and added: "It should be exerted before the situation gets any more serious."

Mr. Stevenson flew here yesterday from Boston, where he had sepnt Sunday with his two sons, Adlai and John Fell Stevenson, who are students at Harvard.

He said his visit did not import any change in the plans for promoting his Presidential candidacy in New York State. He has no intention of trying to promote convention delegates pledged to him, but he pointed out that any decision on that subject would be one for the State Stevenson for President organization to decide.

The candidate expressed the hope, however, that there would be no contentious situations that would make for ill will.

The New York Stevenson Committee, headed by Thomas K. Finletter and Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, indicated at the time of its formation earlier this year that it would not seek delegates in the June 5 primary in opposition to regularly endorsed delegates who will be favorable to Governor Harriman.

Asked to comment upo na remark by Senator Estes Kefauver Sunday that Mr. Stevenson was "not combating directly, but back-handedly" in the New Hampshire primary, Mr. Stevenson declared that he was surprised at the Tennessee Senator's "sense of sportsmanship that would allow him to make such a statement."

P. 22

Senator Kefauver is actively campaigning for delegates in the March 13 primary in New Hampshire. A slate of delegates favorable to Mr. Stevenson has been entered, but not at his request.

Mr. Stevenson said it was a "hard" decision to make because no conscientious man can think of the office as an ordinary burden or a part-time job.

Mr. Stevenson arrived at his headquarters at 6:30 P. M. and spent a half hour touring the offices and shaking hands, posing and chatting with many of the 300 volunteers working with the committee.

Appearing before television cameras, the candidate was introduced to Lincoln Kaye, 8 years old, of 82-25 209th Street, Queens Village, Queens, who recently had pledged his support to Mr. Stevenson and tendered a $2 contribution.

The boy had written that he had in common with the candidate an admiration for Abraham Lincoln and that "as President I think you will be just as successful and important."

Will Not Visit State

Mr. Stevenson said he had not entered the preferential poll in New Hampshire, had not visited the state and had no intention of going there.

In Boston he said on the same subject: "If my friends chose to support me in preference to Senator Kefauver in New Hampshire, I don't think it's subterfuge."

Assuming that he is the Democratic nominee again and is opposed by President Eisenhower, Mr. Stevenson said his optimism for winning was based on the fact that "the people have learned a great deal in the last three years."

As to the decision facing Mr. Eisenhower on a secon dterm, which many expect will be made this week, Mr. Stevenson said the President would have to decide whether he has the strength —mental, emotional and physical —"for the hardest job on earth."

Two Negro, 12 Whites Editors Give View On Segregation

Informer p. 3 Sat. 3-3-56

Houston Tex.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. —(NNPA)— The explosive situation at the University of Alabama during three days of rioting on the campcs was "almost an eyewink from murder."

THIS STATMENT WAS MADE by Buford Boone, publisher of The Tuscaloosa News in copyrighted interviews in the U. S. News and World Report, an independent weekly news magazine published at Washington.

The magazine interviewed fourteen southern editors, including two colored editors, to get their views concerning desegregation because of their closeness to the problem.

Jeff Bennett, assistant to Dr Oliver C Carmichael, president of the University of Alabama, had reported earlier that the mob which engaged in three days of rioting on the campus was "trying to kill" Miss Authurine J Lucy, Birmingham secretary, who was the first colored person ever admitted to the school. Mr Bennett's report was made to Gov James E Folsom.

In two suits filed in Birmingham after she had been suspended from classes by the university's board of trustees, Miss Lucy charged that university officials intentionally permitted the rioting and used it as an excuse to bar her from attending classes.

Dr Carmichael called her charges "untrue, unwarranted and outrageous."

Miss Lucy was admitted to the university by order of the Federal District Court at Birmingham. The trustee board suspended her from classes "until further notice" on the pretext that her suspension was necessary to protect students and faculty members.

HEARINGS FEB 29

Her suits for reinstatement and for domitory and dining accommodations on the university campus are due to come up before Federal District Judge H Hobart Grooms in Birmingham on Feb 29.

MR BOONE INTEVIEWED

In the magazine interview, Mr Boone was asked: "Is there danger of violence if moves are made to enforce the decision against segregation?"

A. Well, of course, we had the situation here in Tuscaloosa which was almost an eyewink away from murder.

I mean by that that just a little bit of difference in some situations could have caused us to have the terrible weight of a murder on our conscience here in this community and in the State of Alabama.

We were extremely fortunate, we were extremely lucky. But make no mistake of it— the mob on the University of Alabama campus would have killed this girl if they could have gotten their hands on her.

Q. Is there a feeling there that this mob led primarily by students, or that perhaps the real instigators were from outside?

A. There are people connected with the university who would emphasize the outside influences. I think they do so quite honestly, but I think, also with some prejudice and some nature desire to defend the campus.

The best information I've been able to get from impartial observers, including representatives of our newspaper who were out there, and from law-enforcement officers, is that the major difficulties in every single instance came from the students on the university campus.

OUTSIDE ELEMENTS

There were outside elements and they undoubtedly were present and they were undoubtedly important but if it had not been for the students and the fact that what started out as a demonstration with some great element of good-naturedness to it— if that had not gotten out of control by reason of the fact that there was no aggressive effort to control the mob, I don't believe that we would have had the situation that we did have.

Mr Boone also was asked: "Why is feeling so intense on this issue? Is the objection to mixed schools largely on social grounds?"

A. The objection is primarly based upon custom and upon tradition. And the first thing the average Southerner will mention when he gets down into a serious discussion of this situation is intermarriage, which is his great fear in this situation— that, if there is a breakdown of segregation, the constant association of children in schools will break down the natural resistance which people who are different have to each other, from a marriage standpoint, and that there will be intermarriages in this area, and that the white blood will be contaminated.

Now, I'm giving you, I would say, the average Southern view in that regard.

Q. How long, in your opinion, will it be before the separate schools are ended.

A.... I think the situation is that we are in a state of slow change; that slow change occurs, and then we reach a situation such as occurred here at the University of Alabama, where something I would refer to as a "jump" has to be made.

And that jump is more dramatic than the slow change, and it brings more resistance, more of an outcry.

I think most of those jumps are going to come during a period of the next several years--- primarily and almost exclusively as a result of court action. I mean by jumps such things as opening a specific school to Negro students.

Q. On the question of the growth of Citizens' Councils in the South, is that an important development? Do you think it is, in effect, a revival of the Ku Klux Klan?

A. The growth and development of Citizens' Councils is a very important facet to this situation, but I would not compare the councils to the Ku Klux Klan, because the Ku Klux Klan operated primarily as cowards, behind hoods and under cover of darkness.

The Citizens' Council groups are operating out in the open and the members consider that what they are doing, in effect, is establishing an organization which will work for the same purposes in behalf of the white people as the NAACP is working for in behalf of the Negroes.

GREENE'S VIEWS

Percy Greene, editor of The

Jackson (Miss.) Advocate, attributed the intense feeling in the South on the question of mixed schools to the belief that the No. 1 ambition of colored people is association with whites.

Greene said segregated schools will continue in Missisippi so long as colored leadership "allows the impression to be abroad that going to school with white people is the main objective of Negroes, and just as long as the Negro is denied the right to vote and the right to political participation."

GROVER C HALL, JR, editor of The Montgomery Adviser, said race relations in Alabama "have degenerated in a saddening way." In Montgomery where colored people are boycotting the buses, he said, "you've got the whites drawn up in one group and the colored in the other group."

ADVOCATES A BOYCOTT

The Tuskegee Civic Association is advocating a boycott of all white merchants in Macon County, who are opposing the right of colored people to register and vote. Tuskegee Institute is located in Macon County.

As a sign of changing political attitude, he cited Gov James E Folsom, who is criticizing "outside agitators" for the rioting on the University of Alabama campus.

"Now, the significance of this is that Folsom has been the only major Southern demagogue in our history, with the short-time exception of Tom Watson in Georgia, who has ever been able to harness the so-called red necks and the colored voters," Mr Hall said.

"It's been an extraordinary performance in American politics that up to now he's been able to keep both these elements very happily in the same vest pocket."

Mr Hall believes there would be violence if efforts were made to enforce a decision to desegregate the schools. He called the hypocrisy of the North "another very grievous thing to us." He said the people in Alabama "just don't mean to desegregate schools at all."

BLAMES NAACP

James G Stahlman, publisher of The Nashville Banner, blames the NAACP for the situation in the South more than any other agency.

"The surest way to revive any semblance of the Klan is for the NAACP to continue to kick up a furor," he said. "But the Citizens' Council represent a much higher element socially and intellectually and economically than you would normally expect to participate in the Klan movement."

Thomas Waring, editor of The Charles News and Courier, said the intense feeling in the South on the issue of mixed schools is due to "an underlying fear of eventual amalgamation of the races— meaning miscegenation, intermarriage, or whatever you want to call it."

HODDING CARTER, editor of the Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Miss, said he does not think "there is going to be any meaningful integration in Mississippi for years.

"Folks were a little stunned at first" over the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools, said Mr Carter.

"But as for the opposition to mixed schools, I think you don't get over something that has been not only sustained by the court but is part of the folkways of the white people down here for a hundred years."

C. A. Scott, editor of The Atlanta Daily World, believes that segregated schools could end overnight.

"Technically," he said, "it would be ended, but actually it is a matter of time. As long as the present pattern of residence prevails, it's going to be a long time before there will be mass mixing--even any degree of mixing, I'd say--even if the segregation laws are discontinued and, of course, actual integration begins."

MADE PROGRESS

CHARLES E GREEN, editor of THE AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN said "in the past 10 years in the State of Texas a great change has been, and progress has been made... And we are pretty proud of the way that we have made our progress" toward better schools and equal opportunity...

He said progress has not been slowed down since the Supreme Court decision, but if enforcement is too rapid "it could set things back."

C A MCKNIGHT, editor of The Charlotte (N. C.) Observer, said not for at least a generation will there be desegregated public schools in parts of the South.

MARK F ETHRIDGE, publisher of The Louisville Courier-Journal, said he believes segregated public schools could be ended in the Deep South in from five to.

VIRGINUS DABNEY, editor of the editorial page of The Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch, said he believes race relations in the South are worse since the Supreme Court decision and progress toward equal opportunity slowed down.

Asked how long he thought it might be before segregated schools are ended in the south, he replied:

"I haven't the remotest idea, to tell you the truth. I think it will be a long time.

Mr Dabney admitted that colored students have been admitted to "white" colleges and universities in Virginia without incident, and that some are staying in the dormitories at the University of Virginia this year.

Gallup Poll—

Does The Southern Negro Really Want Integration?

Commercial Appeal
Tues. 2-28-56 P. 1

By JOHN M. FENTON

Gallup Poll Staff Representative

PRINCETON, N.J., Feb. 27.—The Supreme Court's historic integration decision has directly confronted the 40 million people of the South with a problem as grave and unsettling as they have ever had to face.

Memphis, Tenn.

On the one hand, an overwhelming majority of the South's 30 million whites—as reported yesterday—are bitterly opposed to the idea of integration with the Negro.

On the other hand, there are the South's 10 million Negroes. How do they feel on this vital issue? Do they really want to be integrated?

The Negroes in the South share a common desire to give their children the best possible education and to obtain for their race the treatment which they consider to be in keeping with "the American way of life."

But thoughts of integration with the South's vehemently anti-integration whites have caused many a Negro to view with misgivings the possible repercussions when, and if, the time comes to "mix in."

Confused And Wary

In addition, just the idea of such a radical departure — for both races—from an accepted Southern way of life has left many Negroes honestly perplexed, confused, and wary of precipitate action.

Recently, this reporter spent some time in the Southern states, talking to persons from all segments of the Southern population and working with local reporters from the institute's field staff. We were seeking to determine the "why" of the South's feelings on the segregation problem.

What does the Southern Negro want? Results of our interviewing show that by a three-to-two ratio he wants to have an integrated educational system. About one Negro in nine at this time is undecided.

Negro sentiment is more strongly in favor of ending segregation in waiting rooms, buses and trains. The recent Interstate Commerce Commission ruling which outlawed segregated travel between states is approved of today—among Negroes—by a vote of 6-to-1. Only about one Negro in 25 is undecided on this point.

Commercial Appeal
Tues. 2-28-56
Memphis, Tenn.

The questions that we asked and their results:

"The U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. This means that all children, no matter what their race, must be allowed to go to the same schools. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?"

SOUTHERN NEGROES ONLY	
Approve	53%
Disapprove	36
Undecided	11

"The Interstate Commerce Commission has ruled that racial segregation on trains, buses and in public waiting rooms must end. Do you approve or disapprove of this ruling?"

SOUTHERN NEGROES ONLY	
Approve	82%
Disapprove	14
Undecided	4

In determining the Negro viewpoint, we had conversations with hundreds of Negroes in all parts of the South. Negroes living on farms and in the cities were given a chance to express their views.

To make sure that a true picture of Negro opinion was obtained, the Institute assigned both white and Negro reporters to work on this phase of the study.

Idealism and Practicality

Behind the opinions on each side of the picture—the case for integration as well as that for continued segregation—there is a mixture of idealism and practicality.

Those Negroes who favor integration do so mainly for what one might term "idealistic" reasons—the idea that "all men are created equal" or that "We were all made alike, weren't we?".

"God created everyone equal and Negroes should have the same educational opportunities as white people," said a 22-year-old wife of a hospital attendant in Tallahassee, Fla. Commenting on the ICC's ruling, she went on, "My money is just as good as the whites and I should be allowed to sit where I please."

Other Negroes who favor integration have the opinion that such a move would help their children get a better education or generally increase the Negro's material comforts. Their viewpoint, by and large, is based on "practical" reasons.

"I'm for it," stated a 64-year-old chauffeur from Charleston, S. C., "I think the children will get a better education. As it is now in the South, the colored children don't get as good as the white."

A 52-year-old Atlanta furniture assembler had the following to say about segregation in trains, buses and waiting rooms: "I travel a good bit and some places you go there are no places for colored people. Why, it's a terrible pressure. Our street car service is an example of what we have to go through. There just seems no sense to it."

Fear For Children

The case for continued segregation in the schools—a view held by roughly one Negro in three—again has this mixture of idealism and practicality somewhere in its background.

The main difference is that in the vote for integration, the idealism predominates, whereas in the vote for segregation, practicality in the prime reason. In other words, the possibility of Negro children receiving unequal treatment from white teachers, the threat of trouble and violence when the schools are mixed, and—in some cases—the good chance that most Negro teachers would lose their jobs.

"I wouldn't like it," said a 62-year-old widow from Raleigh, N. C. "Why? Because it would be dangerous — we've never mixed before. I like our way of schools and I think the white people would rise up against it. I think the whites seem to have something against us."

"I think it would throw the colored teachers out of work," commented the wife of a TVA employe in Tuscumbia, Ala. "I just don't think the mixed races would get along together."

'Won't Have A Chance

Fear over how the Negro children would fare in mixed schools is evident in the views of a 55-year-old farm housewife from the little town of Cotton Plant, Ark. (pop. 1,838)

"I think the colored children should stay in their own race. If all the children were to go to school together, I don't think they will get along. The white children will tramp on the colored children and the colored children won't have a chance to learn like they should. I don't think the white teachers will take pains and teach the colored children."

Behind the vote for the status quo there is also a small amount of idealism—a desire to "keep things as they always was"—which is seen in the following viewpoint of a school teacher from Augusta, Ga.:

"I'm against it. I have never lived in any other section of the country—I was born and reared here. There are certain things I'm accustomed to and I feel we have done pretty well so far."

One also encounters some Negroes who are truly "on the fence" over the question of segregation. The housewife of a shipyard worker in Jacksonville said to me: "It's so hard to say how I feel—the Lord will just have to fix it. I've never been mixed up with white people. I was always black and I figured to stay in the black race. I've never been mixed up and I just don't know how it would come out."

ICC Ruling Different Story

As the results indicate, the opposition to integration comes primarily in the matter of mixed schools. On the question of ending segregation in waiting rooms and on public conveyances, only one Negro in seven is opposed to such a move.

A 46-year-old farmer who lives just outside of Plain Dealing, La., (pop. 1,321) disapproves of the Supreme Court ruling because "I feel like we are not quite ready for it. At first the young people—in both races—would do quite a bit of wrong things." But in the matter of ending segregation in waiting rooms and on buses and trains, he approves. "I think then that the children will be guarded by their parents and it will work all right," he reasons.

HITS HYPOCRISY OF SEGREGATION FOES IN NORTH

Daily Journal Chicago Ill. Sat. 5-12-56

So. Carolina Governor Raps 'Propagandists'

Rivers' Bridge, S. C., May 11 (AP)—Northern advocates of racial integration were challenged today by Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr. of South Carolina "to cast off their hypocrisy and accept the Negro into their communities, their institutions, and their families."

Timmerman called on "the integrationist to prove his sincerity" by supporting a program of voluntary migration of Negroes from the south to communities "where racial mixing is acceptable."

He said "a federal program of financial aid to enable those who want to mix to move" to other areas "would cost only a fraction" of the billions advocated for foreign aid.

Hits "Nosey North"

Timmerman spoke at the 80th annual Rivers' Bridge Confederate Memorial association ceremonies that commemorate a Civil war battle near here.

Calling that war the "war of northern aggression," Timmerman charged that its cause was not Negro slavery in the south but "the determination of Northern plutocrats to establish national control under which the policies of the north would determine the policies of the nation.

"Much has changed in the last 90 odd years," Timmerman continued, "but some things remain the same. The north continues to be prone to stick its nose into somebody's business, especially the business of the south, while ignoring and even promoting deplorable conditions in its own areas.

'Loud, Obnoxious, Untruthful'

"Northern propagandists are as loud, obnoxious, and untruthful today as the abolitionists a century ago. . ."

Timmerman said "the integrationist, like the abolitionist, is a hypocrite" because "he proclaims in the name of brotherly love that southern segregation is discrimination, while ignoring and cultivating deplorable conditions in his own area."

"The ghetto of Harlem, the lawless slums of Washington, the frequent—but frequently ignored—race riots in schools, parks, and playgrounds, the muggings and switchblade cuttings and 32 months of racial disorder in Chicago's Trumbull Park [housing development], all are models of those deplorable conditions," he continued.

"By comparison, the southern Negro has achieved the best record of lawful conduct of any member of his race in the nation."

Singles Out Oregon

Timmerman said that under a voluntary migration program "the state of Oregon could become a real model for the nation."

"I mention Oregon," he explained, "because its two United States senators [Morse and Neuberger, both Democrats] have been loudest in proclaiming the virtues of integration, and I assume they represent the views of their people.

"I also mention Oregon because I have advocated such a program for Oregon before, and I have received little complaint from the people of that state. . ."

Gettysburg, Pa., where President Eisenhower has a farm, "could become an eastern mecca of integration," Timmerman continued. "High officials in Washington could establish their homes there and enjoy the blessings that they advocate for other people."

"I challenge the northern leaders of both major parties to incorporate such a program in the platforms of the parties," he asserted.

Issue One of Principle

"I challenge the senior senator from Oregon [Morse] to advocate and support this voluntary program as a major plank in his platform for reelection."

He said he does not expect his challenges to be accepted because "the integrationist is a hypocrite."

He maintained that "the time has come for the south to assert its political strength" since "the current trend in national affairs clearly indicates that the south can expect little consideration unless the states of the south are willing to organize."

"The south needs to stand firm and insist that the Democratic party write a platform and provide a candidate that is acceptable to the south," he declared. "The real issue is one of principle. It is our right to determine for ourselves the course of our future and our lives. It is more personal than the underlying issue of the war of northern aggression."

Able And Willing

Advertiser 12-b

At times past, Herman Talmadge had seemed to exploit the prejudice against the Negro in an undue and disagreeable way. But in the circumstances of today—with the white South at bay and combining itself more and more into a solid mass to fend the rash onslaught—Talmadge is no longer a singular figure. *He will be joined by more and more hitherto discreet or liberal Southern congressional figures, or else they will not* continue to be congressional figures.

If the adventurers and dudes among the Northern abolitionists continue their red-eyed exertions, the time is not too distant when *you won't be able to tell Senator Fullbright and Lister Hill from Talmadge.*

—*The Advertiser*, May 10.

See now Pg. 1 of today's *Advertiser*. The thing above has come to pass, almost at a bound.

Every single one of Alabama's congressmen and senators has given it to *The Advertiser* in writing that he is ready to address Citizen Council rallies, the same as a P-TA, Eastern Star or plumbers' local.

This willingness to associate their names with a Citizen Council is newborn; so new, in fact, that it will surprise some Council leaders. They have encountered some cold shoulders up until now from congressmen.

★

THE open-for-business statement of Alabama's congressional delegation in today's *Advertiser* will undoubtedly send Council speaking invitations flying to Washington. Soon thereafter the congressmen and the Council audiences will have met.

After that, it will be hard for congressmen to evade membership in a Council.

★

LET THE Northern press and the national political leadership mark well who has now said he is prepared to lend his name to Council rallies.

Above all, there is Senator John Sparkman, who just four years ago was the Democratic nominee for vice president.

There is the lionized "liberal," Senator Lister Hill. He has just been elected to another six-year term without opposition. It cannot be said by Northern apologists that he has signed up to preserve his hide. The fact is, Senator Hill's record is pure on the preservation of segregation. He is orthodox Alabama and Dearborn, Mich., on this issue.

Moreover, by this act, the two senators and all the other congressmen know that they are offending something like 40,000 Negro voters in Alabama. But they have done it in response to a demanding public sentiment that was expressed by the annihilation of Folsom at the polls.

★

BUT THIS is only one recent, spectacular demonstration of the irreconcilable resistance of the white South that should be scrutinized by Northern editors and Democratic leaders.

The dreamers, not all of whom were Northerners, were so superficial in their insights as to suppose that "liberal" North Carolina and Tennessee were different from other Southern states.

It is now in the record that North Carolina and Alabama are marching in close order along the same resistance road and that a North Carolina politician can't hold office without becoming an engine of resistance to race mixing. See Congressman Cooley. See Senator W. Kerr Scott.

★

BEHOLD Tennessee. Kefauver has now gotten his. He failed to get his own state delegation to pledge his vote to him at the coming Chicago convention.

Consider Gov. Frank Clement's reversal. He is beginning to talk like Talmadge. He was ambitious for preferment by the national party, but seeing the handwriting in Tennessee, he made an orthodox Southern statement recently in Atlantic City at the Governors' Conference.

★

WHAT has been missing in the Citizen Council is brains.

Second-rate medievalists have been too much in evidence.

Their clumsiness and grotesqueries have repelled many whose insistence upon race separateness was the same.

Recruiting the congressmen is a major step in achieving respectability.

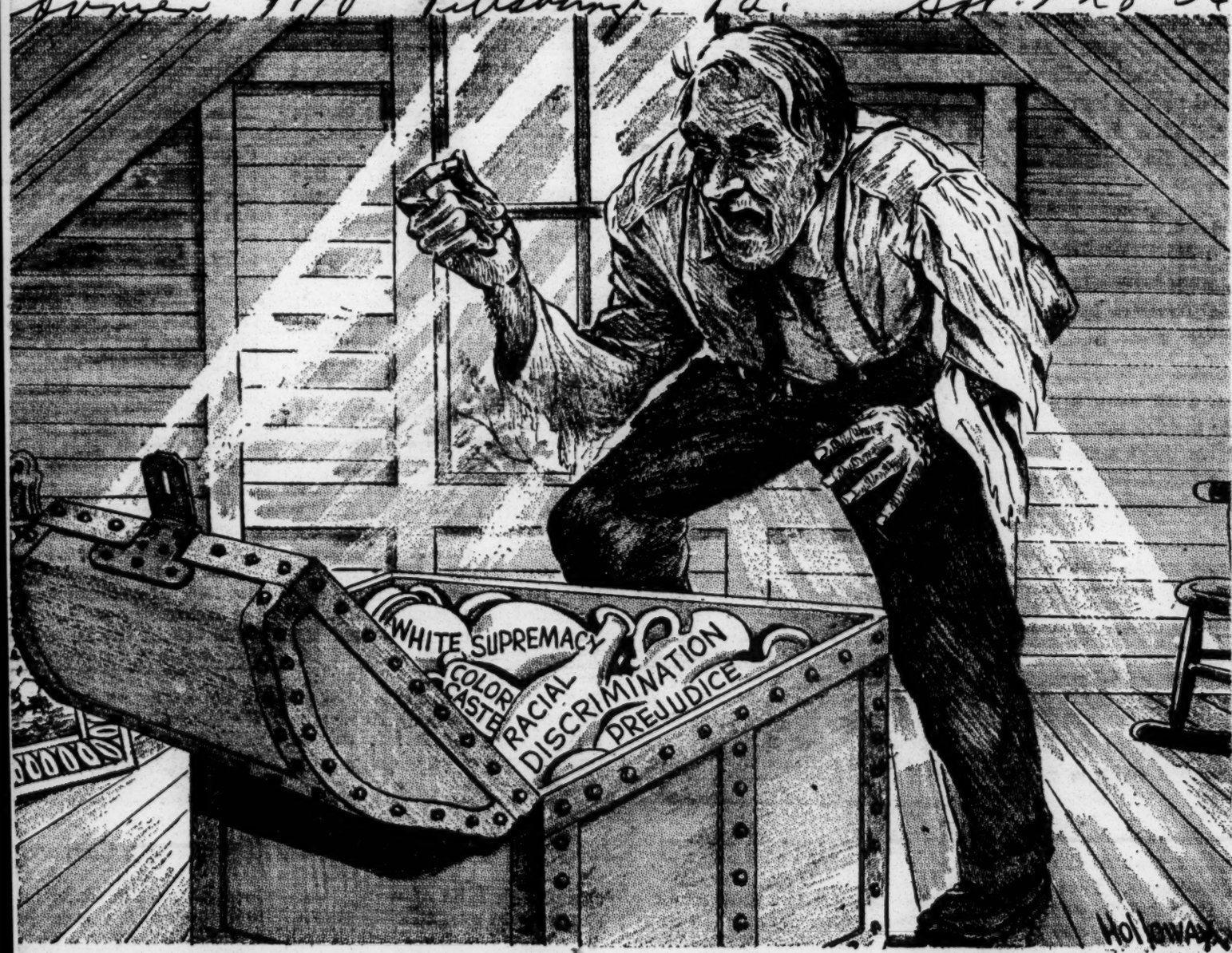
★

THE COUNCILS should identify them-

selves with a program of ungrudging, full and positive help to the Negro in achieving his destinies, apart.

Treasure Chest

Courier P.10 Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 7-28-56



IN ORDER to EXPLAIN why it is that so many people fail to rid themselves of the broken crockery of white supremacy, color caste, racial discrimination and prejudice, one has to UNDERSTAND that they often derive pleasure and satisfaction from hugging this "treasure."

Even the most ragged, IGNORANT and impoverished persons enjoy PERSONAL satisfaction and social status from feeling that they are "better than" somebody else.

Since it is IMPOSSIBLE for people to change their color and features, those who regard themselves as superior to them are assured of PERMANENT prestige, than which there is nothing more satisfying to PETTY individuals, and to those who PREY upon them.

The cold fact is that the United States' LACK of skin pigmentation is a social and economic ADVANTAGE regardless of intelligence or qualification, and the LESS wit and skill a white person has, the more desperately he clings to the ONLY asset he has—whiteness.

This is HIS great treasure which he holds FIERCELY to his breast, recognizing that without it he would be NOTHING in competition with numerous Negroes.

His LEADERS understand this all too well and play upon it to hold his allegiance and thus RETAIN their advantage.

By the same token, even light-colored people who are non-whites, derive smug SATISFACTION from being a few shades lighter than some of their neighbors, and thus looking down upon them.

This is a mighty SORRY treasure, and as individuals become better EDUCATED they find out HOW sorry it is and are willing to toss it aside for the REAL treaures of intellect, training and culture.

Unfortunately for our nation, and despite universal schooling, too FEW people have emerged from inferiority and fear.

BROWNELL SPEAKS OF CONSTITUTION

Times P.68

Says It Is 'Living Law' Must Prevail in Conflicts—Gets Fordham Degree

Jan. 2-12-56

Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. declared here yesterday that the Constitution was the country's "living law," even when it collided with state or Federal legislatures, and that the Supreme Court was its final interpreter. New York,

The Attorney General made the statement in a speech before the Fordham University Law Ilumi Association after he had received the university's honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Some observers regarded the statement as having special pertinence because of the Supreme Court's decision last year directing desegregation of public schools and the resultant disturbances at the University of Alabama. However, Mr. Brownell declined to be drawn into any comment on this.

Mr. Brownell's speech, "Dual Sovereignty Under the Constitution," reviewed important historical decisions of the Supreme Court in dealing with conflicts between the states and the Federal Government.

Discussing the contributions of John Marshall, the third Chief Justice of the United States, Mr. Brownell declared that his "nationalism" had been "boldly and eloquently proclaimed in case after case." In Marshall's decisions, Mr. Brownell said, "we find the birth of those concepts of Federal sovereignty which were to contribute such vitality and strength to the infant nation."

"Perhaps the real core of Marshall's legacy," the Attorney General said, "lies in the view that although the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, it must not lose contact with the daily affairs and needs of its people; that it is living law, even when it collides with the will of the legislature, state of Federa; and that the judiciary, with the Supreme Court at its apex, is the natural and final interpreter of the Constitution."

Mr. Brownell told the 1,250 persons attending the association's luncheon in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel that there had been increasing understanding "that the national government and the states need not and should not be regarded as competitors for authority."

Flexibility Noted

"Rather," he continued, "wisdom has dictated that we recognize two levels of government cooperating with or complementing each other in meeting the demands upon both. Especially significant has been the increased recognition of the importance of state and local governments as essential and necessary elements in an effective system of government.

"Experience has shown that both in theory and in result this dual system of sovereignty possesses the necessary degree of flexibility to meet the crises of the present and future as successfully as it has met them in the past."

Mr. Brownell asserted that it seemed "quite clear that if we bring to our governmental system patience, understanding, and a will to act wisely and effectively, both a proper and effective balance will be maintained.

The Attorney General observed that judicial precedent afforded "many guides to a determination of what may or may not be undertaken by either the state or Federal Government or both."

He said that the country's most difficult economic, educational and social problems could be solved peacefully within its system of dual sovereignty.

During the luncheon, which marked the Fordham Law School's Golden Jubilee Celebration, the association's medal of achievement was presented to Louis Stein, president of Food Fair Stores, Inc. Mr. Stein, a Fordham alumnus, was cited for "outstanding achievement in the fields of law and business and for distinguished leadership in educational and community welfare activities."

38a 1956

GENERAL

Whom God Wishes to Destroy

Courier P.O. Sat. 4-14-56

OVER two and one-half milleniums ago, Euripides wrote: "Whom God wishes to destroy, he first makes mad."

Today we see CONFIRMATION of this sapient observation in the ACTION of a hundred Congressmen and Senators OPPOSED to the decision of the United States Supreme Court ordering public school desegregation.

These people are presumably VOICING the sentiments of their Southern constituents who UPHOLD racial segregation and discrimination as a "way of life," but FAIL to recognize that they are digging their own GRAVES.

It is a SAD circumstance because Southern white people (who are NOT unanimous on these questions) constitute only 30 per cent of the population of this country which otherwise APPROVES of what Dixie opposes.

ATTACKING the Supreme Court of the United States for rendering decisions which Southern extremists RESENT thus becomes a form of SUICIDE which only mad people would think they could afford.

These mad people MUST know that persistence in their campaign against the Supreme Court can only lead to their OWN destruction.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

There has to be some FINAL arbiter of disputes, some agency to INTERPRET the basic law of the land; and, if THAT is flouted, what is there left to make representative government MEANINGFUL?

The FUNDAMENTAL questions raised by the Supreme Court are NOT answered by a campaign of vilification and the tossing of rotten vegetables in the hallowed corridors.

The QUICKEST way to completely DESTROY the traditional South and all it stands for, is for it, in its MADNESS, to persist in its attacks upon the SYMBOL of the American system of justice.

Dixie's Negro: A Wasted Resource!

Advocate

From The Charlotte News

Broach the "Negro problem" to any group of Southerners today and tempers are likely to sizzle like fatback dropped in a hot skillet. But out of the emotional atmosphere surrounding this aged-in-anguish dilemma, a sobering fact emerges: The Negro is a part, both creator and creature, of Southern culture, for whom the region is responsible as for all other groups.

Even those who despise the Negro will admit, if reluctantly, that he is an important factor in Dixie's economy. What is not always admitted is the fact that he will contribute more to the economic well-being of the region as he receives better education, better political, economic and social opportunities.

Jackson, Miss.

The South, for better or for worse, is inhabited by roughly 10½ million Negroes. This figure represents a gigantic manpower potential. But it is fairly obvious throughout the Southern states that Negroes are not contributing what they should to Dixie. They are not contributing because full use is simply not being made of all this human wealth.

Sat. 4-14-56

The most regrettable aspect of the situation is the difficulty many intelligent Negroes have in securing a higher education.

38a General

At the very time a great deal of public attention has been given to the pros and cons of racial segregation in Dixie's public schools, a private philanthropic organization has centered its attention on ways to help talented young Negroes to get a college education. The National Scholarship Service and the Fund for Negro Students, sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education, has undertaken the task in an effort to make fuller use of this important manpower potential. Its principal aims: To discover more college-qualified Negro students in the South; to encourage these students to develop their abilities; to provide them with information and asasistance in obtaining college scholarships; and to furnish financial aid when needed. It is known as the Southern Project.

According to Benjamin Fine, one of the nation's leading education writers, the organization's talent search in Dixie has uncovered a surprising number of Negro students of college ability. In two years some 500 students have been aided.

During this relatively short period, the project has greatly increased the number of southern Negroes enrolled in colleges, increased the number of information and testing facilities for future Negro college students and, more important perhaps, increased professional and public awareness of an important slice of the nation's hidden manpower reserve.

Trained manpower is needed in the South and in the nation as a whole. With sufficient education, Negroes can help meet this need. Not only can they serve their own race better but they can benefit the nation's entire economic community. The aims of the Southern Project rise above prejudice. They are, in fact, more akin to national and regional self-interest.

Cast Out The Beam, You Yankees

Editor Virginius Dabney In The Richmond Times-Dispatch

THE noble city of Dearborn, Mich., (population 130,000), cheek-by-jowl with Detroit, won't permit even one Negro to settle there. Mayor Orville Hubbard of Dearborn is the first one to admit it, and he proclaims it loudly.

What does Gov. "Soapy" Williams of Michigan, who is always lecturing the South about its shortcomings in dealing with the race problem, have to say about this? "Soapy" practicaly blows a gasket at the thought of "race outrages" below the Mason and Dixon Line, but can he name a Southern city anywhere which positively refuses to let even one Negro settle within its borders?

Mayor Hubbard's approach to this problem is direct and effective. In a telephone interview with *The Montgomery Advertiser* he put it this way:

"They can't get in here. We watch it. Every time we hear of a Negro moving in—for instance, we had one last year—we respond quicker than you do to a fire. That's generally known. It's known among our own people and it's known among the Negroes here."

The Times-Dispatch strongly deplores this rough stuff — which evidently is carried on routinely in Dearborn, Mich. It must be plenty rough, in view of the fact that there are 500,000 Negroes only a few miles away in Detroit.

WE PRESENT these facts merely with a view of showing that our sanctimonious friends in the North ought to take a look around their own back yards before they offer advice so freely to us in Dixie. And we'd like to see them devote maybe 10% as much newspaper space to the "racist" goings-on up there as they devote to our shortcomings here below.

To such a monstrous situation as that in the Trumbull Park housing project in Chicago, for example.

Reference was made to this in these columns last week, but our attention has been directed since then to the following in the *Christian Century* for March 21:

"In August, 1953, one Negro family, and subsequently up to 30 Negro families, were moved into the project which already housed 450 white families. The whites in the project were neutral, but the whites in the surrounding neighborhood of South Deering objected violently—so violently in fact that from 200 to 1,000 policemen every 24 hours were needed to protect the Negroes. Today about 200 policemen are still needed. The police costs alone after 31 months are staggering . . . As for the preachers in the communities near South Deering, they might as well have been on the other side of the world."

Suppose 200 or more policemen had been required to stand by around the clock for 31 months in any Southern city to prevent Negroes from being mobbed—there would have been apoplectic strokes from Boston's Back Bay to the shores of Lake Michigan. Suppose any Southern city had deliberately prevented every single Negro from settling there, and loudly proclaimed its firm intention to keep on doing so. Averell Harriman, Hubert Humphrey, Soapy Williams and the whole kaboodle of professional "liberals" from the North would have shaken the rafters with denunciations of Southern "bigots," "Negrophobes," etc., etc.

BUT since these things are happening in the North, and not in the South, we don't hear a peep out of Averell, Soapy, et al. All they can talk about is how President Eisenhower ought to send federal troops into Alabama and Mississippi.

The South isn't perfect, and never claimed to be, but this hypocritical attitude toward us on the part of some Northerners is getting more than a little tiresome.

Editorial of the Week

Crisis In The South

AMERICAN democracy is being put to a crucial test in the South. Lawlessness and disregard of constitutional and human rights have become a virtual pattern in many states. Even murder is no longer excluded as a weapon of political domination.

Behind this reign of terror are those who are determined to maintain segregation and preserve "white supremacy." A voteless Negro population is their objective and no method of achieving this end—no matter how lawless—is barred.

Competing for first place in this brutal contest is Mississippi, where the Negro population is almost entirely disenfranchised. Here only ½ per cent of the nearly one million Negroes living in this state dared to vote in the 1955 primary elections. Only 1 per cent has been permitted to register.

Recently, Rev. George W. Lee, a Baptist minister living in Belzoni, Miss. and the first of his race to register in his county, paid with his life for the privilege of voting. So did Lamar Smith of Lincoln County. Later, Gus Courts, a leader of the NAACP, was critically wounded for urging Negro voters to register in Humphreys County. As usual, no indictments and no convictions. Such is Mississippi's recipe for keeping the vote 99.5 per cent "pure."

People in the South are often impatient with those who criticize their ways. They say we just don't understand, and this time they are right. We do not understand why Emmett Till had to be murdered for acting like a 14-year-old boy on a holiday. We also fail to understand the other methods the White Citizens Councils are using to undermine the law of the land; the refusal to sell food and supplies to those who are in favor of integrating schools; the denial of jobs to Negro teachers who are members of the NAACP; the cancellation of mortgages and loans on Negro-owned property and the countless other violations of human decency that make a mockery of our democratic traditions.

The public outcry against this campaign of terror has been heard throughout the country and immediate action by the federal government has been demanded. In response to this hue and cry, President Eisenhower proposed that Congress appoint a bipartisan commission to study, report and recommend. While such a study may have merit, we feel it is no substitute for immediate action. The Democrats are also skirting the issue, in the interests of party unity, and thus far they, too, have failed to come up with a plan for action.

In the meantime, people are living in terror in many parts of our land. How long will they have to wait?

(JLC Labor Reports)

RACIAL DISHARMONY OF NORTH IS CITED

Montgomery Editor Terms Unrest Significant

NAACP MAN SPEAKS, TOO

By The Associated Press

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 11.—A Southern editor and a Northern Negro leader both charged here Sunday that racial disharmony is prevalent in the North as well as the South.

Grover C. Hall Jr., editor-in-chief of the Montgomery Advertiser, said racial unrest in the North is even more significant because of relatively few Negroes "and they start out with equality and theoretical acceptance."

Gloster B. Current of New York, who directs the program and organizational activities of some 1,600 branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had this to say:

"In the North we struggle with the subtleties and hidden aspects of discrimination and segregation. In no community in this nation where there is a sizable Negro population can you say the problem of race relations have been completely solved."

Addressed To New York

Mr. Hall made his comments in a letter to James A. Wechsler, editor of the New York Post, which was reprinted on the editorial page of the Sunday Advertiser. Current's remarks were included in an address Sunday to bus boycott leaders at a Negro church.

The Advertiser editor, whose late father won a Pulitizer prize for fighting the Ku Klux Klan, said a New York Post columnist told him an official map exists showing how school districts in New York "are gerrymandered to achieve segregation."

Noting that dozens of reporters from all over the world have covered the Montgomery Negro bus boycott story in recent weeks, Mr. Hall proposed that Mr. Wechsler assign the columnist, Murray Kempton, to him for a week in New York "to get something of the New York story for Alabamans."

"Since all the New York reporters are down here doing the Alabama story, I propose to help fill their vacuum in New York," Mr. Hall added.

'Real Story' Missed

The Alabama editor said, with few exceptions, New York newspapers "merely peck" at stories of racial discrimination in the North.

Current, the NAACP leader, said recent racial unrest in the South has brought the "dirty aspects of Jim-Crowism" and mob violence "out into the open."

"The nation does not like what it sees," Current continued, but "this is all to the good for during the present conflict a lot of soul-searching is going on, and that ultimately means something constructive will be done."

In all the "exciting conflicts of recent months," Current said, "the real story" of continued desegregation in border states is being missed.

"Where integration has been tried the evidence clearly demonstrates that it is workable," he said, adding that opponents of desegregation are "fearful this positive evidence would destroy the myth of 'white supremacy'."

Outlining the fight against integration by state Legislatures in the South, Current declared in an address prepared for delivery at the Bethel Baptist Church here:

"They can legislate until doomsday. None of these bills are going to stop the freedom train as it moves toward the distant station of full integration."

He said opponents of racial integration are using economic pressure, intimidation, terror-ism and violence, but white citizens councils have learned that "Negroes don't beg anymore. They have been working saving their money. They learned discipline, not to trade with a merchant who was a member of the council."

Politics Makes Strange Bedfellows

Defender p. 4

According to that nemesis of most politicians, Columnist Drew Pearson, some strange dealings are going on these days between the White House and the Grand Kleagle of the "Order To Preserve Segregation — even if it means going out into the streets and shooting down Negroes," James O. Eastland.

Chicago Ill

Now we've heard of slick horse trading in our time because there used to be a man in our town who could sell you a hobble-kneed mule, blind in one eye with his teeth out and make you believe he was a thoroughbred stallion, Trader Joe was his name and he's long dead and gone.

But now comes Trader Ike and Trader Herb and Trader Jim with another kind of fancy deal the like of which we ain't never hee'rd of, for these boys have got Trader Joe beat all hollow. They swap across party lines.

Sat. 4-21-56

While Herbie trots up to Capitol Hill with his overdue package of civil rights proposals — none of which has a feeble chance of passing, the chief stumbling block to rights passage, Democratic Jim Eastland is busily ladling out Republican patronage handed him by Ike in that bastion of white supremacy, MISSISSIPPI, USA.

We read on that one E. O. Spencer of Jackson, Miss., a turncoat in politics and a reputed member of the White Citizens' Council was a visitor at the White House and was entertained by Atty. General Herbert Brownell.

The loudest squawk on this nefarious bargaining has been from "absentee committeeman," Perry Howard who was shorn like a lamb after he and other ardent Taft followers campaigned against the nomination of Gen. Eisenhower in 1952 in Chicago.

The best explanation we can get out of the whole mess is that the Administration is buttering up Eastland who holds the powerful post of chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee to get him not to oppose the nomination of Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff to a Federal judgeship, and some other appointments Ike has coming up. We can bet the agreement has already been made to Eastland to just regard the civil rights proposals as so much hogwash. After all, it's an election year and you have to fool the colored people into thinking you're going to do something, when the truth is, you don't give a tinker's dam.

Hand us the air wick, Henry. There's an awful odor around!

Separation Of The Races By 'Nature'

News Thurs. 2-4-56

States having well organized colored community life, simply stationed colored and white students separately in their "natural" race where admittedly "human interest and enthusiasm" (a recognized factor in education) would "naturally" be greatest in association with racial kinship.

These states having thus respected "nature," or "natural" laws, have been ridiculed by critics and condemned by present Supreme Court.

P. 18

That it is right and honorable to respect "nature" and "natural" laws, applicable to the various subjects of man's dominion, is evidenced by the testimony of many great characters, a few of whom are quoted below:

Birmingham, Ala.

Charles Kingsley: "Study nature as the countenance of God."

Goethe: "There is no trifling with nature."

Longfellow: "The laws of nature are

Whitman: "Observe the divinity of nature."

Apostle Paul: "Doth not even nature itself teach you?"

Jefferson: "That it is to secure these rights (natural rights) that governments are instituted among men."

Emerson (abolitionist): "Nature respects race, and not hybrids. Every race has its own habitat."

Lincoln: "You (Negroes) and we are different races—we should be separated."

408 Title Building. PHIL JOINER.

Call P. 18
Kansas City, Mo.
Fri. 6-29-56

38a

Give To The NAACP Legal Defense-Educational Fund Inc.
107 W. 43rd Street
New York 36, N.Y.

"WHAT COUNTRY ARE WE IN NOW, MOM?"

Boycotts Hit Where It Hurts

Courier p. 11 Sat. 6-2-56

The boycott of buses by Negroes in Montgomery, Ala., made the parent company holler "Uncle!"

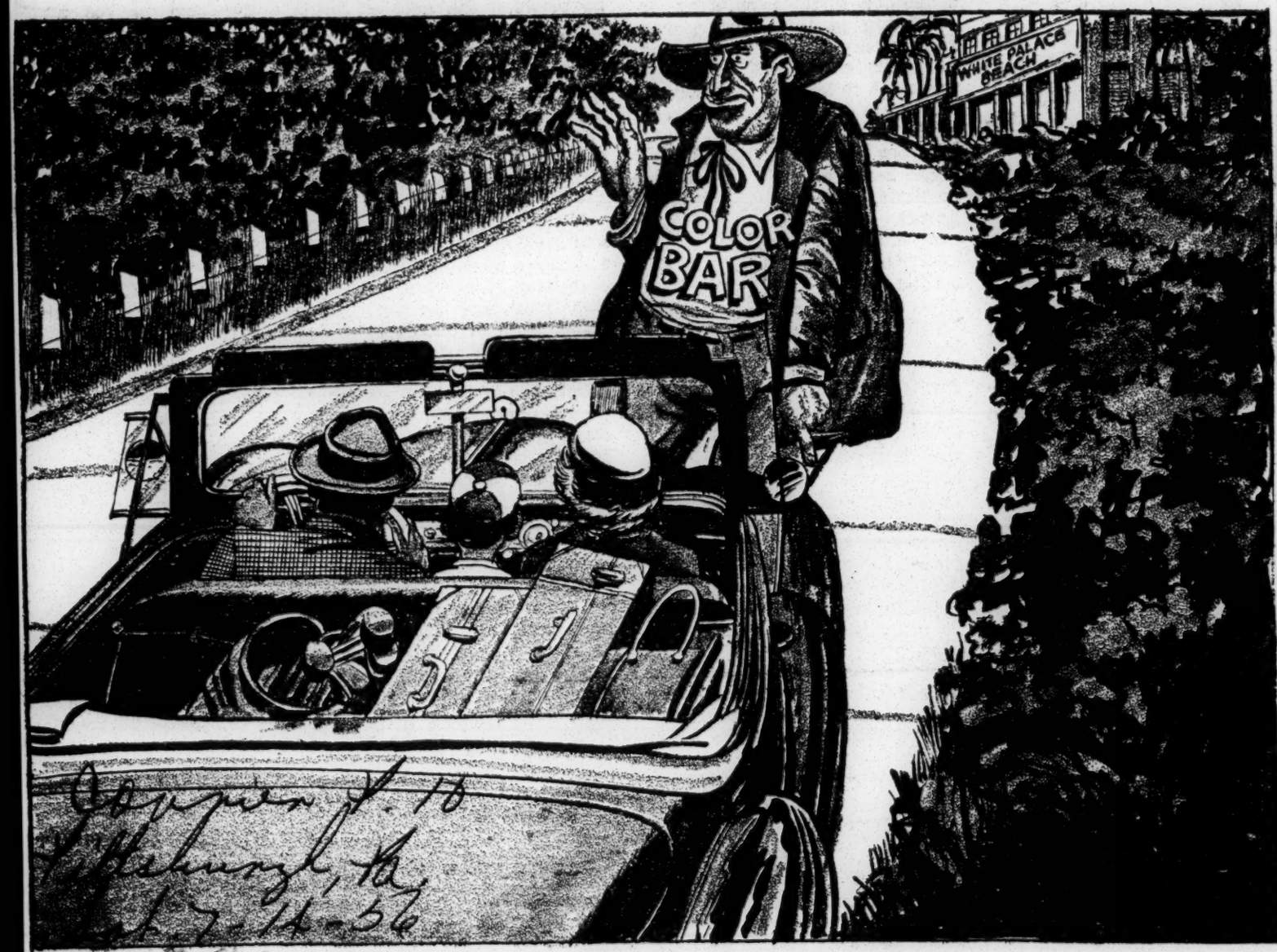
An apparently unorganized boycott of baseball parks of the Southern Association (because of jim-crow treatment in the parks and refusal to employ Negro players) has cut down revenue and become a matter of concern to the owners of clubs and the league leaders. It is a subject they don't want to talk about.

Pittsburgh, Pa

South Carolina has passed a law requiring merchants who sell Japanese textiles to display signs stating that they have Japanese wares. This is an open invitation to Negroes to buy these textiles as a protest against the discriminatory state employment laws in textile factories in South Carolina.

Boycotts, shrewdly used, are a powerful weapon. They hit where it hurts—in the pocketbook. When the Negro transfers his economic strength, or buying power, from his known enemies to his known friends, he will discover that the number of his friends will strangely increase.

Vacation Blockade



EACH vacation period in America demonstrates anew the extent of actual FREEDOM in the United States for colored citizens.

So far as THEY are concerned there is a vacation BLOCKADE as effective as any in history, since they are BARRED from the great majority of all beaches, mountain resorts, hunting lodges, motels and summer hotels in this country.

In large areas the blockade against Negro vacationists is LEGAL and in others it is CUSTOMARY, but the results are the SAME—they are UNWELCOME.

If these vacationists are seeking a beach resort, they will find themselves virtually BARRED from the ocean and many of the lakes and rivers, from the mountains and the glittering desert oases.

So far as finding places that will FREELY admit them as guests, they might as well IGNORE the overwhelming majority of the advertisements in the newspapers and magazines.

Were it not for the few "Y", church and private Negro resorts, colored vacationists would have scarcely ANY place to go.

To be sure there has been SOME improvement in the past ten years or so in opening publicly owned resorts, beaches, parks and swimming pools to Negro vacationists, but this is almost NOTHING to compare with places where OTHERS may go and where THEY are barred.

The population shift from country to city makes more IMPERATIVE the provision of vacation facilities but in this connection the urbanized Negro is far WORSE off than other citizens, and his NEED is as great or greater.

Thanks to the ENTERPRISE of a few Negro entrepeneurs, we do have a few MORE places to go; but the vacation blockade is STILL formidable.

Much more must be done before WE win freedom of the seas.

A Novel Statement

HERE is a rather novel if not eccentric statement:

ATLANTA, June 5 (AP)—A Negro lawyer wants Negroes to launch a counterattack on backers of racial segregation he says are using mass communications in an effort "to divide and poison the minds of Northern whites."

Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., secretary of Howard University [Washington, D. C.] . . . said articles by Southerners in national magazines and their appearance on network radio and television programs constitute a "dangerous course of action."

In the first place, had some secretary of a white college made a speech contending that Southerners should speak up, it is questionable whether it would have received the generous space apportioned to Dr. Nabrit's speech.

In the second place, it must occur to Southerners in one more spasm of exasperation that national newspapers, magazines, radio and TV have for years made pets of Negro spokesmen.

Now that the South is bewildering the North with what they have failed to behold in their own backyards, we get a bleat like that from Dr. Nabrit.

But what arrests the attention is Dr. Nabrit's testimony that the South is striking some telling blows. Northerners are neither fools nor scoundrels, they just haven't been competently informed by their papers, most of which are in hock to the ante-bellum fantasies of Harriet Beecher Stowe.

What is needed above all else is for the Southern people to put their senators and congressmen to work as engines of propaganda. They cannot be ignored and as a class they are more able than the run of the Resistance leaders. We need to get our congressmen wound up, and to dismiss our braying leadership since they weaken and embarrass the Resistance with their Tom Heflin style. Virginia, for one, is stern in its determination, but its leaders are cool and sensible; they command respect.

Racial Tension Persists

Time Called Remedy In South's Dilemma

Post & Times Herald Washington, D.C. Mon. 7-16-56 P. 1

(Second of Two Articles)

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

It has been said that any effective solution to the school segregation dilemma in the Deep South will call for the utmost in human engineering.

Baker

After a trip of several weeks and several thousand miles in the area that premise rings true to this reporter.

Human engineering, according to many Southern observers, would include a delicately balanced and working combination between voluntary action and, at times, legal nudging; much must be left to local discretion, moral persuasion, appeal to reason, and time, time, time.

This does not sound reasonable to those taking the extreme positions.

On the one hand, there are those who would demand immediate and outright compliance, and with force if necessary. This side can see no middle ground. They reason that this is a question of fundamental human rights under our form of government and, they ask, what right does a community have to reject or permit, to any degree it sees fit, constitutional guarantees?

On the other hand, there are those who vow they will never comply. They see the Supreme Court's desegregation decision not only destroying a way of life, but also destroying the Constitution itself by taking away rights belonging to the states.

They, too, can see no middle ground, because anything less than their stand is acceptance of the decision and the principle of integration, and that they will not have.

There is no doubt that the vast majority of Southern whites prefer segregated schools, at least at this time. This presents a dilemma for the South: How to protect the constitutional rights of a Negro minority against the preference of the white majority?

If desegregation is to come to many areas in the Deep South with constant and recurring turbulence, it must be accepted, even though reluctantly, by a majority of the people.

There is a middle ground. On it are many Southerners, dedicated to law and human decency, who live in uneasy silence today because it is unpopular and unrewarding, in the present climate, to suffer the squeeze of the two extremes. It would seem they hold the answer.

The hard core of resistance today appears to be an immovable object. The Supreme Court decision, on the other hand, appears to be an irresistible force. One of the two must give.

Post & Times Herald

An official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in South Carolina had this thought:

Washington, D.C.

The press toward desegregation should be made now only in the more liberal and moderate places, in those places where tension is less. Let the tension ease in the Deep South and let the white man adjust to this new concept.

Times 7-16-56

His point is that time will help soften this hard core until some acceptance will come.

P. 19

It is logical that those areas in the South with fewer Negroes would require less time. It is no accident, of course, that Oklahoma with 6 per cent Negroes and Kentucky with 7 per cent are integrating their schools, and Tennessee (16 per cent) is moving in that direction.

It is no accident that the greatest resistance is in Mississippi (45 per cent), South Carolina (38 per cent), Alabama and Louisiana (32 per cent) and Georgia (30 per cent).

An official in Clarendon County, S. C., commented that "the Negroes picked the wrong spot when they filed their suit here, because we have nine Negroes for every white, and integration just won't work."

Much depends on the outcome of suits now pending, and the reaction to them. There still has been no defiance of a final court decree in these suits.

Particularly significant will be the outcome of a special session of the Virginia General Assembly which will consider a positive state policy, since its stand-pat policy has been cracked by a court ordering a start toward desegregation of the Charlottesville schools. The South historically has looked upon Virginia as a leader.

There are other questions yet to be answered. If the hard core does not soften, and tension remains or increases, will the South's industrial growth slow down, and, if so, will the South be willing to accept this?

Serious predictions have been made that public schools will be abolished in defiance of the Supreme Court decision. Is the South willing to let this tragedy happen? There are many persons in the South who are not willing to let it.

Is the South willing to live a life under constant tension and continuous litigation?

There is no one voice in the South today. There are many voices in varied places, and a battle is going on between the old and the new. There are prejudice and narrowmindedness and bigotry, but there also are morality, progress and courage, and the South is fighting it out.

Racial No Man's Land

Guardian Sat. 3-3-56 Boston, Mass.

BY MONROE MASON

White Supremacy will zoom to unknown heights if Rep. Adam C. Powell's amendment is not a part of the nation's public school construction bill now pending in the present session of Congress. P. 1

Also contemplated by fanatic leaders of the solid south and border states are economic racial reprisals with an objective to punish thousands of Colored men, women and children to make them involentary public wards like contrabands of war during the Civil War because of the segregation issue.

Foreign nagging against the United States will also become more intense as time marches on and provoking racial incidents multiply to cast darkened shadows over a nation whose sponsorship of democracy has been deemed as its greatest asset! Political leaders of both parties are dazed on how the tide has suddenly turned on the seething racial issue that has flagrantly leaped into a caldron almost far beyond solution.

An intensive racial boycott of riding on city buses in Birmingham, Ala., and malicious burning of magazines and newspapers published in the north has molded a grave problem that may involve the Federal Government to impose drastic measures on law enforcement agencies of these harrassed jurisdictions demanding them to assure law and order also safeguard racial citizens from frenzied White Supremacy mobs.

Nearly 30 pages of The Congressional Record, a legislative pamphlet of the U.S. Congress was recently devoted to an alleged expose of the National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People, depicting this organization as overwhelmingly Communistic and subversive.

So far nothing has been done to substantiate this legislative diatribe by citation of NAACP leaders to defend their organization or explain why this one-sided subversive charge should be given nationwide publicity without a chance to answer or challenge its authenticity!

Rep. Adam C. Powell, N. Y. along with the NAACP has been a stormy petral in Congress alarming the nation continuously since the U. S. Supreme Court's Desegregation Public School decision that his race must remain on guard against the upsurge of White Supremacy.

Guardian

The question has arisen in many sections of the nation has Powell extended his racial pleas too far in which a justifiable racial comprise could be endangered, if serious attempts were made to curb unlooked for spreading racial strife in the solid south and border states. P. 4

Powell's methods to attain revenge instead of peace, an-eye-for-an-eye and tooth for a-tooth have enraged leaders of the solid south and border states. His indomitable rebuke against White Supremacy has turned scores of colleagues who were friends against him.

Fighting fire with fire can be calamitious, if the flames get beyond control. It may end that Powell carried a racial burden too over laden for him to bear. The doughty Congressman from New York can blame himself if the above belief is verified. Too much sounding-off to the public before an objective is reached might be his downfall.

Reps. Diggs, Mich., and Dawson, Ill., two of his racial colleagues in Congress have been indefatigueable workers for their race, who to date never assumed an overpowering attitude of leadership to alienate friends or incumber the issue they sponsored.

On this premise Powell's amendment to the nation's school construction bill in Congress hangs on a narrow thread that can snap when the poll is taken for its passage. Public opinion pro or con on any issue can change overnight! Powell's dilemma at this stage is to build his fences stronger before the climax is reached in the forum where he is a member.

The above, is only a reminder for Powell not to alienate any of his remaining friends in Congress. To do so, the result will be disastrous.

Below, is a news flash in disagreement with Powell and his church leader with over 5,000,000 communicants.

MIAMI, Feb. 28 — The influential National Baptist Convention, refused to endorse a proposal to stop work on March 28 to pray for Alabama ministers arrested in a bus boycott.

Dr. Joseph Jackson, president of the 5,000,000-member organization, said the local boycott in Montgomery, Ala., was "all right" but that a work stoppage in the nation would amount to "a nationwide economic boycott."

"I don't believe religion should be used as an economic boycott."

"Calling a halt to work is not in the Christian tradition."

Rep. A. Clayton Powell, Dem., of New York, a minister himself, and a group of other New York clergymen called for a stop work for one hour on March 28 to offer a prayer for the ministers arrested in the Montgomery bus boycott.

Powell, a member of the National Baptist Convention, said the work stoppage would be a prayer "for delivery from persecution and for the delivery of persons aafflicted with racial prejudice."

We are in favor of prayer, but we shall not go along with a nationwide economic boycott," said Jackson, who is here on vacation.

He said he talked by telephone with Powell and "I told him I greed with the prayer aspect, but I advised him strongly we would not support a nationwide economic boycott. Any work stoppage would be exactly that."

New Orleans Archbishop Rummel Speaks

Herald Sat. 8-18-56 P.20-A

Segregation Violates Christian Charity, 500 Married Couples Told

Miami Fla.

SOUTH BEND, Ind. —(AP)— Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans, controversial foe of racial segregation, asserted Friday night that segregation is a violation of Christian charity and basic natural law.

He spoke on "The Christian Viewpoint of the Racial Problem" in an address to more than 500 married couples attending the national convention of the Christian Family Movement at the University of Notre Dame.

"Can anyone," he asked, "affix the label or merit of charity upon customs that exclude civilized human beings from sharing with their fellow human beings certain facilities, conveniences and necessities of life, chiefly if not simply because they belong to a different race?"

He vigorously attacked the segregationist theory that "because of certain objectionable qualities the Negro race as a whole is incapable of integration with our American way of life."

He asserted if it were true that Negro children mentally lagged a year or two behind while children of equal age, it was not reasonable to expect to correct the situation by denying the Negro children "the stimulation that would result from competition with more gifted and ambitious white fellow pupils in an integrated system."

The archbishop said enforced segregation or isolation "tends to continue and even aggravate" unwholesome habits and habits charged to the Negro race.

He suggested that "politicians and industrialists promote segregation at times with an interest in perpetuating cheap labor and questionable working conditions, apparently forgetting the fact that the cost of living respects no color line."

Turning to the prospect of intermarriage between the races if segregation is abolished, Archbishop Rummel asserted:

"Integration deprives no one of the right to choose his friends or companions, nor does it deprive or relieve parents of the responsibility to supervise and guide their children in the choice of companions or playmates.

"We have been blind long enough," he said. "We have been brainwashed enough. It's past time when the Southern union man should put certain carpetbagger leaders on notice that they will pay their just and lawful dues but they have been taxed the last time for money to be turned over to organizations which are dedicated to the destruction of the South."

Guard Chief Says North Using Racial Issue To Stymie South

Advertiser P. 6-A

BIRMINGHAM, June 12 (AP)—Maj. Gen. Walter J. Hanna today charged that northern interests are using the race issue to halt the advances of the industrial South.

Hanna scrapped a talk about the Phenix City cleanup which he led to raise the issue. He said he was changing his subject because of the seriousness of the situation the South faces.

Montgomery, Ala.

Hanna commanded National Guard troops during martial law in Phenix City, and is given much credit for the successful 1954 crackdown on onetime vice lords of the river town. He spoke here at a Chamber of Commerce luncheon.

The Birmingham manufacturer said the current strike at U.S. Steel's Tennessee Coal and Iron Division mills, idling 25,000, may have been uncalled for. He suggested it could be part of "that giant conspiracy which has levelled against the South an increasing propaganda campaign."

TCI's mills have been shut down since a walkout of 264 members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen at midnight April 27.

The strike was called when company and union were unable to agree on demands of the transportation workers for pay and fringe benefit increases. No race issue was involved.

The TCI strike already has caused layoffs in Southern industries dependent upon steel. Hanna said if industry can de deprived of TCI steel the Southern boom can be stopped.

During the last 15 years South Carolina has topped Massachusetts in textiles, said Hanna; Louisiana has outgained New York in chemicals; and Georgia is outgrowing Wisconsin in paper production. And early next year Alabama will have boosted its primary metal production by 100 per cent in the last 10 years.

Hanna said it's time for Southerners, both white and Negro, to take a look at themselves.

He said the gains of the Negro in the South during the past 15 years have been the greatest in history, and the South is prospering because the Negro is prospering.

Segregation Unchristian, Rummel Says

Post & Times Herald P. 16

Washington, D.C.

Chicago Tribune Press Service

NOTRE DAME, Ind., Aug. 17

The Most Rev. Joseph F. Rummel, Roman Catholic Archbishop of New Orleans, asserted tonight that segregation conflicts with Christian precepts.

Sat. 8-18-56

He spoke at a convention of the Christian Family Movement at the University of Notre Dame.

"When America interprets the presence in our midst of some 15 million Negroes not as a liability but as a mission of charity planned in the wisdom of divine providence for their integration with the higher and better way of life, then will we see the dawn of an era of edification that will give to the world a new vision of our country's ideals,' the Archbishop said.

He asserted that social and economic shortcomings of individual Negroes cannot be charged against their race but are the product of the segregated conditions in which they live.

The Archbishop suggested that "politicians and industrialists promote segregation at times with an interest in perpetuating cheap labor and questionable working conditions."

The speaker denied that integration would lead to increased racial intermarriage, asserting that in places where integration exists the percentage of interracial marriages has been comparatively low.

Says Abe Lincoln Set Stage For Victory In Discrimination Fight

Call P. 18 Fri. 4-27-56

Kansas City, Mo.

SALEM, Ill.—(INS)— Pulitzer Prize Winning Historian Bruce Catton believes Abraham Lincoln set the stage for a winning battle against racial discrimination which the American people cannot abandon.

Speaking Sunday, April 22, at ceremonies marking the 125th anniversary of Lincoln's arrival in New Salem, Catton explained that among the critical decisions facing Lincoln as President, the most difficult was the Emancipation Proclamation. He added:

"It was and still is the loftiest ideal any nation has ever tried to follow, an ideal which even now is under severe attack, but which the American people can never stop trying to reach."

Catton acknowledged that there will be times when "the hideous old banner of racial superiority is raised," but declared:

"The men who raise this banner are fighting a rear-guard action and they cannot win. The decision was made nearly a century ago and it can never be reversed."

Catton was one of five noted persons awarded honorary degrees at ceremonies sponsored jointly by Gov. William Stratton and Lincoln college.

Tennessee Marks Segregation Break

CLINTON, Tenn., Aug. 17 (AP)—High school opens here Monday, marking the first break in the segregation barrier for public schools in Tennessee.

Twelve Negroes are enrolled. Despite some local opposition, they will be admitted.

At nearby Oak Ridge more than 100 Negroes have been attending school peacefully with white children for a year, but Oak Ridge is considered a "Government town."

D. J. Brittain Jr., principal of the all-white high school here, made the decision to integrate his school while the Anderson County School Board still was debating the issue.

Brittain, one of the officials named in a Federal court order to remove segregation barriers in the county, said he intends to "obey the order."

Will Integration Of Races Ever Come To The South?

Commercial Appeal

Thurs. 3-1-56 P. 1

By JOHN M. FENTON
Gallup Poll Staff Representative

Memphis, Tenn.

PRINCETON, N. J., Feb. 29.—Although an overwhelming majority of Southern whites—especially in the Deep South—are opposed to integration, a good many expect the day to come when segregation will end.

But they hope that day is a long way off.

With much bitterness at having something "shoved down our throats," 55 per cent of the white Southerners admit today that the time will eventually come when whites and Negroes will be going to the same schools, eating in the same restaurants, and generally sharing the same accommodations.

On the other hand, an important and articulate minority holds that integration will never come to Dixie. This group tends to feel it is something that "the South just won't permit."

Many Years Ahead

Negroes—a majority of whom want to have mixed schools—are more optimistic about the chances of full-scale integration. They too, however, think it will involve many years before it comes.

This reporter has just returned from the South where he directed the field operations of local reporters from the institute's staff in interviewing a true cross-section of the white and Negro population.

Only about one white person in eight in the South thinks that the people in his community will accept the decision quietly without any trouble or attempts at delay. This view is most prevalent in the "border states" of Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Texas where integration is already in effect in some communities and where the percentage of Negroes in the population is relatively low.

P. 15

Other white people we talked with believe that integration will be introduced into the schools, but only after a great deal of delay and trouble. Behind their thinking is the idea that "we'll have to do it, but we'll show them we don't like it before we do."

The views of a 72-year-old architect from Spartansburg, S. C., are typical on this point. "I believe people will stall for awhile," he said, "but they eventually will have to give in. I don't feel any violence will result except possibly some small incidents."

Negroes Are Hopeful

A majority of the Negroes are hopeful of co-operation of some kind in setting up mixed schools—even though many think it will be delayed for some time.

"I think all people will co-operate and have school together," said a Negro farm housewife in Arkansas, but she added. "I do believe though there will be some trouble."

To a great many white persons, the prospect of integrating with the Negro is so remote as to be unworthy of serious thought. These people are convinced that segregation will "just be kept like it always was."

A 37-year-old farmer who lives just outside of Clarksdale, Miss., commented: "Well, maybe I'm prejudiced—I'm a Mississippi Southerner. But I think the people will continue to have separate schools indefinitely—if they have schools at all."

The possibility that the South—if forced into integration—might not "have schools at all" is one discussed frequently. One hears much talk about the introduction of a private school system or—if that is not possible—"just keeping the kids out of school altogether."

"People will just not let the children go to the public schools if it comes," said a 21-year-old secretary from Wythesville, Va., "My children will never go to school with the Negroes."

Private Schools First

"The people around here will fight this thing," stated a 32-year-old candy salesman from Chattanooga, "I'll send my children to private schools before I'll let them mix with Negroes."

Adding up the score on the question of what people will do one finds that the "bitter-enders"—those who are thinking only in terms of preventing integration—outnumber the "go along reluctantly" group—by about 2-to-1.

A stubborn determination to "just not go along" with the Supreme Court's decision is most noticeable in the Deep South—in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina and Mississippi.

In these states, all of which have a Negro population larger than 30 per cent (and in some instances, counties where more than seven out of 10 persons are Negroes), only about one white person in five thinks there will be any kind of acceptance—willing or unwilling—of the integration decision at present. The rest talk about ways to continue segregation.

These are the states where a "hard core" of resistance is likely to be met with for many years to come.

Whereas talk of violence and bloodshed is practically negligible in other parts of the South, there are some white people in the Deep South states who think there will be riots, killings and such if the Negroes are "mixed in" with the whites.

Extreme attitudes on the question of integration are by no means confined to the general public. The same views are held by many law enforcement officials. Here, for example, is how the sheriff of a heavily Negro county in the Mississippi Delta feels about integration:

"I don't like it. First, for the simple reason that it is not right to force children into desegregation because of their color. Second, the white children in the South are farther advanced in their literary work than the colored children. Third, we are building good schools for colored children in this area; therefore, it is not necessary to mix the races.

"I believe segregation was intended," he went on, "otherwise, the laws of nature would not have made white and colored. The laws of nature cry out against mixing the races. Segregation is necessary in the South to prevent bloodshed and horror."

The sheriff admitted, however, that segregation would probably end some day, adding bitterly, "It will destroy the South in so doing."

For many Southern whites—like this sheriff—eventual integration is a bitter pill that they feel they will be forced to swallow because of "outside interests" and a North that doesn't really understand their problems.

Although it goes against a tradition and a "way of life" that they have always known, most admit that they will finally obey the Supreme Court's injunction because it is the law. As a New Orleans housewife said: "We have to accept the laws of our land, but we don't have to like them."

"Yeh, it will come someday, I guess," commented a 42-year-old construction worker from West Point, Miss., "there's just so many Negroes in the South and such power in the North. They just don't understand the situation."

For many people, it's just a case of accepting the inevitable, or as a Norfolk, Va., housewife put it: "It's either accept it or fight another civil war. I hate to think about it, but I suppose it will come."

Survey Conducted By 90 Reporters

The accompanying article is the last in a series of three reporting on the results of a special Gallup Poll study of segregation sentiments in the South.

Ninety specially selected reporters participated in the study and found widely divergent views. They interviewed both whites and Negroes in 13 Southern states.

John M. Fenton, the author of the stories, directed the survey. He also traveled extensively in the South, talking to voters.

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lic accommodations?"

The results for whites and Negroes:

SOUTHERN WHITES ONLY	
Yes	55%
No	33
Don't know	12
SOUTHERN NEGROES ONLY	
Yes	70%
No	15
Don't know	15

This is how the Southerner

Educators Probe Racial Tensions

Defender Chicago, Ill

Sat. 4-28-56

A Tennessee educator said last week that more and more it is becoming evident that group tension can be eradicated by creation of a democratic atmosphere in the classrooms of American schools.

The educator was Dr. William Van Til, chairman of the division of curriculum and teaching, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn. He was speaking at the second day's meeting of the Midwest Regional conference on human relations held at the Conrad Hilton hotel under the sponsorship of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

School teachers and administrators have a dual responsibility of extending human relations education and of selecting wisely the means by which such education becomes part of their professional work, Dr. Van Till said.

Among the methods he suggested was encouragement of contact between members of minority groups in situations which involve cooperation. He suggested that teachers provide their students with the opportunity to participate in experiences which lead to discovery of accepted attitudes in American life.

The two-day meeting closed with a panel discussion and summary and interpretation of the conference by Dr. Earl S. Johnson, professor of the social sciences at the University of Chicago.

Educators from 51 cities in 17 midwestern states attended and participated in discussions of three general subject areas: Problems of human relations in changing neighborhoods; human relations education in elementary and secondary schools; and teacher education.

Principal speakers at the first session were Dr. Willard E. Goslin, George Peabody college, who discussed "Human Relations in Education," and Dr. Dan W. Dodson, New York university, who spoke on "Human Relations Education: Implications for Schools in Changing Neighborhoods."

Participants from the Illinois area were Orville Alexander, Carbondale; J. E. Bohn, supt. of schools, Springfield; Abraham F. Citron, director, Jewish Community council, Peoria; Roy Clark, asst. supt. of public instruction, Springfield, and Sister Mary Gabriel, Sisters of St. Dominic Parochial school, Ottawa.

Other Illinois participants were Gayle N. Hufford, supt. of schools, Joliet; Mrs. Leon Lamet, Warwaw; John W. Lloyd, prof. of social sciences, Northern Ill. State college, DeKalb; C. Lewis Martin, Congress Park School, Brookfield; Elmer W. Rowley, dean, Joliet Junior college, Joliet; Michael Scarpitto, asst. supt. of schools, Joliet; and Frank Short, dept. of public instruction, State of Illinois, Springfield.

Probe Told Of Red Plot On Negroes

Herald Tribune New York

Sat. 4-7-56

'Civil War' Seen As Aim in South

NEW ORLEANS, Apr. 6 (UP).—A Senate investigator said today that the Communists invited "civil war in the South" with documents proposing the creation of a Southern Negro empire.

Ben Mandel, an investigator for th eSenate Internal Security subcommittee, also introduced pamphlets which urged Communist infiltration of such Negro organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The documents were presented as the subcommittee ended a stormy two-

day hearing on Communist activity here.

New Orleans Raid

The papers were seized by New Orleans police in a raid last week on the apartment of Hunter O'Dell, a Negro described as the district organizer of the Communist party here. He is sought for questioning.

Sen. James O. Eastland, D., Miss., subcommittee chairman, said as the two-day hearings concluded that they had been "informative" and "Congress now has evidence of conspiracy of the Soviet Union in the United States."

The final session was marked by a heated verbal exchange between Sen. Eastland and New York attorney Philip Wittenberg.

Lawyer Is Ejected

Sen. Eastland gave Mr. Wittenberg the opportunity to make a statement that he had never been a member of the Communist party but was acting only in his capacity as a lawyer.

"I am not and never have been a Communist," he said, "but I don't consider it a privilege to say so. In forty years before the bar I have never heard of such an incident."

Sen. Eastland ordered Mr. Wittenberg ejected from the hearing room amid loud applause from a jammed courtroom. About that time Herman Liveright, whose wife appeared before the committee here and refused to answer questions, ran up to Mr. Wittenberg. He also was taken in tow by deputies. Mr. Liveright was dismissed as program director for WDSU-TV when he remained silent before the committee in Washington recently.

Robert Morris, special subcommittee counsel, said that contempt proceedings would be brought against Mrs. Pauline Feuer, one of the seven witnesses to appear here. She refused to answer the questions but did not evoke the Fifth Amendment as did the other six.

At the same time, Sen. Eastland announced that a hearing would be held Wednesday in Washington for Mr. and Mrs. Robert Blanchard, who advised the subcommittee that they could not get here from New York in time for the hearing because Mr. Blanchard was afraid to fly. He was formerly afraid to fly. He was formerly an artist employed by WDSU-TV.

Morgan Says:

AFL-CIO News

Negro Patience Sign of Confidence

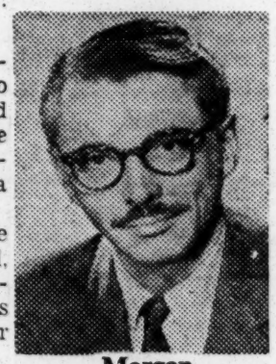
Wed. 4-21-56 P. 11

(This column is excerpted from the nightly broadcasts of Edward P. Morgan, ABC commentator, sponsored by the AFL-CIO. Listen to Morgan over the ABC network Monday through Friday at 7 p.m., EST.)

Washington, D. C.

NOW and again out of the South these sad days comes the sinister noise of little explosions of racial violence. Like the backfire of a car exhaust, the sound is frightening; there has been no major blow-up but anxiety mounts that there may be.

These incidents cannot be ignored or brushed aside; they must be looked at for what they are. Scrutiny reveals, among other interesting things, a fact whose significance may not have been fully grasped: That, with very minor exceptions, Negroes have not been the aggressors nor have they attempted reprisals in the same language of violence.



Morgan

They seem in the main to answer insult with dignity and it is more logical to translate that as meaning more confidence than fear, more the discipline of patience than the recklessness of sheer revenge.

The hoodlum elements emerge on the other side. Somehow this makes it more than a little embarrassing, more than a little difficult to try to affirm the doctrine of white supremacy. It is hard to detect the qualities of leadership in a ruffian heaving a rock in a riot at the University of Alabama.

It is hard to distinguish the hallmark of superiority in a hate-tortured man lunging across the footlights to maul a famous musician in the auditorium in Birmingham. It is not easy to identify the plain decency of an ordinary responsible citizen in a Texas political figure who tries to keep Negroes out of a public eating place with his fists.

★ ★ ★

RESPONSIBLE reports multiply that the White Citizens Councils are absorbing the most sinister elements, quite unrepresentative of the majority of law-abiding citizens in the South.

One of the darkest ironies of the situation is the fact that a number of individual trade unionists have been persuaded to join these councils in a scattering of communities. Presumably they have not been made aware of evidence that the councils include many business men whose desire to suppress Negro rights is matched by their strenuous efforts to suppress labor's rights to organize and bargain.

Many of them have championed the anti-union "right-to-work" laws. In South Carolina last summer, council pressure wrecked a union drive at the Manhattan Raybestos Co. plant after 75 percent of the white and Negro employes had been enlisted by the United Auto Workers.

"... Whom The Gods Would Destroy"

Daily Worker P. 4

It was an Englishman who made this observation during a recent visit to the Deep South:

Sun. 4-29-56

"What amazes us in Europe is how calm you go about doing things here."

Atlanta, Ga.

This distinguished government official was concerned with the present state of circumstances, the slowly, but constantly diminishing social and economic restrictions against Negroes. It bothered him that they were not more excited.

With only newspapers, radio and television as his previous guide, he had been misguided as to the true course of circumstances. Abroad, the opinion sometimes goes, that Negroes are rushing about in the midst of a sea of confusion, not knowing what is the next course to take in the whole matter of human rights.

Obviously this Englishman was surprised, and many more as well. It has not been the Negro who is confused and left to grab at every possible legal straw before drowning, but some of the leadership of negative forces.

The one thing in our favor has been the act of calmness, without fear and hysteria. Predictions that Negroes would rush in places in wholesale fashion as predicted by demagogic leadership has not come about. Rather, there has been this willingness to keep our heads, maintain a clear peace of mind and let others get mad. The Negro has long learned that "..... whom the Gods will destroy, they first make mad ....."

I acquired a deeper sense of this feeling as I sat a few days ago in the office of a young attorney. Although, only 25 years old, he had figured in one of the most historical legal cases of our day.

Out of school only a short while, it became his duty to place on the witness stand one of his own public officials. There were no comparison in ages, the official being much older in terms of years chronologically. It was the latter who became disturbed, emotionally, almost to the point of hysterics when the questioning began.

But this young Negro, maintaining a natural heritage of common sense and pride in what his profession represents, was calm in his proceedings. His calmness, not only won him the respect of the judge, but the respect of other whites who stood by in amazement.

This sort of picture could be told many times in terms of black people who have suffered the embarrassments, the humiliations associated with the stigma of segregation. But they always come out with victory when they let "calmness be their guide."

The life story of Mrs. Rosa Parks could be told, and should stand as a pattern for many of us to follow.

Here was a soft-spoken, religious woman, taken from one of the buses in Montgomery and led to the city jail because she refused to give her seat to a white person. In her own words, "The arresting officers did not handle me rough; they were considerate."

A lone white newspaperman went further with the story of Mrs. Parks when he told how, calmly this woman conducted herself in the court room, before less sympathetic elements, and how even her temperament, seemed to have softened the attitude of those strongly opposed to what she did.

Submitting to one's heated emotions spells defeat before one gets started. All around us today we have people, confused, heated by the irrational and illogical patterns of a kind of life linked with the past. While they lose their heads, the U. S. Supreme Court continues to drop legal bombs against bigotry, the impact of which is affecting the lives of all civilized human beings. Without question, the Court will continue in this manner. There is no other recourse. The growing quest for human freedom will dictate the action of those in supreme power.

The more articulate, the more rational elements and those having at heart the true sincere interest of the people, are going about trying to work things out in the way they should. They are doing it calmly, intelligently and without emotions. Those who continue to get mad, purely out of fear and hatred, are those ..... whom the Gods will eventually destroy."

Behind the segregation issue—I—

News

Majority of whites say 'races just should not mix'

Mon. 2-27-56

BY JOHN M. FENTON
Gallup Poll staff representative

Just how strongly does the average Southerner feel about desegregation? P.1

One needs to penetrate only a few miles into the South to become aware of the impact of the Supreme Court's decision. In the 13 Southern states today, nearly everybody is talking about the possible end of segregation.

Birmingham Ala.

In Raleigh, a service station operator said: "We aren't ready for it yet. The average Negro's standard of living and morals are below the average white person's.

It will have to be forced on the people before they will accept it."

IN BIRMINGHAM [illegible] wright reasoned: "It's a [illegible] ent race altogether. Eventually there could be intermarriage, and I don't approve of this."

Time and time again, one hears reactions similar to these as he travels through the South today.

They give some indication of the resoluteness with which the white Southerner is keeping to his convictions about the merits of continued segregation.

THIS REPORTER has just returned from a 4000 mile tour of the South, during which he spoke with many Southerners—both white and Negro.

Aided by the public opinion reporters of the Institute's Southern staff, we interviewed a representative crosssection of adults in all parts of the South—from Virginia to Texas.

Our goal was to get a true picture of how the South stands on the complex problem of integration—and more important—to probe into what lies behind the average Southerner's viewpoint—the "why" of public opinion.

ALL IN ALL, we found eight out of 10 Southern whites opposed to the Supreme Court's outlawing of segregation in the public schools.

Opinion is slightly less opposed to the recent Interstate Commerce Commission ruling which outlawed segregated travel between states on buses, trains and in public waiting rooms.

There are still about three out of four Southern whites, however, who oppose such a move.

THE QUESTIONS and results:

"The U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. This means that all children, no matter what their race, must be allowed to go to the same schools. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?"

SOUTHERN WHITES ONLY	
Approve	16%
Disapprove	80
Undecided	4

"The Interstate Commerce Commission has ruled that racial segregation on trains, buses and in public waiting rooms must end. Do you approve or disapprove of this ruling?

SOUTHERN WHITES ONLY	
Approve	19%
Disapprove	76
Undecided	5

THE WIDE SPLIT in opinion that the segregation issue has brought to the American domestic scene is illustrated by the vote of people in the 35 states outside the South on the two issues—as recorded in the latest Institute survey:

SUPREME COURT'S DECISION Outside the South	
Approve	71%
Disapprove	24
Undecided	5

ICC'S RULING Outside the South	
Approve	67%
Disapprove	24
Undecided	9

THE DEGREE of opposition to both rulings in the South is directly related to the size of the Negro population in each of the 13 states.

In the "border states" of Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Texas, for example, where the white-Negro ratio averages eight whites to one Negro, we found nearly one white in four approving the Supreme Court's decision.

Better than one in four favors the ICC's ruling.

Even in these states, however, there is still a large majority of whites who oppose integration on both counts.

News P.13

MOVING INTO what might be termed the "mid-South states" of Florida, Virginia, Arkansas and North Carolina—where Negroes constitute, on the average, about 24 per cent of the total population—we discovered slightly greater opposition with about one white person in five favoring mixed schools and a little more than this approving on the ICC question.

It is in the five states of the Deep South—Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina and Mississippi—where the greatest opposition and bitterest resentment is found.

In these areas—where more than one-third of the population is Negro—nearly nine out of 10 whites are opposed on both questions.

ONLY ABOUT one white person in 17 in these states registers approval of the Supreme Court's decision.

Integration on trains, buses and in waiting rooms is approved by one person in 12.

What is in the mind of the white Southerner when he states firmly that he wants no integration? Is it a dislike of Negroes?

A fear of being outnumbered and overwhelmed? Or alarm over the trouble that may result if schools and waiting rooms are mixed?

TALKING TO whites practically anywhere in the South, one quickly discovers a deep-seated conviction that "the races just weren't meant to mix"—that the white man and black man exist on two entirely separate planes and that it would be wrong to try to change this.

Behind this conviction are religious reasons, cultural and traditional reasons, moral reasons, and in many cases a bid for the "separate but equal" doctrine as the only solution to the racial problem.

THERE ARE other reasons why the white person disapproves of integration.

In some instances, it is fear over the trouble or violence that mixing the races might cause.

In a few scattered cases, it is a protest against what he considers to be a violation of the State's Rights doctrine.

But the feeling that there is something inherently wrong in mixing Caucasion and Negro is, far and away, the reason cited most frequently by white people as why they oppose integration.

"IT ISN'T GOOD nor right for black and white to mix," said a 35-year-old addressograph operator from Birmingham.

"They are two entirely different races. Their habits and their speech and, most important, their morals are different. I work around Negroes and I understand them.

I respect them, but I know they must not be allowed to mix."

For a 58-year-old farmer living just outside of Verbena, Ala., the case for continued segregation has religious justifications. "We shouldn't mix," he said, "I don't think it is in accord with the teachings of the Bible for the races to mix.

When the children of Israel went into the Promised Land, God told them not to mix. I'm afraid this thing will cause war if it is forced on the people."

MANY SOUTHERENRS cannot understand why there is a need for integration when the Negroes have what the whites consider to be perfectly adequate facilities at present.

With the doctrine of "separate but equal," they justify their opposition to the Supreme Court's decision of two years ago.

"The Negroes in this section have just as good schools as the whites," commented the wife of a garage mechanic in Collinsville, Va., "There is no excuse to mix them. I was brought up to think that each race should stay to themselves."

A YOUNG SOUTHERNER from Greenwood, S. C., who works in a meat packing plant with 80 Negroes, gave me his views on the separate but equal argument with the following example:

"Say you were staying some place for the night with a colored boy, and there was only one bed.

Well, I wouldn't share the bed with the colored boy, but I would flip him a coin to see who got the bed. Now, if that ain't fair I'd just tell him to go to hell."

IN SOME CASES, the opposition to mixing races stems from an actual dislike of the Negro or his habits, which some whites say they find distasteful.

This kind of sentiment is found most frequently in the heavily Negro areas of the Deep South.

gia's Terrell County, which is 67 per cent Negro, pulled no punches in stating her views. Her feelings are typical of many white persons in areas where Negroes are concentrated.

"I just wouldn't ride the bus with a Negro, that's all. I would walk first. I have a good clean Negro maid, but dirty Negroes in crowded places are awful.

I tell you, where Negroes are, I just wouldn't go—to shows, parks, pools or anywhere else they had mixed races. I'd just stay home."

IN ANOTHER category are those whites who fear the consequences of integration—the trouble or violence that may result from mixing the races.

Generally speaking, these persons tend to feel that "the time has not yet come" for integration to be a feature of the Southern way of life.

"I don't like the idea," said a fireman's wife in Panama City, Fla., "If they mix the races, it would lead to a racial war. A lot of people are going to fight it."

THE CASE for integration—the viewpoint of a small minority of whites—is upheld, practically without exception, because it is the more "democratic" thing to do or that "a person shouldn't be discriminated against just because of his skin."

A high school teacher in Chattanooga put forth the pro-integration argument as follows: "I believe in a federal government and I thing we should abide by the "Supreme Court's rules.

If we are to have a democracy this means political and social equality."

EVEN HE, however, had some concern about the immediate effects of integration, stating, "I think the people around here will put up a fight—but they will have to give in eventually."

This, however, is the minority of viewpoint. The vast majority of Southern whites oppose integration and do so bitterly because they feel there is something inherently wrong about it.

How the Southern Negro feels about this vital issue will tne the subject of tomorrow's article on the South and segregation, to be published exclusively in The Birmingham News.—(c).

13 Dixie states polled

Few issues in recent years have stirred the feelings of voters as the segregation question has in the South. Recent explosive incidents have emphasized the intensity of sentiment in Dixie today.

To get at the reasons behind the people's widely divergent views, the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll) has conducted an intensive study of the South.

Persons of both white and Negro races in all 13 Southern states were interviewed by 90 specially selected reporters from the institute's field staff.

This is the first in a special series of three articles by John M. Fenton on the results of this study. Mr. Fenton directed the field operations of the survey and made an extensive tour of the South himself, talking to voters.

Today's report deals with the viewpoint of the Southern whites. The second in the series will reveal the sentiment of Negroes, while the final report will cover the future of segregation in the South.

Gallup Poll—

Southern Whites Convinced 'Races Just Shouldn't Mix'

Commercial Appeal Mon. 2-27-56 P. 1 Memphis Tenn.

By JOHN M. FENTON
Gallup Poll Staff Representative

PRINCETON, N. J., Feb. 26.—Just how strongly does the average Southerner feel about desegregation?

One needs to penetrate only a few miles into the South to become aware of the impact of the Supreme Court's decision. In the 13 Southern states today, everybody is talking about the possible end of segregation.

In Raleigh, a service station operator said: "We aren't ready for it yet. The average Negro's standard of living and morals are below the average white person's. It will have to be forced on the people before they will accept it."

In Birmingham, a millwright reasoned: "It's a different nationality of people and a different race altogether. Eventually there will be intermarriage and I don't approve of this."

4,000-Mile Tour

Time and time again, one hears reactions similar to these as he travels through the South today. They give some indication of the resoluteness with which the white Southerner is keeping to his convictions about the merits of continued segregation.

This reporter has just returned from a 4,000-mile tour of the South, during which he spoke with many Southerners—both white and Negro. Aided by the public opinion reporters of the Institute's Southern staff, we interviewed a representative cross-section of adults in all parts of the South—from Virginia to Texas.

Our goal was to get a true picture of how the South stands on the complex problem of integration—and more important—to probe into what lies behind the average Southerner's viewpoint — the "why" of public opinion.

Commercial

Schools Vs. Travel

All in all, we found eight out of 10 Southern whites opposed to the Supreme Court's outlawing of segregation in the public schools.

Appeal

Opinion is slightly less opposed to the recent Interstate Commerce Commission ruling which banned segregated travel between states on buses, trains and in public waiting rooms.

There are still about three out of four Southern whites, however, who oppose such a move.

The questions and results:

"The U. S. Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. This means that all children, no matter what their race, must be allowed to go to the same schools. Do you approve or disapprove of this decision?"

B-4

SOUTHERN WHITES ONLY	
Approve	16%
Disapprove	80
Undecided	4

"The Interstate Commerce Commission has ruled that racial segregation on trains, buses and in public waiting rooms must end. Do you approve or disapprove of this ruling?"

SOUTHERN WHITES ONLY	
Approve	19%
Disapprove	76
Undecided	5

The wide split in opinion that the segregation issue has brought to the American domestic scene is illustrated by the vote of people in the 35 states outside the South on the two issues—as recorded in the latest Institute survey:

SUPREME COURT'S DECISION Outside the South	
Approve	71%
Disapprove	24
Undecided	5

ICC'S RULING Outside the South	
Approve	67%
Disapprove	24
Undecided	9

The degree of opposition to both rulings in the South is directly related to the size of the Negro population in each of the 13 states.

In the "Border States" of Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Texas, for example, where the white-Negro ratio averages eight whites to one Negro, we found nearly one white in four approving of the Supreme Court's decision. Better than one in four favors the ICC's ruling.

Deep South Bitter

Even in these states, however, there is still a large majority of whites who oppose integration on both counts.

Moving into Florida, Virginia, Arkansas and North Carolina—where Negroes constitute, on the average, about 24 per cent of the total population—we discovered slightly greater opposition with about one white person in five favoring mixed schools and a little more than this approving on the ICC question.

It is in the five states of the Deep South—Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina and Mississippi—where the greatest opposition and bitterest resentment is found. In these areas—where more than one-third of the population is Negro—nearly nine out of 10 whites are opposed on both questions.

Only about one white person in 17 in these states registers approval of the Supreme Court's decision. Integration on trains, buses and in waiting rooms is approved by one person in 12.

'They Just Shouldn't Mix'

Talking to whites practically anywhere in the South, one quickly discovers a deep-seated conviction that "the races just weren't meant to mix"—that the white man and the black man exist on two entirely separate planes and that it would be wrong to try to change this.

Behind this conviction are religious reasons, cultural and traditional reasons, moral reasons, and in many cases a bid for the "separate but equal" doctrine as the only solution to the racial problem.

There are other reasons why the white person disapproves of integration. In some instances, it is fear over the trouble or violence that mixing the races might cause. In a few scattered cases, it is a protest against what he considers to be a violation of the State's Rights doctrine.

But the feeling that there is something inherently wrong in mixing Caucasian and Negro is, far and away, the reason cited most frequently by white people as why they oppose integration.

"It isn't good nor right for black and white to mix," said a 35-year-old addressograph operator from Birmingham. "They are two entirely different races. Their habits and their speech and, most important, their morals are different. I work around Negroes and I understand them. I respect them, bu I know they must not be allowed to mix."

For a 58-year-old farmer living just outside of Verbena, Ala., the case for continued segregation has religious justifications. "We shouldn't mix," he said. "I don't think it is in accord with the teachings of the Bible for the races to mix. When the Children of Israel went into the Promised Land, God told them not to mix."

Many Southerners cannot understand why there is a need for integration when the Negroes have what the whites consider to be perfectly adequate facilities at present. With the doctrine of "separate but equal," they justify their opposition to the Supreme Court's decision of two years ago.

"The Negroes in this section have just as good schools as the whites," commented the wife of a garage mechanic in Collinsville, Va., "There is no excuse to mix them. I was brought up to think that each race should stay to themselves."

A young Southerner from Greenwood, S. C., who works in a meat packing plant with 80 Negroes, gave me his views on the separate but equal argument with the following example:

"Say you were staying some place for the night with a colored boy, and there was only one bed. Well, I wouldn't share the bed with the colored boy, but I would flip him a coin to see who got the bed. Now, if that ain't fair, I'd just tell him to go to hell."

In some cases, the opposition to mixing races stems from an actual dislike of the Negro or his habits, which some whites say they find distasteful. This kind of sentiment is found most frequently in the heavily Negro areas of the Deep South.

A farm housewife in Georgia's Terrell County, which is 67 per cent Negro, pulled no punches in stating her views. Her feelings are typical of many white persons in areas where Negroes are concentrated.

"I just wouldn't ride the bus with a Negro, that's all. I would walk first. I have a good clean Negro maid, but dirty Negroes in crowded places are awful. I tell you, where Negroes are, I just wouldn't go—to shows, parks, pools or anywhere else they had mixed races. I'd just stay home."

'The Time Hasn't Come'

In another category are those whites who fear the consequences of integration — the trouble or violence that may result from mixing the races. Generally speaking, these persons tend to feel that "the time has not yet come" for integration to be a feature of the Southern way of life.

"I don't like the idea," said a fireman's wife in Panama City, Fla., "If they mix the races, it would lead to a racial war. A lot of people are going to fight it."

B-8a

The case for integration—the viewpoint of a small minority of whites—is upheld, practically without exception, because it is the more "democratic" thing to do or that "a person shouldn't be discriminated against just because of his skin."

A high school teacher in Chattanooga put forth the pro-integration argument as follows: "I believe in a Federal Government and I think we should abide by the Supreme Court's rules. If we are to have a democracy this means political and social equality."

Even he, however, had some concern about the immediate effects of integration, stating, "I think the people around here will put up a fight—but they will have to give in eventually."

This, however, is the minority viewpoint. The vast majority of Southern whites oppose integration and do so bitterly because they feel there is something inherently wrong about it.

How the Southern Negro feels about this vital issue will be the subject of Tuesday's article.

RACIAL BIAS DECRIED

Times

Bishop Griffiths Speaker at Herald Tribune Breakfast

Mon. 3-5-56

Racial bias was assailed yesterday by the Most Rev. James H. Griffiths, Auxiliary Bishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, as "a denial of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

N.Y.C.

The Bishop represented Cardinal Spellman at the seventh annual communion breakfast for employes of The New York Herald Tribune. Earlier, the more than 400 guests attended mass at St. Francis of Assisi Roman Catholic Church. The mass was celebrated by the Rev. Anselm Hardy of St. Bonaventure University.

New York

Others who participated in the breakfast at the New Yorker Hotel were: Ogden R. Reid, president and editor of The Herald Tribune; Luke Carroll, city editor, who served as toastmaster; and Walter Kiernan. Choral singing was provided by the Holy Name Glee Club of St. Helena's Roman Catholic Church, Parkchester.

INTEGRATION RULING HAILED AS CHRISTIAN

Times P.17 C

The Right Rev. Horace W. B. Donegan, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York, called upon the Christian Church yesterday to "demonstrate in every aspect of its life that there is "neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor slave, that all are one in Christ."

Mon. 3-5-56

In a sermon at the Church of the Epiphany, 1393 York Avenue, the Bishop declared that the Supreme Court decision banning segregation in public schools was "right" because it represented the "claim of the Kingdom of God in the affairs of men in the world."

"We must exercise charity as well as justice," he asserted, "and therefore there is Christian meaning in the Court's phrase in its implementing decision; that integration should proceed 'with all deliberate speed.'"

New York

"The word 'speed' means that we should be unwavering in purpose and intention. The word 'deliberate' suggests that in carrying out this intention we display qualities of charity so the results will not lead us to the sorry days of the Reconstruction after the Civil War, but rather to a deeper basis of community than would have been possible if this crisis had not come upon us."

Discrimination costs U.S. about $30,000,000 yearly

Afro-American P. 3 Sat. 3-3-56

NEW YORK (ANP)—William E. Vickery, New York area educational director of the National Conference of Christian and Jews, recently reported that discrimination costs the United States approximately $30,000,000 a year.

Baltimore Md.

The race relations expert told the faculty and students of Pace College that discrimination conflicts with free enterprises because it limits and debases competition and wastes human and natural resources.

38a 1956

GENERAL

India Policy

Advertiser

Of The New York Times Just Right For Dixie

By Steve Lesher

Mon. 2-20-56

It would be nice if *The New York Times* would apply its India Policy to the South. It makes more sense than its South Policy.

Now *The Times* is impetuous in its polite but urgent demands that the South surrender to Washington immediately and unconditionally, but note its restrained treatment of the "Problem In India":

"... It is hoped [in India] that [creation of fewer, and larger states that would cross language lines] would help to allay ... some of the fierce passions of group rivalry and help to prevent a repetition of the recent tragedies.

"Such a plan ... must remain a goal for some time in the future. In the meantime, political planning ... is up against a fundamental difficulty, and it will take unusual patience and unusual political skill to meet it. What is required, in effect, is a union of two political ideas that are virtually incompatible.

"The wide diversity of ethnic ... groups in India certainly suggests that a logical form of government would be a relatively loose federation with large powers residual in at least semi-autonomous units..."

STATES RIGHTS FOR INDIA

In India, then, *The Times* not only suggests a "go-slow" policy on these "fundamental ... ethnic" differences, but even advocates a States Rights policy. If good enough for India, why not the South of the United States?

Certainly there are fundamental differences between North and South on the issue of segregation as there are fundamental differences in worship of God between Christian and Jew. Both religions are held to be right in their own spheres by open-minded persons. Why, then, could not integration be right in the North and segregation right in the South?

LOCAL CONTROL

In that same issue of *The Times* appears an article entitled "Education in Review" by Benjamin Fine. *The Times* or Mr. Fine or both are off again to Afghanistan.

The article states: "...The [American Association of School Administrators] report points out [that] the thing that distinguishes the school system in the United States from those in other lands is local control. In England, France, Italy or any other nation in Europe, the schools are under centralized control. But here we have a vast number of separate school districts, each with its own operation and supervision of local educational systems. ...

"A visitor may say: "Your system makes it almost impossible to have uniform educational standards." Of course it does—and it is preferred for just that reason.

"As the report makes clear, the American school board has served to keep the public schools the property of the people rather than of general government, private corporations or even professional educators. No one centralized pattern to remold our society is possible..."

The Times holds this to the world as an example of our independent educational system and its values. To the whole world, that is, except the South of the United States.

INCLUDE THE SOUTH

If public schools are the property of the people rather than the government and if remolding educational society is impossible, why should not the South have the right to conduct its schools as the South sees fit? And why should the South remold its society?

Yet the same *New York Times* that tells India to exercise "unusual patience" with its social problems, and tells Europe that U. S. schools are "the property of the people" tells the South to integrate its races quickly and allow the Supreme Court to dictate the operations of its schools.

Constitution P. 4

Mon. 2-13-56

Atlanta Ga.

—Boldy

'Massive Resistance' Call Issued by Byrd

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, Feb. 25 (AP)—Sen. Byrd (D-Va.) called Saturday for "massive resistance" in the South to challenge the supreme court's order for racial integration in the public schools.

Mon. 2-25-56

Byrd made it clear in an interview he is not advocating or condoning violence in opposing enforcement of the order but said he wants Southern states to stand together in declaring the court's opinion unconstitutional.

"If we can organize the Southern states for massive resistance to this order I think that in time the rest of the country will realize that racial integration is not going to be accepted in the South," he said.

'Perfectly Legal Means'

"In interposition, the South has a perfectly legal means of appeal from the supreme court's order."

Interposition is a doctrine under which some students of constitutional government have contended the states could refuse to implement within their own confines a supreme court decision they felt did not comply with the constitution. Legislatures of some of the Southern states already have passed resolutions of this type.

While Byrd did not cast it in that light, his cell for Southern unity on the school issue apparently was akin to the "passive resistance" urged by some proponents of racial integration.

Powell Proposal

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) has urged a one-hour period of nationwide non-activity by Negroes on March 28 as a protest against the arrest of Montgomery, Ala., Negroes for boycotting segregated city buses.

Byrd's call for unified Southern support of interposition was in line with the study being given to the question by a group of 18 Southern senators who met recently under the leadership of Sen. George (D-Ga.)

The group named Sens. Russell (D-Ga.), Stennis (D-Miss.) and Ervin (D-N.C.) as a subcommittee to draft a manifesto the 18 might sign setting forth their opposition to carrying out the supreme court order.

After India and the Middle East, How About Georgia and Alabama?

He's Always Squawkin'!

P.9
Defender Sat. 2-18-56
Chicago, Ill.

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Advertiser P.4-A
Sun. 2-28-56
Montgomery Ala.

Federal Troop Twaddle

South Magazine

Such incendiary and arrogant bosses as A. Phillip Randolph, president of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Michael J. Quill, Transport Workers Union chieftian, recently demanded that President Eisenhower send troops into Southern states. Another dictatorial union czar, Emil Mazey of United Auto Workers, echoed their hysteria with a demand that Mississippi be placed under federal trusteeship, presumably with troops to prod recalcitrants.

This was vicious talk from confirmed firebrands and force champions, and in view of their records was not unexpected. Now, to our dismay, we find such talk coming from the lips of men who consider themselves temperate enough to qualify for the presidency. It is incredible that such presidential hopefuls as Averell Harriman, Estes Kefauver and Adlai Stevenson should be hippodroming at length over the question of whether they would send troops to a state to enforce the Supreme Court's integration decision.

Kefauver, the Tennessee Truman, has clearly established himself as a dangerous intemperate. When he arrived in Gainesville to begin a Florida stumping tour last week, Kefauver already had endeared himself to NAACP agitators with a California declaration favoring strict enforcement of desegregation. Florida newsmen wanted to know whether he favored calling out federal militia to enforce integration. Yes, he replied, the court edict is "the law of the land" and he would favor using troops to quell disturbances resulting from forced integration.

Last week Harriman added his two cents to the chorus for federal force, shrieked: "I think the executive branch of the government should see to it that the orders and decisions of the Supreme Court are enforced . . . I don't think it's up to the federal government to talk about 10 years on that sort of thing. . . I haven't seen the activity which I think the situation demands." Thus Harriman, whose failure to curb riots, murder, and outright subversion on the strift-torn, Communist-ridden docks of New York City is notorious, implied that troops should do the enforcing.

At least Stevenson conceded that use of force "would be a great mistake"—"That is exactly what brought about the Civil War and division of the Union." But while saying last week that he thinks it is "essential" that the segregation issue be kept out of the race. Stevenson already had told NAACP leaders in California that as governor of Illinois he "twice recommended and vigorously supported fair employment practices legislation."

As a lawyer and scholar Stevenson should have declared vigorously and vehemently "No" to the force question. Harriman and Kefauver, whose radicalism is appalling, probably did not know better. In any event their positions are extremely remote from the Constitution of the United States. We invite their attention to Article Four, Section Four, of the basic law of the land:

"The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence." In brief, federal troops to quell domestic violence must be requested by the states, not dispatched at the whim of the Chief Executive.

Such talk not only discloses abysmal ignorance of constitutional government, it brands them as dangerous incendiaries. They do irreparable harm to the cause of democracy and sane, orderly government. Candidates who talk as though they surround the South with federal soldiers, bayonets fixed, are flirting with danger. That such intemperate twaddle should be seriously introduced into the presidential campaign is a dire warning of the inflammatory means some men would use to further their ambitions.

◆

Integration Pressure And Response

The Andalusia Star-News

The White Citizens Councils that are being formed in Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and other states, expressing determination to fight integration, are something more than mere 1956 editions of the Ku Klux Klan.

While they embrace the same white supremists whose fathers and forefathers were uniformed in the Klan's white sheets, the WCC has developed policies to fit the obstacles created by the Supreme Court edict that segregation must be abolished.

Mississippi Sen. James Eastland, who spoke to an estimated crowd of 15,000 in Montgomery last week, has predicted the WCC will have enrolled memberships totaling two million Southerners within another 12 months.

This may appear overly ambitious but the activity of the councils will be accelerated in direct proportion to the pressures the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People exerts to erase the color line.

There has been considerable condemnation of mob violence. What happened at the University was mob action bordering on violence.

There were enough stone throwing, banner waving and threats of shooting to frighten the University authorities. Even the Negroes must have understood no individual, no matter how dedicated she might profess to be, could secure an education under circumstances that prevailed.

We have doubts that any court has the power to invoke the police powers or compel local officials to enforce the peace where the overwhelming white majority opposes integration.

A court may order segregation's bars erased. But a court, yes, even the U.S. Supreme Court, can hardly hope to invoke police powers to insure a peaceful community where the law enforcement officers are officials who must maintain the support and favor of the overwhelming white majority.

Business roadblock

News

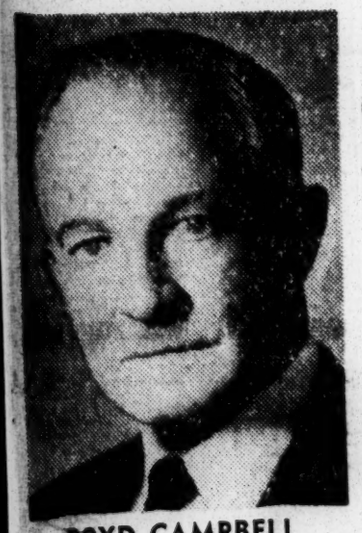
Race tension seen snag to South's rise

Birm, Ala.

Wed. 3-28-56

Tension stemming from the segregation issue probably will keep many Northern businesses and industries from moving South, the Southern States Industrial Relations Conference was told today.

Boyd Campbell, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce, who described himself as a Southern business man, said Northern concerns have moved South in the past to escape other forms of tension, and probably won't be willing to walk into an unfamiliar tension now.



BOYD CAMPBELL
. . . Conference speaker

Campbell is chairman of the board of the Mississippi School Supply Co., president of the Mississippi State School Book Depository, president of the Office Supply Co., and a director of the Mississippi Power and Light Co. and the Gulf, Mobile & Ohio Railroad.

"I am merely stating a fact when I say that this issue (segregation) has created a host of new tensions in major segments of the Southern states. Northern business men are thoroughly aware of this," Campbell said in a keynote address before the conference at the Tutwiler Hotel.

"We all know that some Northern concerns have moved South or have thought about moving South to escape tension and in the hopes of conducting their businesses in an orderly, fair and equitable way," he continued.

Industrial Conference
Stories, Pictures
Page 15

"I AM INCLINED to the opinion that not very many men will exchange a familiar kind of tension—no matter how irksome it may be—for an unknown kind of tension," Campbell added.

The speaker also said it is his opinion that "a not inconsiderable number of Southern union men will put the issue of state's rights far ahead of any pronouncement in favor of integration that may come down from a national labor union leader."

The speaker said outside pressure groups can only prolong the tension.

He spoke of the "vast improvement in race relationship and the progress of Southern Negroes in education, health and economic opportunity brought about by the enlightened leadership of men of good will in both races."

CAMPBELL CONTINUED:

"This progress came to a jarring halt when the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People spurred by local Negro leadership and by aggressive and intolerable methods undertook to speedily compel a condition that is contrary to the Anglo-Saxon tradition. . . .

"History does not record a single instance of compulsory integration. It will not do so in this instance."

Campbell also looked at the merger of the AFL and CIO unions from a business man's viewpoint.

"It seems to me that it should reduce labor friction and contribute to a more serene labor-management atmosphere," he said.

"Most members of the labor movement are honest, well-intentioned, patriotic citizens, and within their ranks is a vast reservoir of common sense."

Campbell said the merger brings a great responsibility to the leadership of American labor.

HE NOTED, "It is possible that as labor leadership is brought under one tent the business man will no longer be caught in the squeeze between the conflicting demands of the AFL and CIO. It may palliate the pains of the jurisdictional strike and other discomforts that stemmed from the divided labor authority," he declared.

"IN SAYING these things, I confess that I am a chronic optimist. I confess also that I am speaking from the perspective of a Mississippi cotton patch.

"But the main reason that I cannot wring my hands about this merger is my faith in the balanced judgment of the American people."

"The American people have a canny viewpoint about bigness in anything—be it business, government or labor.

"Physical bigness is all right—if the physical bigness is accompanied by the spiritual bigness of tolerance for the rights of others, fair dealing and respect for the well-being of the country as a whole."

South Held Split on Segregation; 'Rights' Group Told of Progress

Post + Times Herald Fri. 3-23-56 P. 40

Washington, D.C.

By Frank R. Kent Jr.
Staff Reporter

The South is not "monolithic" in its views on segregation, and up to a half dozen communities in Virginia may take some steps toward ending it in their schools by next fall, Frederick B. Routh of the Southern Regional Council yesterday told the Conference on Civil Rights.

Routh was one of a panel of five speakers at the eighth annual conference held by the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, now meeting at the Hotel 2400. Routh said the South could be divided into three categories of states: Kentucky, Texas and Arkansas where integration is proceeding, Virginia, Tennessee, Florida and North Carolina in a "waiting status," and Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, as the "hard core" segregation states.

Routh said despite the approval in principle by the voters of the Gray Commission Virginia program, Virginia was not in the "hard core."

He called definitions of the controversy as a second civil war or a struggle basically between whites and Negroes as "nonsense." It basically is a contest between believers in law and order and those who would prefer anarchy, he declared.

Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N. Y.), said during the last few years color lines have been obliterated in everything pertaining to the Federal Government and its operations. In the District, Keating said, segregation in most activities is disappearing.

The Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean of the Catholic Committee of the South, said he knew of many instances that indicated a change was coming in Southern states "county by county." It is tragic, he said, that in many Southern communities people are afraid to make their views known.

Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the word "extremist" was being used in the controversy. President Eisenhower was an extremist, Mitchell said, in the tradition of George Washington adn Abraham Lincoln. Mitchell said the "mask of hypocrisy" on the faces of members of Congress must be stripped away.

NAACP to Petition For Loudoun Integration

Plans are under way to petition the Loudoun County School Board to integrate the county's schools.

The plans were announced by Edwin C. Brown of Alexandria, attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of Virginia.

Brown also said the NAACP has been authorized by Alexandria Negro parents, who have previously filed a petition, to file a suit in Alexandria Federal Court requiring that city's schools to integrate.

Brown said many Loudoun Negroes had asked the NAACP to petition the county to integrate. A petition is the first step in seeking integration. If the county fails to comply, the NAACP seeks authorization from the signers to file a suit and, once this is done, the case goes to court.

Florida Governor Asks Race Parley

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., March 22 (AP)—Gov. Leroy Collins today called on President Eisenhower to convene a conference of Southern governors for a discussion of racial relations.

In his message to the President, Collins said that as a result of the Supreme Court's school integration decision and of activities of extremists on both sides "we are experiencing what well may become a serious deterioration of racial relations.

Unnecessary race tension

News 3-23

THE CONVERSATION

HARRY TRUMAN

"We didn't have to have a civil war. But Buchanan, Polk and Fillimore couldn't make up their minds on a firm policy. If Andrew Jackson had been in power he would have stopped nullification before it ever got started

"My mother was unreconstructed," he said. "She never got over the Civil War. She told my brother before she came to see me in Washington:

"'If Harry asks me to sleep in Abraham Lincoln's bed, I'll sleep on the floor.'"

"But a lot of people like her who still live in our part of Missouri know that they've got to give Negro children a chance. The Negro has got to have economic equality, and you can't get economic equality without equality of education.

"Lots of progress in that direction has been made in Arkanas, Kentucky, North Carolina—even Texas and Louisiana—until Strom Thurmond and his boys came along and whipped things up. All this bitterness didn't have to happen. It could have been prevented."

SPECIAL RACIAL BOARD FAVORED

Times Picayune

New Orleans La.

WASHINGTON, March 29 (AP) —

Sen. H. Alexander Smith (R-NJ) has proposed that President Eisenhower appoint a special commission to consider how best to deal with the problems raised by the Supreme Court's decision banning segregated public schools.

"America must be united in finding the answer to this explosive problem," Smith told the Senate. He urged the appointment of a commission of "outstanding citizens, representing both sides of the controversy."

The commission's job, he said, would be to consider "unemotionally and objectively the implications of the present conflict and the practical difficulties involved in the supreme court decision."

"This would lay the foundation for a more understanding atmosphere," Smith said.

He said he had been greatly disturbed by the recent manifesto of 101 southern members of Congress calling the court's decision an abuse of judicial power and pledging all lawful measures to upset it.

Smith said he is "not unmindful of the difficulties involved in the problem" and added:

"The spirit of the manifesto is moderate and is respected by all of us, even those of us who completely disagree with its substance and purpose," Smith said.

But Smith said the issue represented to the country is "whether citizenship, which is guaranteed to all our people by the 14th amendment, can be divided so as to result in first and second class citizenship."

The challenge now, he said is "to find ways and means to establish equality of educational opportunity on a firm footing without rancor, butterness, or denial of the principle of equality."

SEGREGATION PLANS VIEWED BY ATTORNEY

Effects Of Interposition, Nullification Reviewed

PROPOSALS ARE STUDIED

From The Commercial Appeal Little Rock Bureau

LITTLE ROCK, March 29. — A distinction was drawn here Thursday between "interposition" and "nullification" by a leader in the Arkansas movement against the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

R. B. McCullouch Sr., Forrest City attorney and member of a five-man delegation which reported recently to Gov. Orval Faubus on the Virginia Interposition Plan, outlined the differences in a noon appearance he made before the Pulaski County Bar Association.

Provisions Explained

Interposition in Virginia, as Mr. McCullouch interpreted the Virginia resolution of Feb. 1, "is a means to an end." The measure adopted in Mississippi this year, he added, is the "end result" sought by the interposition movement.

Quoting from the Mississippi resolution, Mr. McCullouch emphasized that it concluded that the Supreme Court decisions were "of no lawful effect within the confines of the state of Mississippi."

In Virginia, the General Assembly has taken the position that until the question is settled "by clear constitutional amendment," the commonwealth will use every "honorable, legal and constitutional means available to resist illegal encroachments upon its sovereign powers," he said.

The nullification sounded in the Mississippi resolution, the Forrest City attorney pointed out, is directed at the 1954 Supreme Court decision declaring segregation unconstitutional.

Courts Given Aid

The interposition resolution of Virginia is "designed as an aid to the Federal district courts under the Supreme Court's 1955 decision," he added.

He noted that the Court's second opinion in the segregation cases, handed down May 31 of last year, permits some leeway to the federal district courts on The integration question.

Ike Urged To Call Race Parley

Florida Governor Asks for Action

Tallahassee, March 22 (AP) — President Eisenhower was called upon today by Governor LeRoy Collins to convene a conference of Southern governors for a frank discussion of the entire field of racial relations.

In his wire to the President, the Florida Governor said that as a result of the school-integration decision and of activities of extremists on both sides "we are experiencing what well may become a serious deterioration of racial relations."

"We are fearful the progress we have made over many years may be dissipated," he added.

Collins was authorized by a conference of State Government leaders and educators here yesterday to call upon the President, governors and attorneys general.

"We desire an opportunity to convey to you as our President our sincere impressions of these circumstances and conditions and feel that you and the Attorney General of the United States can be helpful, not only to Florida, but also to all of the Southern states, if you see and understand the problems with which we are confronted," Collins said.

"This understanding, we feel you can have, even though the United States Supreme Court has demonstrated a woeful lack of such insight."

The Florida group took its cue from a second appeal yesterday by Eisenhower at his news conference for moderation in the school-integration issue and a suggestion by Collins that the South go directly to the President with its problem.

Look, Look, You Sap

THE *Alabama Journal's* James K. Hutsell has, it appears, deflated another of Eastern journalism's myths.

It was *Life* magazine that committed the booboo of modern times in moaning over the fact that Emmett Till's father had died a hero's death fighting for democracy, only to have it revealed that the elder Till had been hanged in Italy by the U.S. Army for the wartime murder of two women and the rape of two others.

Recalling this and acting on a tip, Hutsell started checking on "Private Foster, U.S.A.," a Negro featured in an 18-page segregation report in the current *Look*. Private Foster, U.S.A., is Pvt. Joe Foster, from Albany, Ga. Of Foster, *Look* wonders:

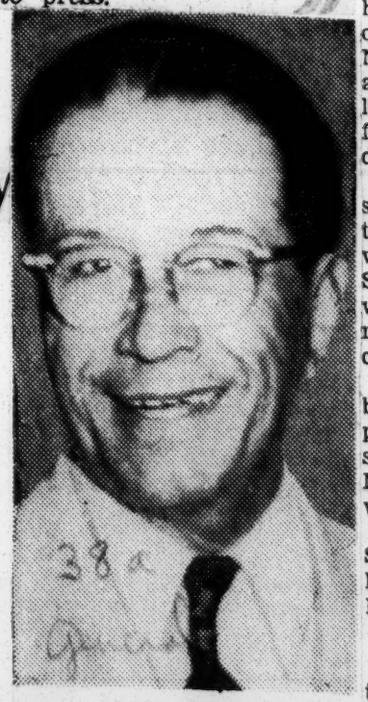
Can a man endure a life half free, half segregated? Joe Foster has been able to. Twenty-two of his 25 years were spent in Albany, Ga., where a white man is a "gentleman," and a colored man is often just a "nigger". But in September, 1952, Joe entered another world.

That was the Army. Joe found things different, and *Look* shows how in pictures. But apparently the magazine didn't know how different it was for Private Foster, U.S.A. *Look* quotes Joe as saying, "A man just isn't a man in Albany." But is Joe bitter? No. "There's trouble here, but it's my home town and I'm proud of it," he says.

The "trouble" Joe spoke of, Hutsell discovered, was not so much social as criminal. Capt. Gordon Stokes, chief of Albany detectives, revealed that Joe is better known in his home town as "the Phantom Burglar." Capt. Stokes helped trap Joe in 1950 outside the Medical Building into which he had broken half a dozen times. The Albany Police Department still has Private Foster, U.S.A.'s signed statement admitting the break-ins. Charged with seven counts of burglary, he was sentenced (because he was a juvenile at the time) to the Boys Training School at Milledgeville. On release, he joined the Army.

The conclusion is of course valid: "A man just isn't a man in Albany." Sometimes he's a common thief.

In the future, we trust the nation's crusading picture magazines will examine their heroes more thoroughly before going to press.



Sen. Allen J. Ellender

Ellender Warns on Violence

In Radio Speech On Segregation

WASHINGTON, Mar. 17 (AP).— Sen. Allen J. Ellender, D., La., said tonight the South must avoid lawlessness and violence on the race issue if it wants to escape a "repetition of the Reconstruction regimes" that followed the Civil War.

Sen. Ellender, one of 101 signers of a "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" by Southern lawmakers denouncing the Supreme Court's school desegregation ruling, said any breakdown of governmental authority in the Southern states would "open our gates to an invasion by a new and even hungrier breed of carpet-baggers."

He made the statements in a radio broadcast for Louisiana stations.

Since the court's 1954 ruling, he said racial relations in the South have deteriorated and threaten to get worse.

No "Whipping Boys"

The declaration was necessary, he said, to show that the "people of the South, both white and Negro, are not going to be used as either whipping boys or political pawns in order to fulfill the Supreme Court's new doctrine of sociological justice."

As a result of the ruling, he said, "outside agitators who seek the subjugation of both the white and Negro races in the South are hovering like greedy vultures for the time when racial antagonisms lead to chaos."

The South, he said, has been invaded by "unprincipled, power-hungry, self-seeking, outside agitators, primarily "the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

But it is important for the South to avoid "violence, lawlessness and bloodshed," Sen. Ellender added.

"Declaration"

The "Declaration of Constitutional Principles," presented to Congress last Monday by Sen. Walter F. George, D., Ga., and Rep. Howard W. Smith, D., Va., kicked up storms of debate in the capital.

At his mid-week press conference, President Eisenhower pleaded for moderation by "ex-some of the latter tremists" on both sides in the segregation issue. But his remarks drew the fire of somevolves no derogation of either Northern Democratic liberals, he said, "If some believe who called for him to speak out that segregation connotes inferiority, then it is a connotation more firmly.

choose to place upon it, for the segregation applies both white and Negro alike."

PENITENCE ASKED FOR SEGREGATING

Times P.25-C

Bishop Donegan, in Pastoral Letter, Calls for Holy Week Atoning for the 'Sin'

Mon. 3-19-56

Acknowledgment of "our own sins of segregation in our own community" during the week before Easter was urged yesterday by the Right Rev. Horace W. B. Donegan, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York. New York, N.Y.

Bishop Donegan made the appeal in a pastoral letter to the diocese, which he read from the pulpit of St. Bartholomew's Church, Park Avenue and Fifty-first Street. The diocese includes New York, Bronx and Richmond Counties of this city and seven upstate counties.

Denouncing the theory that segregation is a regional problem, the Bishop asserted that "it is our own problem since it concerns not only our nation, but also the whole world."

The present turmoil over the problem of integration, he said, "gives endless comfort to the enemies of our democracy." He added that our nation's statements on human liberties "must of necessity be subject to suspicion when our actions belie our words."

The Bishop noted the progress made "in this section of the country" towards improving the living and working conditions and educational opportunities for "many of our brethren who have been denied the rights and privileges which all of us believe to be the inheritance of every child of God."

Response to Divine Principle

Observing that we have done "those things which are required of us by God and humanity," he asked: "But has it not been more by legal action rather than by the application and practice of our faith?"

He noted that "our own church has affirmed" the doctrine that "'God hath made all nations of one blood to dwell on the face of the earth' and all are one in Christ."

Christians, he maintained, are confronted with but one problem: "Do our parishes maintain a degree of mutual acceptance of human beings as persons, people for whom Chrst died, absolutely irrespective of race, class or ethnic background?"

He warned that, regardless of the reply, "there is only one answer acceptable to God and that is a general and humble acknowledgment of our failure in our bearing personal witness to the love of Christ who charged us that we should love one another as He loved us."

He asked that during Holy Week "we acknowledge before God our own sins of segregation in our own community and pray daily that God will reveal to us more clearly the Biblical truth that all men are made in the image of God and are of eternal worth in His eyes, and that in Christ all men are one."

Bias, Segregation May Cost South Factories

Defender Chicago, Ill

Sat. 4-7-56

Many northern industries, which had been considering moves to the south, are re-considering in view of the racial situation, according to Sylvia Porter, syndicated economic reporter.

Miss Porter said the south stands to lose "tens of millions of dollars" in wages and taxes because manufacturers are reluctant to become embroiled in the racial conflict of the south.

She cited the case of "one of America's largest manufacturers of electrical equipment" who was set a few months ago to open a new plant in Georgia.

OPPOSE MOVE

"When the engineers and technical employees concerned were informed of the planned transfer," said Miss Porter, "a large percentage strongly objected.

"They all have families,' said my informant, 'and while they liked the area, they didnt want to move into a mess about schools, 'social segregation, etc.'

"The company — which would close down if it couldn't count on the engineers and technicians it must recruit in the North — has decided not to open any more plants below the Mason-Dixon line."

STAYS NORTH

Miss Porter related other cases, including that of a "world-famous corporation in the business machine field," which found an ideal location in for a new plant in Kentucky.

"Then it ran headlong into segregation of social facilities. The company abandoned its plan to move south, is now expanding in New York state," she said.

She stated that one executive, whose firm specializes in helping businesses find factory locations told her that at least 20 corporations, which had considered moving south, are about to abandon the idea.

SOME GOOD POINTS

She continued:

"Of course, the racial problem in the South always has been a consideration in corporation moving to the region.

"But the problem has been more than offset by the South's great advantage — climate, ample labor, lower wage levels, special tax exemptions, other incentives, cheap power.

"Since World War II, the South has gone through a profound industrial revolution.

"Now it's a question of whether the problem is serious enough to slow down the South's industrial growth.

"I am not venturing into the emotional, social, moral, political, legal aspects of the situation in the South today.

"Here, I am submitting only a hard-headed, cold-blooded report in my field of economics.

"And this report that racial tensions already are affecting the expansion plans of corporation deeply wanted by the South should be read by hard-headed businessmen in a cold-blooded way.

'MOUNTIES' SUGGESTED TO GUARD DIXIE NEGROES

Journal & Constitution Atlanta, Ga. 4-20-56

CHICAGO, April 7 (UP)—Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore) said Saturday night the government eventually may have to send federal police patterned after the Royal Canadian Mounties into the South to protect the rights of Negroes.

Neuberger said he already is studying the Canadian statutes which set up the famed red-coated force of the North Country. Sun. 4-8-56

He said such a force in this country "may prove to be the one way of safeguarding the Negroes of the Southern states in the exercise of their inalienable American rights to vote, to be equally educated, to be respected and not to be discriminated against."

Neuberger, whose remarks were contained in a speech prepared for delivery to the annual dinner of the Council Against Discrimination, is author of a book about the Mounties.

Fire Starting In The South

From: The Manchester Union Leader, Manchester, N. H

This newspaper hates and opposes segregation. Nevertheless, it predicts that the U. S. Supreme Court decision abolishing segregation of Negroes in American public schools will be unsuccessful in changing long-standing customs, as was the attempt to do away with the use of alcoholic drinks by passing a constitutional amendment. The prohibition amendment was a failure. Its main by-products were gangsterism and widespread disregard for law and order. Advocate P.4

Editors of leading newspapers in the Deep South indicate that the Supreme Court's desegregation decision has brought to a standstill the lessening of tension between the two races that had been marked in late years and that was resulting in the Negro gradually obtaining his proper place in the life of the South. **The Supreme Court decision against segregation is an example of trying to do the right thing in the wrong way.**

Northerners, especially those who have not lived in the South, have no realization of the fact that, rightly or wrongly, segregation has existed for so long in the South that it is a way of life for the white people. They will not stand to see it abolished because of a court ruling. Sat. 3-17-56

The impact of this issue on the nation as a whole has not been generally realized. The question of segregation will dominate the Democratic convention next summer. Jackson, Miss.

Candidate Stevenson's position on this question has pleased neither the North nor the South. Kefauver, by coming out against segregation, has pleased the Northern Democratic city bosses who depend on the Negro

vote to control their areas. By his position, Stevenson has probably cost himself Southern support. Without the South, the Democratic party cannot win a national election.

Probably this means that the Democratic party will turn, for its nominee, to a dark horse who has not been forced to commit himself before his nomination on the question of segregation.

Certain Republicans recently, with questionable taste, have boasted that it was a Republican chief justice who presided over the Supreme Court when it handed down the anti-segregation decision. Chief Justice Warren, who while Republican governor of California favored socialized medicine, is an example of the shallow and superficial political and legal fraud of late years, a fraud believing in the all-powerful government and in improvement not by evolution and growth but by compulsion by law and judicial edict.

Unfortunately for those ideals of fair play for which this newspaper and many other Americans stand, Warren's Supreme Court decision has not brought happiness and enlightenment south of the Mason-Dixon line but has lit a fire of hate and discord between the white and the black in the South, **the like of which has not been seen since Abraham Lincoln gave his life to put out the conflagration.**

Moderation Begets Moderation

From: The Christian Science Monitor

Advocate Sat. 3-31-56

We welcome the rising chorus of appeals for moderation in dealing with the current crisis over desegregation. The eloquent pleas by President Eisenhower, Senator Clifford Case, and Representative Kenneth Keating are the latest. They call for a response of reason and common sense from both sides. And every such response should evoke reciprocal responses. For as extremism is answered by extremism, so moderation begets moderation.

Jackson, Miss.

Such appeals are the first and necessary step. But action must begin to follow words. Much can be done by better information.

P. 4

For instance, few people in the North have any accurate conception of what the situation is in the South. Some know that the Negro has made great strides; few know what sacrifices southern people have made for these gains or how much remains to be done in many areas. Few have had the experience of living where a large part of the population—sometimes a majority—have very different customs and standards plus marked racial characteristics.

Few realize that Northerners going to live in the South usually adopt southern racial attitudes-with emphasis. Or that even at home many Northerners practice their own forms of discrimination and segregation—in housing, in employment, and in education. Few Northerners understand at all the extent of good race relations in the South.

Many Southerners appear equally unaware of certain factors in the situation, including their own forms of inconsistency. Few recognize that they have some very close associations with Negroes in their homes and at their work, but draw the racial line in other places. Many appear not to know the extent to which desegregation has been achieved without overturning their civilization—in public libraries, on the Atlanta municipal golf course, in all but five state universities, in many labor unions.

Extremists on both sides would have less influence if more Southerners knew how few Northerners want to send troops to enforce social equality between the races below the Mason-Dixon line. There is also widespread misunderstanding of the Supreme Court decision. Too many Americans do not know that it left a good deal of room for adjustment to local conditions. Too many are unaware that it permits separation in schools where separation takes place naturally. Indeed, gains for moderation would come from more information about the decision.

Good people in the South are, in their frustration, calling it "vicious, unwarranted, and unconstitutional." There seems to be an assumption that the court, out of gratuitous perversity, decided to play the tyrant. The facts that three Southerners joined in the unanimous decision; that many social and legal developments led up to this interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment; that the court did not go out hunting for new powers, but performed its habitual function of deciding cases brought to it; that historically much constitutional law—including the "separate but equal" rule the South now clings to—has been developed in this way—all these facts deserve fuller consideration.

There is in this issue ground for constitutional argument, but such argument particularly should be informed and moderate. Of it is, moderation in action will be encouraged.

General

For The South, A New Fear

By SYLVIA PORTER
In The Charlotte (NC) Observer

A new fear is beginning to emerge among the intelligent, aggressively industry-minded citizens of this, the key and largest city of the Carolinas—a fear that as it spreads could, in itself, be vital in helping to avert unmerciful tragedy in the South.

Journal & Guide

Put in simple, yet superlatively significant dollars-and-cents terms, it is:

P10 Sat. 4-7-56

That the increasingly violent conflict over integration of the Negro will, if it continues, seriously set back the plans of industries all over America to expand in and move to the Southeast.

If this happens — AND IT IS ALREADY STARTING TO HAPPEN — then:

Norfolk, Va.

The strong industrial upsurge upon which the development plans of Charlotte and every other leading city in the South are based — will fall far short of expectations.

38a

The South's great transition from economic colonialism to an industrialized, alive, sophisticated society will be shamefully slowed;

* * *

General

THE NOW BRIGHT production-employment-income picture will be perceptibly darkened;

The profound industrial revolution of the South—which just in the last 15 years has slashed unemployment and dramatically raised living standards — will be interrupted.

* * *

This goes far beyond emotionalism and social customs.

This hits right at the cash register of the Southern businessman and the pocketbook of his family — and businessmen, no matter where they live, have respect for the cash register and pocketbook.

And so it could be that the awakening I have glimpsed here in Charlotte will spread and the Southern businessman will take the lead in demanding that the integration issue must be solved with dignity and decency—and in the not too distant future.

Charlotte is a beautiful, gracious—and booming—city. The whole area vibrates to the hum of new activity

In 1955 alone, 30 new industries — including a giant Douglas Aircraft plant soon to begin production of the Nike guided missile — moved in.

Since the start of World War II Charlotte's population has zoomed more than 50 per cent, but jobs in industry have climbed more than 90 per cent.

* * *

WHAT'S MORE, its leaders thrill to the prospect of mounting industrialization and diversification of industry.

As Charlotte's Mayor, Philip Van Every, said proudly when I called on him, "What you're seeing now is Charlotte in its industrial infancy."

And, added James Glenn, executive vice president of Charlotte's Chamber of Commerce, "Right now, we have four hot prospects (for additional companies). We're going to grow."

* * *

But although race relations in Charlotte are more friendly than in most other areas of the South and Charlotte is still a comparatively quiet city, informed observers admit the situation is deteriorating fast.

Of Glenn's "four hot prospects," one has cooled — in the past month. This company well may shelve, for the time being at least, its plans to move South—a first warning of what could happen.

If American industry is to continue surging toward the expending in the Southeast, it must have available an ever-increasing pool of skilled workers in the localities in which it has settled.

* * *

IF AMERICAN industry is to continue building up this whole area, it must be able to count on an urban, worldly atmosphere in which the men coming in can work at ease and their families can live without tension.

In Charlotte, the most encouraging thing I discovered was the beginning awareness of the economic force involved in this issue—as distinct from the emotional, social, political, legal forces.

It could be that the economic force will be the greatest of them all in helping the South toward a solution and thus helping it stay firmly on the road toward a brilliant destiny.

READERS' POINT OF VIEW:

Courier-Journal

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal:

Desegregation in the Deep South presents a very grave problem. It is going to take time and plenty of it before the schools can be integrated, but it can be done peacefully.

Some loud-mouthed pinko politicians, mostly from Chicago and New York, are playing with fire in yelling for federal intervention and immediate integration, and they should know they are playing with fire. The intelligent people of the South realize that integration of the schools will, under the law, have to take place and they know that it will be done in a few years in a peaceful way if the leftist politicians will only forget about the Negro voter in the large Northern cities and do the intelligent thing by stopping their rabble-rousing.

HENRY HOWARD.

Prestonsburg, Ky.

Good Old American Way

Integration apparently has three schools of thought. They may be identified as routine acceptance, gradual adoption and total rejection. The lines of demarcation are always clear but they are by no means fixed or constant.

In areas where routine acceptance prevails, the Supreme Court's formula on desegregation creates no problem. The very opposite school of thought is identified as the school of total rejection.

The chief advocates of this school are found in the four states which have resorted to the ancient and somewhat illusory doctrine of "interposition." For our purpose and conclusion at which we expect to arrive we define "interposition" as a form or expression of mass hysteria on part of the dominant group to maintain its status quo under outside pressures that are paramount. The advocates of this echelon, more often than not, have considerable difficulty in explaining that they are operating within the law and that they are not inspired by "mobocracy" or a system of pressures or direct action against those who do not conform to their thinking. Their greatest hope rests primarily on the tactics of a delaying action.

Here we have two extreme situations neither of which would seem to offer any practical solution to the problem before us. Fortunately for men and women of goodwill everywhere, there's an alternative which is presently found in the majority of the 17 states affected by the Supreme Court's formula, making well-anchored gains in the good old American way. This is gradualism. Take your pick. Therefore, we believe Governor Harriman's approach is spurious and that Mr. Stevenson's position is sound.

Hopkinsville, Ky. MCKINLEY BACOYN.

Lou. 3-3-56

Race Relation Observance

The following paragraph appeared in The Courier-Journal February 23: "Montgomery, Ala., Feb. 22: Negro religious and political leaders, including 16 ministers, were arrested on boycotting charges today in a wholesale round-up of defendants indicted by a grand jury for their mass protest against segregation on city buses."

By way of contrast, I would like to relate what happened here in the city of Louisville Sunday evening, February 19. In observance of race relation month, I, as pastor of St. John Methodist Church, 18th and Ormsby, the choir and a number of our members conducted the evening worship in the Hughlett Memorial A.M.E. Church, Zion, 2324 West Chestnut. Both choirs led the congregation in singing some of the great hymns of the church. The St. John choir rendered two very appropriate and beautiful anthems.

Following the program of worship the guest pastor delivered the sermon. After the sermon the choir of the host church rendered three special numbers. It was a great hour of fellowship, of singing and inspiration. I am sure that each one present of both races returned home feeling that it was a very profitable occasion. On March 18, the Rev. Mr. Hughlett and his people will come to St. John and conduct the evening worship for us. We are looking forward to their coming.

I am convinced that if the same spirit of goodwill and fellowship prevailed throughout our Southland as was manifested in the co-operative service at Hughlett Memorial on the evening of February 19, our racial difficulties and problems would be solved. There would be "one great fellowship of love, throughout the whole wide earth."

Louisville. KENNETH R. DILLON.

Restraint Urged About Manifesto

Courier-Journal 2-3

Fri. 3-16-56 Louisville, Ky.

Case Calls for Friends and Foes Of Segregation To Avoid Extremism

From Wire Dispatches

Washington, March 15.—The first formal Republican reply in the Senate to the Southern segregation manifesto was made today and it was in a tone of marked moderation.

In a declaration last week 19 Southern senators and 81 Southern members of the House, all Democrats save two, pledged to use "all lawful means" to overturn the Supreme Court's decision outlawing racial segregation in the public schools.

Senator Case of New Jersey, a liberal of the Eisenhower wing of the G.O.P., called today upon the anti-segregationists as well as the prosegregationists to avoid all extremism of utterance and action.

Calls for Tolerance

"Let us each in every way open to us make clear that the extremists will not have their way, that men of good will and moderate temper can and will work out the problems involved in complying with the law if they really want to," he told his colleagues.

In the House, Representative Keating of New York, another liberal Republican, called also for understanding tolerance of the Southern viewpoint, though making it clear that he wholly supported the court.

"I agree with my esteemed friends from Southern states that we are facing challenges akin to those which plagued our nation in the sad days of reconstruction," Keating declared.

"But I am sure that on reflection none of us will wish to carry his partisanship on this matter beyond the limits of judicial reconsideration or legislative and constitutional revision.

Powell Talks of 3d Party

"And I hope the wisdom and restraint of the court's own language in these decisions will prove helpful to all of us."

Representative Powell said today he and other Negroes may consider starting a third party unless either the Republicans or the Democrats take a firmer stand for Negro rights in the South.

Suggests State Panels

Senator Sparkman (D., Ala.) suggested today that President Eisenhower call on the governors to set up bipartisan commissions to seek solutions to the integration problem.

Other Southern senators also expressed opposition in separate interviews to a study commission such as Eisenhower called for again yesterday.

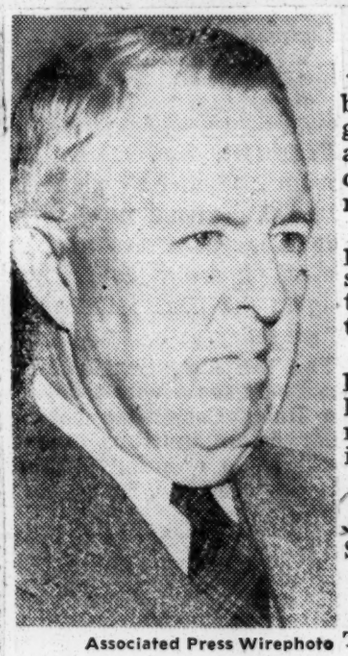
Eisenhower told his news conference yesterday he had in mind a commission created by Congress and given power to issue subpoenas and take evidence.

"I think the President would be better advised to ask the governors of states where there are tensions to set up bipartisan commissions to look into this matter," Sparkman said.

"Integration and kindred problems are different in every state, and people familiar with those problems should look into them."

Sparkman and Senator Douglas (D., Ill.) said Eisenhower has authority to set up a commission of his own to conduct inquiries.

Gradualist Approach to Integration Is Urged



Associated Press Wirephoto

DR. GUY H. WELLS
Urges racial co-operation

States' Rights Principle

Times 2-22

Southerners Said to Feel They Should Manage Own Affairs

New York

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Allow me to reply briefly to the criticism by Mortimer Hays published Feb. 5 of my letter pleading for courtesy and forbearance in judging the attitude of Southerners regarding the race problem.

Mr. Hays evidently fails to realize either the nature of this problem or the gravity of the situation which may again rend this nation apart, not by war but by bitterness of feeling and disunity.

The basic issue, in reality, is not the race issue but rather the principle of the right of states to deal in their own ways with matters considered by Southerners to lie in the field of "reserved rights" under the Constitution.

The issue of States' Rights was not settled by the Civil War. It has been aggravated in recent years by the alarming tendency of the Federal Government to intrude and dictate in local affairs such as freedom of enterprise, agriculture and education.

Mon. 2-27-56

Mr. Hays upholds a doctrine which would permit a panel of nine men—all political appointees—to rule and legislate without redress on the part of the several states. This doctrine is abhorred by millions of Americans in both the North and the South, irrespective of political affiliations.

The intelligent and high-minded people of the South are thoroughly aroused over this issue. They should be permitted to work out a solution in their own way, especially as concerns the ultimate good of the colored people who, by destiny, must share in the task of building up a prosperous and happier South.

Southerners should not be dictated to by outsiders who do not have to live intimately with this painful problem. They cannot be coerced. The situation is too tense for denunciations and recriminations. Are they to be subjected to indignant intimidations and hatred? Or are they entitled to courteous consideration and generous forbearance?

PHILIP M. BROWN.

Charleston, S. C., Feb. 12, 1956.

Gainesville Daily Times

South's Majority Is Weary Of Ranting Racial Extremists

More and more moderate views on the Northern sides of the segregation issue appear in the nationwide press. Northern educators, exposed to the sincere opinions of their Southern brethren, show signs of heeding requests to "go slow" in pushing integration.

More and more the minds of people from regions outside the South recognize the foolhardiness of the NAACP in pushing a crisis to the precipice of disaster.

In the South, the wild, heedless statements of leaders who assume too much stir up bitterness and violence, but collide increasingly with moderate views. Surely there is some middle ground where the problems of desegregation can be handled intelligently. We hear calmness from many Southerners who don't like the ring of blood in the words of their elected officials.

Moderate voices, forced to restrain from shouting by the very nature of their position, are overcried by the NAACP and by the reckless voices of politicians. We do not hear the rank and file of the people talking in any such dogmatic, inflammatory terms. The people would turn to a moderate leader if he would show himself.

Adlai Stevenson on the national scene expressed a moderate viewpoint—one the South could live with. His efforts to bind the South in philosophy as well as tactics with the National Democratic Party bounced immediately against Senator Russell's endorsement of Lyndon Johnson for the presidency and after that against the Southern manifesto in Congress. The timing of these events make recent actions concerning the race question appear wholly political in intent.

The South whirls maddeningly away from center and the further it goes the more difficult it becomes to return to a rational and workable solution.

Generations of progress could be set back overnight by continued adherence to blind denouncement of a situation that can be worked out. The North is beginning to back off a little in its unreason. The South could do the same.

SEN. ELLENDER WARNS SOUTH ON VIOLENCE

New Carpetbaggers Will Follow Failure Of Law, Says Solon

WASHINGTON, March 17 (AP)—A Southern senator cautioned his people Saturday night to avoid any show of violence in resisting school integration lest they invite a return of "Reconstruction" government and rule by "carpetbaggers."

Sen. Allen Ellender (D-La) told a Louisiana radio audience in an address recorded in Washington that he and other Congressional signers of last Sunday's "manifesto" against integration are committed to resistance by "any lawful means." He added:

"What the South must avoid at all costs is violence, lawlessness, hatred and bloodshed. The outside agitators who seek the subjugation of both the white and Negro races in the South are hovering like greedy vultures for the time when racial antagonisms led to chaos, the breakdown of governmental authority, and general lawlessness.

* * *

"IF THIS condition should occur, then I fear they will not hesitate to press for the use of force. If this should occur, then all our people could look for of the Reconstruction regimes which brought the South only oppression and self-seeking exploitation."

In "our fight to maintain the basic principles of our federal, constitutional system," Ellender said, "we must not open our gates to an invasion of our states by a new and even hungrier breed of carpetbaggers."

The "declaration of Constitutional principles" signed by the Southern Congressmen, he said, "is a sober warning" to the American people that the Supreme Court "has laid the foundation for what may yet prove to be a complete destruction of our Constitutional system of checks and balances."

INTEGRATION HIT AS COMMIE PLOT

Shreveport Citizens Group Hears Gov. Griffin

SHREVEPORT, La., Feb. 23 (AP)—Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia termed efforts to integrate schools a "Communist plot to devide the people" and "nothing less than an effort to destroy the country" in a speech here Thursday night.

The Georgia governor addressed a meeting held under auspices of the Citizens Council of Shreveport.

In a prepared text, handed newsmen in advance of the speech, Griffin called the Supreme Court ruling "anarchy by the court."

Relations Set Back

"The South was making great progress unimpeded," he said, "but now the good relations between the races of this region have been set back over a hundred years."

He said the South is under no legal or moral obligation to submit to the court ruling because its edict is "in defiance of the constitution."

"It cannot be said that the people of the South have defied the court when it is the court itself which acts unconstitutionally and the states and their people refuse to recognize a ruling which is clearly an unlawful usurpation of authority by the federal judiciary."

Mixed Marriage Issue

He reviewed action taken by the Georgia Legislature, including bills authorizing implementation of a private school plan should that become necessary.

Griffin said the next threat "looming on the horizon is a further declaration by the United States Supreme Court that a state's power to prohibit mixed marriages is unconstitutional."

"The heavy percentage of colored population in the South makes it mandatory for us to practice segregation," he added. "It is in poor taste and bad judgment for states which do not have our problem to seek to tell us how we can best solve it."

"Understand" The South

THE ABLE AND influential *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, and other Southern journals have been calling upon Northern newspapers and National magazines to open up their columns to Southern writers, in order that the South's case against desegregation might get a better hearing.

The *Times-Dispatch* the other day called attention editorially to an article in *Time* magazine by WILLIAM FAULKNER, Mississippi born novelist, warning the North that unless that region got a better understanding of the South's determination to keep segregation in its traditional forms, "liberals" like himself, who now occupy a sort of "moderate" position would be driven into the ranks of the militant prosegregationists.

When prosegregationists (the group that will not consider yielding gradually to desegregation at any point at any time) calls upon the North to *understand* the South, they really are asking the North to *agree* with the South in all matters pertaining to the South's policy for dealing with the race question.

They are not asking for understanding; they are asking for agreement, and for cooperation in holding on to their patterns of withholding citizenship from Negroes.

* * *

Which "South" is the *Times-Dispatch* and others asking the North to "understand"? There are at least three. The mob-minded political South; the more conservative and decent business South, and the vast South, which is in favor of law and order and the principles of Christianity, but which is seldom heard from. For which of these Souths is the spokesmen for the political South asking "understanding"?

RACIAL INJUSTICE HELD U. S. SHAME

Its Effect on Other Peoples Decried by Jesuit Editor in Sermon at Fordham

Every "interracial failure" in the United States is "bruited around the world with the speed of light," the editor of the Jesuit weekly America said yesterday.

Preaching at the fourth annual observance of Interracial Sunday at Fordham University, the Rev. Thurston N. Davis warned that "often that light gets refracted through the strong, twisted lens of Soviet propaganda."

Thus, he observed, "we cut an ugly figure when we fail to live with our fellow citizens in justice and in charity."

"The whole world has its eyes on us," Father Davis went on. "It had its eyes on Tuscaloosa all this month.

"Our world audience will not note or long remember that Autherine Lucy's lawyer may have made charges which could not be substantiated or that the milling crowd of news photographers may have had something to do with the hysteria of the crowd of rowdies on the Alabama campus.

"They will note and remember only that at a critical moment we denied our democratic principles and resisted our own laws in a passion of race hatred.

A Senator's Inconsistency

"What must be the effect on the non-white peoples of the world when they read that our Supreme Court ruled that we proceed with all 'deliberate speed' to end the segregation of races, and then learn that a United States Senator on Feb. 10, 1956, spoke of the Court's decision as 'judicial tyranny by a nine-man oligarchy'?"

Father Davis was referring to Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

"The United States today," the priest continued, "finds itself bearing the immense responsibility of the leadership of the free world. It is a responsibility we did not seek, but cannot surrender. Our every action, our every failure, is now loaded with importance and significance to all the world.

"Surely the Senator must see that he cannot effectively oppose subversion one day in Washington if soon after in Montgomery, Ala., he aligns himself with those who promote it."

The mass was celebrated by the Rev. Richard Pwamang of the Diocese of Tamale, Gold Coast, Africa, with the Rev. Archibald V. McLees, Chaplain of the Interracial Council of the Brooklyn Diocese as deacon. The Rev. C. M. Visuvasam, Director of Social Action of the Archdiocese of Maduria, South India, was subdeacon.

Morning Mail

Post-Herald B'ham, Ala. Sat. 3-10-56

Warning Given To Negroes Of South

I would appreciate if you will give my version of integration in the South. I am a Negro plasterer. My grandparents were slaves to the grandest white people that ever lived, so I was told by my grandparents and father and mother.

They lived in West Alabama and moved to Birmingham where I was born 42 years ago. I attended school until I was 15 and then went to work as a helper and learned the plastering trade. I have worked all my life with the white people and have made as much or more than the average building tradesmen.

My association with the white people has been as a working man only. After my days work I went about my business and the white men went about theirs. In all my life my white friends outnumber my Negro friends. I have been helped on many occasions by my white friends and I know during the depression they helped my parents to the extent of feeding and clothing us.

The worst thing that ever happened to the Negro race was the organization of the NAACP. It is not advancing the Negro race but is creating hatred, distrust, economic pressure and loss of friendship that existed between the white and black races, especially here in the South.

The Supreme Court decision in my humble way of thinking was not to help the black man, but to help the greedy and selfish politicians, to get their vote and help them get elected.

The Northerners are always blaming the Southerners for mistreating us, but they are no friends of the Negroes, but are still trying to penalize the South as they did during Reconstruction days following the Civil War when the carpet baggers invaded the South.

The Southern Negro has advanced faster in the South in the last 30 years than in any other part of the world and it has been through the help and advantages given him by our Southern white people. The Negro that complains of mistreatment, brings it on himself and deserves it, but he is not persecuted for his act as the NAACP tries to infer.

The real Southern Negroes do not want integration. They want to be left alone. The white people are as much segregated from the Negroes as the Negro is segregated from the white. We have everything they have and every advantage they have if we are smart enough to work for it. The NAACP, Autherine Lucy, Polly Ann Hudson, Arthur Shores and others like them are tools of the Communist and if not curbed will set the Negro race back 100 years.

I love the South as my parents and grandparents did. I love the white people who have been my friends and helped me. They respect and trust me and I don't want to lose their friendship. I am not ashamed of being a Negro, but I am ashamed of what some of my race are doing.

I do not blame the Southern white people for taking the stand they have. I do not blame them for organizing to keep segregation. We and the Supreme Court will have to answer for whatever comes of it.

The press, television and radios are helping to create this fast growing tension, by so much publicity. If they would curb so much publicity I believe it would gradually die.

To my race, I hope and pray that you will awaken and realize that you are a Negro and should be proud of it. That your way of like is not threatened by our white brothers and you should not threaten his way of life by integration, regardless of what you are told by fanatics, radicals and Communists. The white Southern people are our truest friends, so let's keep him our friend.

WILL JACKSON,
Zion City.

* * *

Protest Made On TV Bills

Who are the owners, the managers, the program sponsors of television today?

Are any of them interested any more in the good things of life? I mean spiritual values or do any of them ever think of anything besides pop music, hot tunes, jazz, murder scenes, drinking parties and such things? To read, to see, to hear these things day and night on television and radio is enough to run our young people mad. Christians won't listen.

Where are the Christian people, the Christian sponsors?

I get so hungry every morning before I start off for a day's work to hear a lovely, spiritual song and the scripture preached. I long to be able to turn my TV on on Sundays any hour and see and hear the old fashioned gospel preached by a spirit-filled pastor and to see a spiritual quartet there singing the wonderful songs of the gospel.

Christian, sponsors awaken to your duty, try to give the American people something that will feed their souls instead of poisoning the minds of innocents.

MRS. M. KIRBY,
1307 4th Ter. W.

* * *

Black Widows Ask For Help

We certainly appreciate all you are doing in the way of publishing the articles sent in to you by the people in favor of doing more for the teen-agers.

I believe I can speak for all the clubs in saying that we want the public to take a part in our club projects and to back us. We only have the papers and the radios to help us get to the public.

I would like to ask the co-operation of the youth and the other people driving to be cautious and to keep the people recognizing us in the way a real rodder should act. There are about 25 gangs and about the same number of hot rod clubs.

None of the gangs have civic backing and only one club has the backing of the police force. I think it is a shame that the police doesn't try to do more for the teen-agers.

I know our club was turned down by the whole community and the police force can't do anything for us because the city doesn't want us and they can't let their police take a part because the people don't want any part of the project.

It is with the help and co-operation of the Police, Jaycees, City Council and other civic-minded organizations that will put us across to the public in our true light.

In the group of boys caught the other night, I don't believe there was a club member from any of the reputable clubs there. Why wasn't the names of the three women who were caught that night for reckless driving named and a big front page spread on them. I would like to make an appeal to the public. Tell all your friends to let the police and the newspapers know your viewpoints on the issue. Let's get behind this worthwhile project.

J. C. HARRIS,
Black Widows, B'ham.

* * *

Court Ruling Not Interference

Mr. Bart Fulton of Shelby County has a letter in "The Morning Mail on March 7, in which he says to the Southern Negro, in effect, "If you don't like the way you are treated here, you can always go somewhere else."

How would Mr. Fulton feel if I should say to him: "If you disagree with the Supreme Court ruling on school segregation, you should leave the United States and go to some other country"?

Mr. Fulton would promptly and properly tell me to go jump in the lake. The United States is his home and he has a right to protest anything he doesn't like.

The Supreme Court ruled against racial segregation because it was asked to do so by Negroes who had been born, grown up and lived in the South. That ruling does not represent outside intereference, in any way, shape or form.

Mr. Fulton has a right to disagree with that ruling. He has a right to campaign for the repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment, on which that ruling is based. But to tell those who agree with the ruling to move out of the South, he has no right whatever.

RICHARD P. GREENLEAF,
307 College-st, Boaz.

* * *

Put Red Threat Before Court

Why not put the Communist threat to overthrow the Government of the United States of America before the Supreme Court and see how they would rule on such a matter?

Would they rule that it is perfectly safe to have such underworld gangsters mix and mingle freely with freedom loving people of America?

In the race question ruling. "They strained at the gnat and swallowed a camel."

J. D. STONE,
Halevville.

O'Boyle Cites Challenge of Racial Issue

Post + Times Herald P. 1

Archbishop Urges Christians to Work For Equal Rights

Wed. 2-29-56

The Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington, cited the racial segregation issue last night as a challenge America must solve before it can call itself a "truly Christian nation."

Washington

The Archbishop, in an address at the fifth anniversary dinner of the John Carroll Society in the Mayflower Hotel, called for an "honest audit of the race problem."

D. C.

"Here is a real challenge to us as Christian laymen, to take leadership in bringing about full equality of opportunity, in fact as well as in law, to every American citizen," he said.

"Until we do this, we cannot pose as a truly Christian nation. Nor can we win the bitter war for men's minds in the world struggle, if the Communists can tell the hundreds of millions in Asia and Africa that they, rather than Christ, that all men are equal."

More than 800 members of the John Carroll Society heard Archbishop O'Boyle's comments in an address he entitled "The Christian Impact." He also discussed labor-management relations and the threat of communism to world peace.

Taking a temperate approach, Archbishop O'Boyle said the race question was simple in principle "once we acknowledge that we are all children of the same Father."

Two weeks ago, the Most Rev. Joseph Francis Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans, denounced segregation as "morally evil and sinful" in a strongly worded pastoral letter read at all masses in the Archdiocese of New Orleans on Feb. 19.

Archbishop O'Boyle said the issue was "fundamentally a matter of how we regard our fellow man," whether "we segregate, condemn and degrade people on the basis of race . . . or acknowledge that all men are our brothers in Christ."

Post + Times Herald

Noting that racial prejudice deprives members of the colored race of a chance to advance, he said that "Negro or Chinese college graduates may be waiting on tables because they have no outlet for their trainings and talent.

P. 10

"To me, the remarkable thing is not that some members of minority groups are retarded, but rather that so many have been able to advance as far as they have," Archbishop O'Boyle said.

The Prelate said he recognized that "securing of full justice" for the Negro race "presents problems."

"Difference in culture, education and living habits, due in the main to segregation and restricted opportunities, are not easily bridged," he said. "That there are difficulties, no sensible person would deny."

The Archbishop said Christians must ask themselves if these difficulties are "an excuse for inaction, or on the contrary, a challenge to vigorous and intelligent action."

He told his listeners it seemed to him that "there are two broad lines of approach" to the race problem.

"First, each of us should ask: 'In what area, that I can influence, are Negroes discriminated against merely because of their race?'," he said.

A second approach would be to "go back into history and read what was said about our own ancestors," the Prelate urged.

"We were considered by some to be the dregs of Europe, the products of old-world slums, the unsuccessful type that could not make a living in our native lands," Archbishop O'Royle recalled.

This has been dispelled today because America was a "land of opportunity" in which "we had a chance to advance and assimilate," he said.

The Archbishop said, however, this chance came in large measure because of the

accident of color." He declared that racial prejudice "bars this advance to members of the colored races."

Turing to labor-management relations, Archbishop O'Boyle said that a "strong union movement and enlightened social legislation" were safeguarding the workers in the nation today.

The Prelate said he did not wish to "enter into the question of the relative power of business and labor or to compare the sins of one with the sins of the other."

Basically, he said, labor and management were partners in production—"they prosper and decline together." He charged that there had been soo much of a "merely negative approach" to labor-managment relations. He added that there were too few persons "with the imagination and courage to press forward toward positive harmony anl friendship."

In reference to communism, Archbishop O'Boyle said that the doctrine of hatred preached by Karl Marx "became a reality under the guidance of Lenin, Stalin and Khrushchev" in Russia.

The Prelate said the Communist was a "sworn servant to a perverted faith and dedicated to the distorted principle, 'Render to man the things that are God's.'"

He charged that communism was based on the "denial of God and the deification of man" and had always been "insincere, wrong and evil."

"Any dealings with the Communists based on any other beliefs are almost doomed to failure from the start," Archbishop O'Boyle warned. He said he felt the United States was "paying a grievous price in world affairs today" because of failure to keep in mind the Soviet philosophy.

"Statesmen may at times be compelled to deal with the devil, but they cease to be statesmen when they confuse him with an angel of light," the Prelate said. "Our Government must continue to strive for peace with honor and with no sacrifice offered to the idol of expediency."

The Myth Of Mixing In The South

Times-Picayune, New Orleans

IGNORANCE is a terrible thing. In a recent Gallup Poll (the same people Harry Truman proved so wrong a few years back) appearing in one of the local dailies the pollsters allegedly found out that 8 out of 10 Southerners were opposed to the "mixing" of the races when asked their opinion on the U. S. Supreme Court declaring segregation unconstitutional in public school and recreational facilities.

The gullibility and ignorance on this question of "mixing" is almost unbelievable. In the first place the "mixing" they are talking about being opposed to is quite apparently a myth for the 5 million Negroes passing for white is uncontradictory proof that too large a number of whites have found a way to mix outside of the law. How else can you account for the fact that the "passing for white population" is steadily increasing and not decreasing? Negroes are especially amused for there are few who do not know some "white" people who have Negro blood.

In the second place they obviously have no objection to mixing if it is in a servant or menial capacity. Witness the large numbers that have Negro maids and other Negro servants taking care of their children, feeding them and waiting on them. Negro maids can sit in the front of the screens on the street cars if they have white children in their custody. They can even attend the theaters provided they are taking some white child to the movies. Apparently in their definition of "mixing" it is acceptable only in "service" or menial capacity but never as a citizen or human being. Have you never heard how the most bitter race baiters tell how they "love" their Negro help and would do anything for them except treat them as another human being or citizen in conformity with the laws of this great nation.

On the other side of the question Negroes are not as concerned with "mixing" with white people as some racial bigots propagandize. Negroes feel and know they are citizens as well as human beings entitled to use public school and public recreational facilities the same as any other citizen. They are tired of this myth of "mixing" being used to deny them the same public facilities their taxes help to pay for. They would really like to see many, many white Southerners grow up and act like they know what democracy and christianity are all about. After the way they have been treated by many white Southerners it is extremely doubtful that they would want to "mix" socially or otherwise with people they knew had so little character, feelings about being "superior" and absolutely nothing about the "Golden Rule." Actually these spewers of race hate flatter themselves in even thinking Negroes would want to mix with certain whites in any way, shape or form.

Maybe the whites who share the strong opinions about being opposed to mixing believe such poppycock because they are afraid to find out the truth about themselves, they have absolutely nothing to offer but a white face toward making this a better world for all people. Further, it's possible they couldn't bare the shock of knowing Negroes had no special interest in them.

It was no accident the other day when the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery boycott, urged Negroes thusly: "We must have compassion and understanding for those who hate us. So many people have been taught to hate, taught from the cradle. They are not totally responsible . . . We must use the weapon of love . . ."

They need it.

Default of Leadership

Post + Times Herald

Not since 1865 has there been a greater need for strong and temperate leadership in the South than there is today. Tensions between the races have mounted to a point where an ugly explosion is an ever-present threat. As always under such circumstances, the demagogues and others who have no respect for the country's great traditions are making capital out of the fears and uncertainties in men's minds. Now the outstanding voice of Southern conservatism is raised in defiance of the Constitution. Sen. Harry F. Byrd's call for "massive resistance" to the Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling deprives him of the right to call himself a conservative. A conservative is first of all a defender of law and order. Senator Byrd, who has sworn to defend the Constitution and laws of the United States at all costs, has arrayed himself with irresponsible hotheads who would take the law into their own hands. Indeed, such a statement from a man of his stature and position encourages the mob. For Senator Byrd so to forget his responsibility is a frightening thing and a warning of dangers ahead. Mon. 2-27-56

His comment that interposition is a "perfectly legal means of appeal from the Supreme Court's order" flies in the face of all the experience of history; indeed, it ignores the decision made at arms in a tragic civil war. Adlai Stevenson properly called attention in his Hartford speech on Saturday to Andrew Jackson's warning against the twin evil, nullification. He could have quoted with equal appropriateness the arguments of Jefferson and Madison. The proper legal means of appeal from a Supreme Court decision is by way of amendment of the Constitution. Moreover, as Virginia's Attorney General has ruled, an interposition resolution does not suspend enforcement of the Supreme Court ruling. By urging "massive resistance," the Virginia Senator is promoting defiance of the basic law of the land. Washington, D. C.

In some respects, the situation in the South today is ominously like the tragedy of 1860. This does not mean that the country is on the verge of civil conflict. It does mean that the counsel of moderation from recognized Southern leaders is missing in many parts of the South today much as it was missing nearly a century ago. The spotlight is held by demagogues and by those who would defy the law. Surely the exercise of courageous and sensible leadership by responsible civic and political authorities in Montgomery, Ala., would have brought about settlement of the Negro boycott of the buses. But a default of leadership there has resulted in a deepening race conflict.

Alabama's Governor Folsom belatedly called Alabama editors and publishers to a meeting to discuss steps that might be taken to improve race relations. The crying need is for bi-racial commissions to sit in almost continuous session in every Southern state. There should be state and local commissions made up of leaders from both races. They should meet with the authority of the Governors and Mayors behind them. This would help put leadership back into the hands of men who know their obligations and responsibilities, and it would assure orderly instead of violent change while at the same time strengthening the bonds of friendship.

38a 1956

Americans Must Not Be Divided

The history of this country would involve many conflicting views and obvious differences in opinion. Its free speech franchise founded on a rugged wilderness orthodox would commend it as one of the leading debating grounds in the world. There are times when clash upon clash has been heard within the social compact. Still only once it has witnessed an outright rebellion.

Such is healthy for a nation. Daily Herald P.6

Since the Supreme Court handed down its May 17th., 1954 decision outlawing segregation at the public school level, there have come reverberations almost bordering on sedition. The question was seized upon by some of the states involved and fused into political issues for the purpose of coloring campaigns. It was first set up on the state level where no candidate had an option to stand up and be counted with that moderation and open sympathy imperative in such an explosive question. Sat. 4-14-56

Leaving the state level, it has been superimposed in the national campaign for president of the United States and if needs be, in the races for U. S. Senators. Atlanta, Ga.

In the Democratic camps there are two top contenders for the nomination with erstwhile liberal records. One a mid-westerner (Illinois) and the other a Southerner, (Tennessee).

The former, Adlai Ewing Stevenson, would be classed as the middle in the roader compromise candidate, apparently willing to lose the election if needs be in order to keep the Democratic party united.

The latter, Estes Kefauver is out on a full length liberal program which the Southerners want none of.

In the midst of it all, 100 Southern Senators and Representatives issued what they have been pleased to call, a manifesto, somewhat of a legal means of presenting an opposition to the mandate of the United States Supreme Court. While history does not record ever in its long record any success for any such move, there is apparently in it the safety valve for those Senators who must run in those states where they are likely to face campaigns set up with the strategy designed to "divide the sheep from the goats."

The Republican party faces no division, they all "like Ike" and whether the stand-patters wish to carry Nixon along or not, there will be no option if he gets the OK of Ike — which is inevitable.

In reading the manifesto, there are many signs where it was watered down. It has a softening of legal phases and other trimmings in its clothing that will allow it at least to pass across the stage in the political fashion review.

In that is seen a temperament acknowledging the supremacy of the government and the according it such respect in due time as will be sufficient for the forgiveness of the prodigals when they finally come home to help feast on the fatted calf.

This nation was so devised and its governmental machinery so syncronized as to make it as unavailable for the infusing of those isms that have seen service in dividing nations.

As President Eisenhower says, Americans must not be divided. Moderation is his theme, with no compromise — but the eventual occupation of a free citizenry upon this continent designed as a government with no provisions for other than an offer of first class citizenship on these shores.

GENERAL

Sedition Law Change Sought

Post + Times Herald P.15

Thurs. 4-12-56

By Murrey Marder
Staff R

A drive was launched in the Senate yesterday to restore state powers to prosecute sedition against the United States —powers the Suprme Court has said only the Federal Government holds.

Washington

Legislation to give the states clear co-equal powers in the broader area of the whole "field of sedition and subversive activity" was proposed by Sens Styles Bridges (R-N. H.) and Edward Martin (D-Pa.).

Their action came after the governing body of the National Association of Attorneys General met here yesterday and indorsed similar law changes.

On April 2, the Supreme Court struck down the conviction of Western Pennsylvania Communist leader Steve Nelson under the Pennsylvania Sedition Act. Nelson also has been convicted under the Federal Smith Act. The high court said the Federal law supersedes state laws.

The effect of the decision was to undercut all state sedition laws that brought numerous protests from attorneys general across the country.

The Atttorneys General Association's subversive activities committee and executive committee, in that order, yesterday adopted resolutions calling for amending the Smith Act to give states co-equal authority under it.

Copies of their resolutions were sent to Congress. Members of the national association were urged, if they approved of them, to "manifest that approval to the members of their congressional delegations."

Joining in the unanimous action were association president John Ben Shepperd, attorney general of Texas, and New Hampshire Attorney General Louis C. Wyman, vice president.

Other attorneys general approving the resolution were George Fingold of Massachusetts, chairman of the Subversive Activities Committee; J. Lindsay Almond Jr., of Virginia; Joe T. Patterson of Mississippi; Graydon W. Smith of Idaho, and Grover C. Richmond Jr., of New Jersey.

Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.), author of the Smith Act —who has said said he never "dreamed" it would nullify state laws—met with the association members.

Smith has sponsored a sweeping states' rights bill which ould assure states the right to in any field of legislation less Congress specifically ecludes it, or there is "posive conflict" with Federal law. he Supreme Court has ruled hat many Federal laws, by their nature, preempt fields of legislation. The Smith states' rights bill already has been endorsed by the Southern and Midwestern regional groupings of the National Association of Attorneys General.

It was backed yesterday, with some amended language, by Shepperd, Wyman, Almond, Smith and Patterson, in individual actions.

Fingold told newsmen that in the discussion of the Nelson case decision, the attorneys general placed varying interpretations on how great a technical impact the high court decision would have on state laws.

But Fingold said as "a practical matter," the decision, without a change in law, would make it almost impossible for any state to convict a Communist of advocating overthrow of the State Government, as well as the Federal Government. The Supreme Court stressed that the Smith act applies to sedition against local and state governments as well as Federal.

Virginia's Attorney General Almond said, "I'm stronger than before in the conviction that the Court read into the Smith Act an intention which Congress did not intend."

Letters to The Times

Times P. 32

New York

To House Minority Groups

Adequate Funds Urged to Enforce Laws Against Discrimination

Wed. 4-11-56

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The race problem in critical form is not limited to the South; nor is it settled in the North. In New York State the gains of recent years and the opportunity to move forward may now be lost unless the people of the state are awakened to a number of important facts. The recent failure of the New York State Legislature to appropriate adequate funds in the fight against discrimination presents a serious issue.

In New York State and other states are many Negroes who have been moving Northward for industrial jobs. Many have sent their children North for freedom and equality of opportunity. Of those who have come North in summer to help the agricultural labor shortage, an increasing percentage have remained.

Thus the state generally has known a substantial increase in the percentage of Negroes in the total population. Discriminatory practices against Negroes and against the increasing numbers of Puerto Rican people have presented new problems.

In addition to this immigration, the dislocation of families due to slum clearance and urban redevelopment has created new centers of overcrowding and minority concentration.

To the ills of slum living, prejudice and discrimination against colored peoples make integration and assimilation far more difficult.

Exclusion From Suburbs

Finally, the migration to the suburbs by middle and upper class white families creates a ring around each city with a heavy barrier against non-white families. It is this situation which threatens the achievement of genuine integration in the North.

White suburban families appear to feel the need for a social status which demands a policy of racial exclusion. Thus, with the new suburban developments, segregated housing and segregated community patterns are being established for

decades to come. Within these segregated communities segregated schools, playgrounds, hospitals and churches are inevitable. With these are perpetuated the age-old attitudes of racial superiority and inferiority and the discriminations, tensions and bitterness of the past.

In the light of these facts the people of New York State must face the implications of recent decisions concerning the work of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination. Ten years ago New York led the way by passing the Ives-Quinn law creating the State Commission Against Discrimination, to assure fair employment practices. Each year the State Commission has gained wider acceptance as an agency for complaints, adjustments and conciliation and educational work for greater tolerance and better inter-group relations.

In recent years New York has increased the jurisdiction of the commission by including non-discriminatory practices in public accommodation and public and publicly assisted housing. Just this year we added housing to S. C. A. D.'s jurisdiction by outlawing discriminatory practices in F. H. A. and V. A. housing.

Funds to Enforce Law

With this increased jurisdiction it becomes clear that the State Commission should have the increased appropriation to carry on its work. The State Commission is prepared to enforce the laws against discrimination if it has enough staff.

The State Commission needs funds for economic research, field workers and the services of specialists in labor relations, housing and social tensions. It is prepared to organize local councils of leading citizens throughout the state to anticipate tensions and avoid the eruptions which have scarred communities throughout the country.

S. C. A. D. has a tremendous educational job to do. Despite this, the State Legislature has refused to grant S. C. A. D. the funds necessary to perform its increased functions and responsibilities. Now at a time when the race issue in America is so divisive, when its repercussions threaten the very foundations of our Constitution and when it is so destructive of our prestige abroad, New York State cannot afford to backslide.

All citizens share the responsibility for making New York State an example of fair play and fulfillment of the promise of equal opportunity for all.

ALGERNON D. BLACK.
Chairman, New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing.
New York, April 9, 1956.

Political Views of de Galindez

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

I cannot permit to go unanswered the implications made in the statement published in The New York Times of April 4 from Dr. Manuel de Moya Alonzo, Dominican Secretary of State Without Portfolio, giving the impression that Dr. Jesus de Galindez, who tragically disappeared on March 12, was a Communist.

This is the consistent attack used by Latin-American dictators to obscure the real issues whenever they are attacked for violations of human rights which are as insidious as those practiced behind the Iron Curtain.

Dr. Jesus de Galindez was a Roman Catholic and a Christian Democrat. His abhorrence of dictatorship made him equally an enemy of communism as it did of the Trujillo dictatorship. That he dedicated himself in the last years to exposing the latter was due to his realization that he was in the best position to do so by virtue of his long study and intimate knowledge of the conditions there. This did not minimize his abhorrence of Communist totalitarianism.

CLIFFORD FORSTER,
Counsel for the International League for the Rights of Man.
New York, April 5, 1956.

America Can Lose Friends In Far East On Treatment Of Negro, Attorney Says

Globe Dem. 5-25-56

By Luther Carmichael

Nashville, Tenn.

Unless the cause of the Negro is advanced in America, we are going to lose all of our friends in Asia, and the various islands in the Far East, Attorney James M. Nabrit administrative assistant at Howard University warned in an address at First Baptist Church, Eighth Avenue, North, Sunday afternoon.

Attorney Nabrit addressed the J. C. Napier Bar Association in a public meeting at the Eighth Avenue church, which is pastored by the Rev. Kelly Miller Smith. A rally for the NAACP followed the address.

Today, he said, we have one great enemy, but "if we keep turning these people against us" we will have all of the peoples of that section of the world against us instead of the one, he said.

The noted attorney chided certain American sources for their claim that the Negro's health and intellectual status will be a handicap to whites in an integrated society.

"Insidius means," he said are being used to get over their points." Health and Intellectual handicaps of the Negro have been brought about by the white man who has been responsible in the first place for these conditions, among Negroes, he said.

"How can you take a child out of the slums with their deplorable conditions and expect that child to compete with a child from a home where the parents are of the highest intellectual status?"

Complete implementation of the Supreme Court's order cannot be effected until "you have all the things you need to develop." He cited the Washington scene, which has 68,000 school children, "but all of the schools are not integrated." Housing conditions, he said must be adjusted, before full implementation can be realized.

Much To Be Done

Mr. Nabrit, who has argued numerous Civil Rights cases before the United State Supreme Court, called upon the Negro to "do something" for himself, and warned that there is much to be done before full implementation of the Court's order is realized.

"We need the church and all social agencies to develop this implementation," he said.

He urged the Negro to develop within himself, and teach to his children the things which are vital to his rightful place as a citizen of our nation.

"I know of nothing greater to tell a little child than to tell him that he is going to grow up and be a man—with rights and privileges like any other man. . . we must do something ourselves"

He warned that all will not be roses in the fight for full civil rights, and cited the case of the Israelites when they were trying to get out from under the bondage of Pharaoh, whose heart had been hardened by the Lord; and the grumbling by the Israelites, themselves when the going got rough.

"Don't be alarmed if there seems to be a 'hardening of heart' on the part of the white man, and don't be alarmed if there are those among you who grumble," he urged.

Mrs. Fields Takes Life Membership

Mrs. Cora Fields, retired Nashville City School Teacher, and widow of the late pastor of the Pleasant Green Baptist Church, took out a $500 Life Membership in the NAACP in the rally following the address. A legal defense fund contribution of more than $40 was also raised during the course of the rally.

Mr. Nabrit is the eldest son of the late Dr. J. M. Nabrit, Sr., former presdent of the American Baptist Theological Seminary, and is a brother of Mrs. Cecilia Nabrit Adkins, S. S. Publishing Board accountant.

EDUCATION HELD INTEGRATION KEY

Times 5-20-56

New York

Digest Study Shows Desire for Segregation Decreases as Schooling Increases

N. Am. 5-20-56

A survey on integration published in the June issue of The Catholic Digest indicated that only 17 per cent of Southern whites favored bringing Negroes and whites closer together. In contrast, 58 per cent of Northern whites supported integration of the two races.

The survey, taken in the last six xmonths, was made for the magazine by Ben Gaffin and Associates of Chicago, an independent opinion research firm.

Groups of 500 persons in various categories and in different parts of the country were asked whether they believed it was a better idea to keep the two races apart or to bring them together.

On a country-wide basis, the poll indicated that 42 per cent of the whites wanted the races kept separate, 48 per cent wanted them brought together and 10 per cent expressed no opinion.

The Negroes voted 90 per cent in favor of integration. Only 6 per cent expressed sympathy for continued segregation and 4 per cent offered no opinion. No matter where the Negroes lived, or how much income or education they had, they voted almost always for integration.

The survey showed that the problem of integration was not one of religion, because there was almost no difference in opinion between Roman Catholics and Protestants.

A major factor, however, was education. Among Northern whites with eight grades or less of schooling, 48 per cent favored segregation. Yet only 16 per cent of Northern whites with college educations favored keeping the races apart.

Among Southern whites with eight grades or less, 87 per cent wanted segregation, while 54 per cent of Southern whites with college educations favored it.

The Catholic Digest announced that other findings of the survey in various areas of Negro-white relationships would be published in subsequent issues

Funds Asked To Fight for States' Rights

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

N. Jol. 5-15-56

A group of Georgia business, industrial and professional leaders has made an appeal to other Georgians for funds to help publicize the nationwide work of the Committee for Constitutional Government.

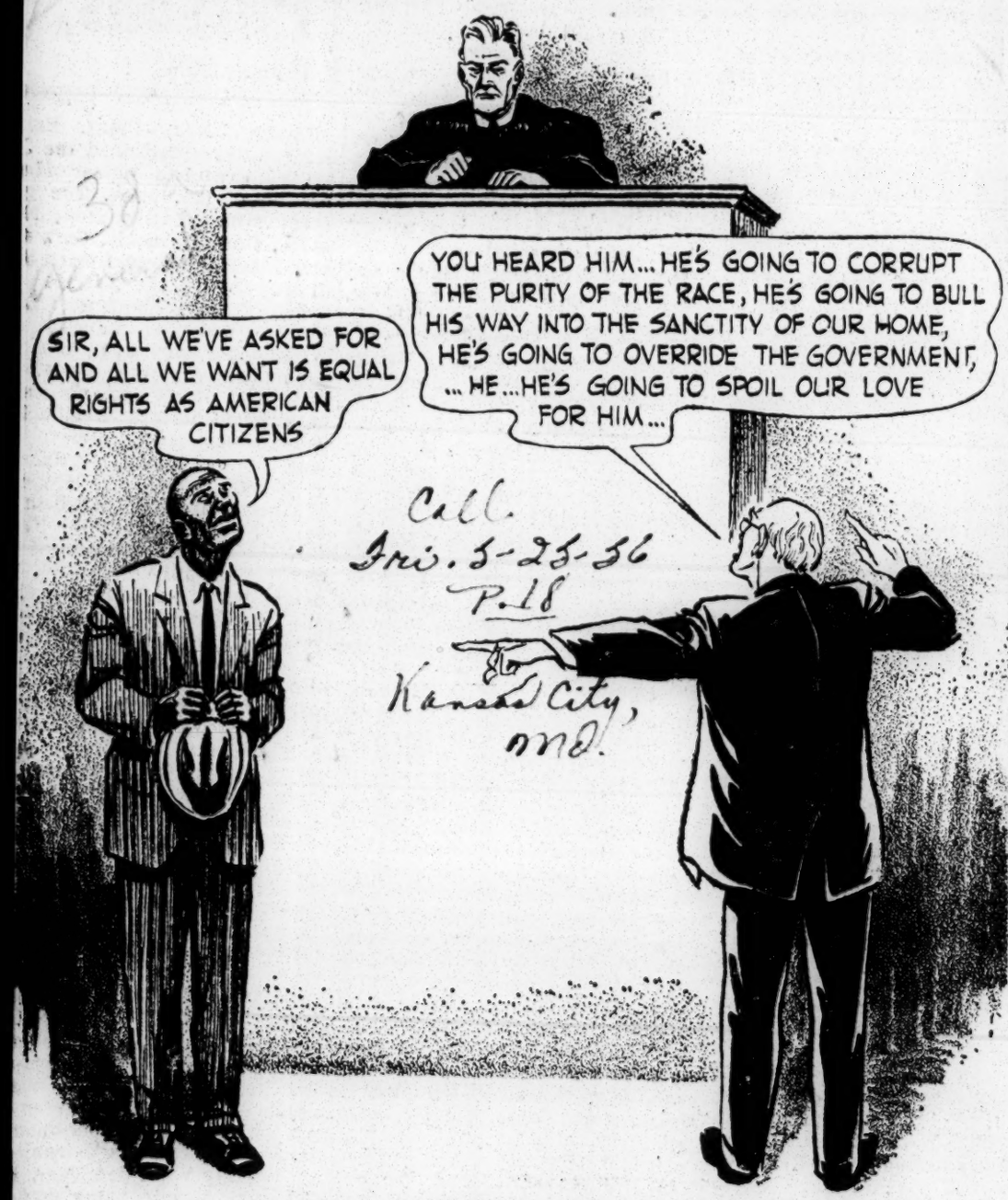
A telegraphic appeal for support was signed by 19 of the Georgia men. It charged that in integration, tidelands, migratory birds and state anti-sedition laws decisions the United States Supreme Court has acted as a "super Legislature" and invaded constitutional powers.

The Committee for Constitutional Government is backing the "Declaration of Principles" signed by Southern congressmen and is supporting legislation to restore states' rights and is opposing labor "bossism," the telegram said. It asked contributions ranging from $50 to $1,000 or more.

Names signed to the telegram included Robert P. Jones, Fort Adams, English Clark and M. E. Kilpatrick, all of Atlanta; Morris M. Bryan, Jefferson; H. V. Jenkins, Savannah; Landon Thomas, Augusta; Robert W. Groves and Alex A. Lawrence, Savannah; F. E. Adams and Cubbedge Snow, Macon; George Mercer Jr., Savannah; Charles J. Bloch, Macon; Quimby Melton Jr., Griffin; J. Q. Davidson, Columbus; Paul A. Redmond Jr., Rome; William B. Turner, Columbus; Howard H. Callaway, Hamilton, and Paul K. McKinney Jr., Columbus.

38a 1956

PLEASE, LET HIM SPEAK FOR HIMSELF



Call. Fri. 5-25-56 P. 18 Kansas City, Mo.

"... VIOLENCE TO NO MAN, NEITHER ACCUSE ANY FALSELY." — LUKE 3:14

Howard University president says segregation is dead

Afro-American Sat. 5-26-56 P. 17 Baltimore, Md.

ATLANTA — "The system of segregation is dead. The only thing in doubt is the day of the funeral," President Mordecai W. Johnson of Howard University declared here Sunday.

He was the principal speaker at a special 75th anniversary vespers service at Spelman College. He said that if the United States is to hold its place in world affairs, it must give up the slave system before it is too late.

Dr. Johnson first praised the vision and courage of the founders of Spelman College who saw what the South did not see—education must be provided for freed slaves.

* * *

"THEY PIONEERED a whole system of education," he said.

GENERAL

"It took them 50 years to produce college graduates, but they never doubted that they could do it," adding:

"Since 1911 the graduates of the Atlanta institutions have held their own with the best in the country."

In spite of the reaction in some quarters to the Supreme Court decision on segregation in the schools, President Johnson saw many reasons for optimism. He noted that three of the justices were southerners. He named Justice Black of Alabama as the most liberal.

* * *

THE INTEGRATION of the schools in seven former slave states and the District of Columbia, the attitude of the clergy, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, and the carrying of integration beyond the schools in some cities were all reasons for hope, in his opinion.

The Rev. Martin Luther King, pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church delivered the invocation and the Rev. Arthur Vann Gibson, pastor of Morningside Presbyterian Church pronounced the benediction.

The scripture was read by President James P. Brawley of Clark College. President Albert E. Manley of Spelman College introduced the speaker. Music was by the Spelman College glee club.

South Rejoices Over U. S. Stand

Defender P. Sat. 5-26-56 Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON — President Eisenhower is being used, perhaps unwittingly, by southern insurgents to advance their fight to negate the Supreme Court ruling ending racial segregation.

This was disclosed last week when Deputy U. S. Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers, advised Senate judiciary committee chairman James O. Eastland, (D)Miss., that the Eisenhower administration favors enactment of a bill attacking a supreme court decision on the prosecution of sedition cases.

DRAFTED BY BRIDGES

The bill, drafted by Sen. Styles Bridges (R) N.H., would restore the powers of the 48 states to prosecute cases of sedition and communist subversion

The bill is now pending before the committee headed by Eastland, most vocal foe of the schools decision.

Rogers declared: "Enactment of the bill would express the intent of the Congress that the states may exercise concurrent power to punish acts of sedition or advocacy of the violent overthrow of organized government committed within their respective borders."

The court decision reached the conclusion that Congress alone "intended to occupy the field of sedition (and that) no room has been left to the states to supplement it." Rogers said the bill would correct this situation.

GOVERNMENT VIEW

He said in a letter to Eastland: "It is the view of the Department of Justice that in the field of sedition and subversion, the federal and state governments can work together easily and well."

Evidence that the Dixiecrats see in this bill a precedent that might be used to upset the schools decision was expressed in Georgia last week.

Georgia Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook endorsed the Justice Department request that Congress restore state power to prosecute subversion cases, and called for similar action in regard to racial segregation.

Cook, leading exponent of states rights, has argued, in connection with U.S. Supreme Court segregations by the Justice Department, and-or the states can override a Supreme Courts decision.

Commenting on the recommendations by the Justice Department, Cook said:

"I think it is a very appropriate rebuke to the U.S. Supreme Court for its continued efforts to upsurp the reserved powers of the sovereign states."

"I suggest," Cook added, "The present administration repeat this as it applies to the segregation decisions respecting our public school system."

Cook declared:

"It is time for congress and the administration to move in and curb the usurpation of state powers by the Supreme Court."

Lawrence Thompson

Herald P. 27-K

South Is Torn by Inner Strife

Miami Fla.

IT IS a sorry state of affairs, but it looks as if there may be a Civil War among us Southerners.

We have preserved a solid front, even converting the Yankees who have come to abide among us, since we won the War Between the States by tricking Grant into a truce at Appomattox. We have been ready, at the given signal of a rebel yell, to arise once more and flood the Yankee markets with our good Confederate money.

THOMPSON

But now we have subversives within our ranks. Or at least we have two groups, and it is each side's prerogative to call the other side subversive, if not outright Communistic.

I so happen to be a colonel in the Confederate Air Force and an honorary colonel of Kappa Alpha Southern fraternity, which ought to prove that I'm on the loyal and right side.

Times 5-24-56

But now I hear that somebody has organized what they call the Confederate army and are passing out commissions right and left.

At least they passed one of them out to Al Neuharth, a Herald reporter. I say I have proof that this so-called army is subversive or worse. My proof is that they didn't ask me to join.

They gave him the rank of colonel, which wouldn't worry me if I were concerned only about rank. Anybody knows that an officer in the Air Force is promoted faster than an officer in the infantry, and I ought to be a general long before Neuharth gets out of his present class.

The thing that burns me up is that this so-called army is trying to steal for itself all the rights and privileges of the Old South. They make it look as if the army will sit around sipping mint juleps while we of the Air Force have nothing but fatback and pot likker.

Come to think of it, there's nothing wrong with those, but we want equality on everything else.

Here's the fancy words these army fellows use in awarding their commission:

"Al Neuharth is nearby appointed colonel in this cotton pickin' rebel army and he will abide by the Code of the South, paying due respects to all except damyankees;

"Entertaining our Southern Belles in Dixieland style, feeding them on corn bread and black eyed peas and serving a right nice potion of corn likker, and on Saturday nights he will take his ole hound dog, a jug of corn squeezins and join the boys for a little possum hunting;

"And while on duty, he will wear shoes and refrain from dipping snuff. After 97 years of service, he will retire to his plantation veranda to sit under the beautiful magnolias, sippin' mint juleps an eating chitlins.

"Zeb Hogjowl, commanding general."

"Nathaniel Q. Claghorn, adjutant general."

I think I have heard of a famous Southerner named Claghorn, but I'll bet there isn't even any such person as Zeb Hogjowl.

I think the whole thing is a joke and that Neuharth has been taken in. But if it is serious, that Army had better be careful. The Confederate Air Force is apt to bomb it right out of its cotton patch.

Tell It To Old Grandma

Advertiser 5-6-56

Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letters ★ No poetry, please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.

Montgomery Ala.

Smoke Out The Northern Hypocrite

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER — Note the enclosed clippings about the "Teen-Age Race Riot" in Buffalo. One made the front page of the *Pittsburgh Press* but the others were deep in the inside pages.

Wed. 6-6-56

But nary a word of editorial comment from any of the local papers. You may be sure a similar incident in Alabama would have gotten the full treatment.

Note also that all the stories but one omitted quoting the full statement of reporter Wynn as follows: "She said gangs of Negro girls, wearing jackets with embroidered names of their gangs, roamed the ship attacking white girls, mauling them and tearing their clothes."

Newspaper readers here do not get the full story about racial strife. Even so, the rank and file of people have the same basic feelings and understanding concerning segregation as Southern people have. Were it not for the agitators, many of whom are undoubtedly with communistic leanings, the "do-gooders" who would never think of mixing socially with Negroes themselves, and the NAACP leaders, most of whom are quite clearly not Negro but light-skinned mixed white-Negro had it not been for these groups, the Lucy incident would not have happened.

Your brilliant reporting is having national effect. Keep it up and if you can enlist the aid of other Southern editors, you'll smoke out some of these Northern hypocrites. And the Supreme Court of Public Opinion will step in and save our country and way of life before it's too late. I believe a great many people here are coming to see that the real long-time objective of the agitator is inter-marriage of the races.

G. BRINSON.

339 Saratoga Dr., Pittsburgh, Pa.

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Custom Retards Integration Pace

Editor, The Advertiser:

Were it not for the force of habits and custom, integration would move much faster. The ancient Cyprian speaks of custom as the antiquity of error. Custom flows from the native urge of "consciousness of kind," another version of "birds of a feather flock together." Such native trends may be stretched to the nth degree. Many good and honest people stress the matter of race to the point of doing grave injustice to a cause or and individual for apparently no reason except that of color or custom. Certainly one is not responsible for his color and therefore should not have to suffer or be embarrassed for being back or white, red or brown.

There are those who find it hard to see beyond color. Prejudice makes them color conscious, outweighing love which will make one color blind. It so happens that color is but skin deep, and that, only through the outer skin, or epidermis, which may be erased through bleaching. It is natural for race and kind to seek its level or place. Those who have never known anything but segregation, and have had little or no social contacts with other peoples instinctively move towards and mingle with their own. This is done even after "signs" are removed and integration legalized and practiced. This, with the carryover and the curse of slavery, now a century passed, accounts for the many and serious tensions accompanying integration.

The concept of "separate but equal" is but a subterfuge under the strain of social customs. The theory is only an idea, and seldom a reality, for being separate is tanamount to inequality. Long time separate but woefully unequal accommodations are at present fast stepping up towards equality under the dynamic power and impact of integration. Public schools for Negroes were never so adequate as today. A $3,000,000 school was recently dedicated in the state of Maryland for Negroes. Salaries for Negro teachers usually equal those of whites.

Segregation is often modified according to the section of the country. It is more pronounced in the South than in the North—not more real but more apparent. There are more laws against segregation in the North than in the South. Redress is therefore easier in the North. The one and only place where I have been denied restaurant service was in the North, New York City to be exact. I have never entered a white restaurant in the South to be denied. I would have sued for $100, but I did not wish to capitalize upon my humiliation.

The Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954, was inevitable. It was born out of experience and history. This decision is just as certain to be obeyed and executed as was its creation. The length of time for fulfillment is comparatively minor, and must vary according to local habits.

The weight and power of custom may not be gauged. The old Arabian proverb placed custom alongside of the then known four elements which constitute nature (earth, air, fire, water) and added custom. And it often appears that our habits and customs are as inherent and powerful as the very elements composing our universe.

Except for the principle behind integration, stemming from the "Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man," the Negro would doubtless be less concerned over integration, especially when violence is involved. "God has made of one blood all nations that dwell on the earth" (Acts 7:26). This principle and fact will eventually make for the practiced equality of mankind. An embarrassing mark of these social trends is slowly passing out of our social picture — "For White," "For Colored." Equality and such signs are just incompatible. Our children's children may well wonder why and how such ever happened. Integration though slow must come.

CHARLES W. KELLY.

Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Lehman Hurls Challenge

Herald P. 1

Clean Up Own Racial Backyard, North Told

Mon. 6-4-56

Miami Fla.

NEW YORK —(AP)— Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, an outspoken champion of civil rights, Sunday called on Northerners to "clean up our own backyard" while also seeking justice for Negroes in the South.

LEHMAN

In a speech to the annual meeting of the Urban League of Greater New York, the New York Democrat cited the instance of Harlem, the huge, predominantly Negro area of Manhattan.

38a

Harlem, the Democratic senator declared, is "both illustration and proof that the acute manifestations" of the civil rights problem are not confined to the South.

Herald

The Urban League, composed of both Negroes and whites, is concerned with inter-group and inter-racial relations. It lauded Lehman Sunday as "the conscience of the Senate and the nation in the fight for full equality of opportunity for all Americans."

Discussing civil rights in the North, Lehman said:

"Harlem is a community rich in tradition and culture . . . but Harlem is also a rebuke to us of the North, and a challenge to clean up our own backyard even as we press forward with our efforts to bring justice and equality to the Negroes and other oppressed minorities in the South.

"Harlem is a ghetto, Harlem is an area of poverty, congestion, sub-standard housing, and sub-standard schooling. These conditions, rather than the race or national origin of the people who reside in Harlem, are primarily responsible for the high incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency in the area.

"We need residential integration in New York City. Housing segregation is responsible for the high incidence of school segregation in our metropolis."

Says Negro "Morally Obligated To Oppose Southern Bias

Clari Herald Tribune, Ga, Mar. 12-56

BUCK HILL FALLS, Pa.—(ANP) —American Negroes want integration in education because "we are morally obligated to oppose the misguided efforts of the South to bring American leadership into disrepute by its insistence upon segregation," a prominent Negro educator said here.

Dr. Arthur D. Gray, president of Talladega College, Talladega, Ala., speaking before the Midwinter Meeting of the Congregational Churches meeting here this week said, "Negro America is unanimous in support of ntegration in education for reasons over and above self interest. We are equally concerned about the welfare of the nation. We are morally obligated to prevent the South from committing intellectual suicide."

Dr. Gray stated that "since the historic May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court many Boards of Education and other public agencies have called conferences to consider what is best for the Negroes, but have invited no Negroes to state their views. This is a sad commentary upon educators who pride themselves upon getting the facts."

Because of the failure to include Negoes in consideration of school problems, Dr. Gray said, "...a plethora of views purporting to represent Negro opinion are circulated by citizens councils and other irrational groups. Some of these groups are trying to reach their educational destination by hitching the dead horse of inter-marriage to the ante-bellum buggy of segregation."

"Negroes," Dr. Gray stated, "do not want integration in education to mix with white people. They do not want integration n dining ride with white people. They do not want integratio nin dining cars to eat with white people. Nor do they want integration in hotels to sleep with white people. In all of these things Negroes want to live in dignity as citizens with no badge of inferiorty pinned on their backs because of color."

The educator commended the the South. "Beyond any question of doubt the majority of better Negro colleges in the South are church related schools. The public institutions of higher learning for Negroes are still in their intellectual swaddling clothes. The colleges now best equipped to function in an ntegrated system are among the schools of the United Negro College Fund."

Segregation and Politics

Star & Times Herald Washington, D.C.

Excited over what appears to be a racial crisis, the South should take care lest it rush headlong into a political or economic trap.

It is startling to reflect that today's racial issue is the first major controversy in American history never discussed by leaders of both sides on one rostrum or at one table. There must be a reason.

Why have leading white segregationists and colored integrationists never appeared on a television series where the people themselves could judge the good faith of the opposing leaders—and perhaps uncover any political skulduggery or needless obstruction in today's racial controversy? Are Americans, especially Southerners, victims today of a shrewd national conspiracy at high political and financial levels?

Consider the following possibilities, remembering that this letter is written by a nonpolitical Southerner concerned with no race but the human race and defending no law but the Golden Rule:

1. Republican politicians may be promoting today's racial bitterness in order to split Southern segregation Democrats away from Northern Democrats and thus guarantee a Republican victory in November. Although Eisenhower himself would never condone such methods, this writer heard the first significant attack upon Negroes in South Carolina come out of a clear sky at the Eisenhower Victory Dinner in Columbia, December, 1952. South Carolina's keynoting protest in 1955 against the Supreme Court was conspicuously signed by organizers of 1952's Citizens for Eisenhower.

2. Democratic (or Republican) enemies of Kefauver, Harriman or Stevenson may be secretly fostering Southern segregationist organizations just to elect state party delegates who will help defeat these presidential candidates at the coming national Democratic convention. Such strategists may then strive to nominate for President of the United States a Democrat of their own choosing.

3. By creating a third faction of bolting segregationists among Southern Democrats, certain unseen national planners may hope to elect a few new Congressmen, and force pledges from existing ones, to curb the power of labor leaders like Reuther, Lewis or Meany and thus shackle the strength of the recent AFL-CIO union merger.

Mon. 5-7-56

4. If the strength of both Republicans and Democrats could be split by an explosive racial issue, the 1956 presidential election itself might be thrown for final decision into the House of Representatives. Terrific pressure might then be concentrated upon pivotal Congressmen to elect a big business leader for drastic steps against communism and our own financial collapse.

Military men and business magnates, led by the head of Sears Roebuck, are said to desire a House election. Certainly our Nation may need much big business leadership to outstrip Russia in automation, atomic energy, and acquisition of critical foreign raw materials for a vastly expanded American industry.

This letter neither advocates nor opposes such conceivable aims. It speaks only for the right of the American people, especially Southerners, to know the true cause and consequences of today's internal strife.

For example, shrewd Northern industrialists and labor leaders could find no better way to check the movement of valuable industries southward than by secretly promoting a racial feud to disrupt Southern community life. Moreover, if the South actually undertakes the creation of "equal but separate" schools, parks, hospitals, etc. for two races, the resulting tax burden will cripple Southern taxpayers and frighten away incoming industries. Politics has never licked arithmetic.

Hitler duped peaceable Germans into a war for world conquest by first organizing them against the Jews on a racial issue. Let this Nation and the South beware.

Politics being what it is, how can trusting Southerners be sure that the NAACP and some white Southern segregationists may not both be rewarded, after the election, for scaring the South into the traps of new political masters and economic planners?

Bring on the television debates. Let us judge the manner and motives of leaders who resist racial rationality today.

DAVID D. CARROLL.

Bennettsville, S. C.

'EQUALITY' NEGRO AIM--DR. SHEPARD

Times-Picayune

Southern Founder's Day Ceremonies Held

Sat. 3-10-56

By JAY HALL

(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

BATON ROUGE, La., March 9 —The Negro wants "equality, period—not some kinds of equality, and anyone who says less" is distorting the truth, a Founders Day audience at Southern university was told Friday.

New Orleans, La.

The speaker was Dr. Marshall Shepard, a Negro Baptist minister who is city treasurer and a member of the city council of Philadelphia, Pa.

P. 12

He said that "tremendous developments" have gradually unfolded in the nation's racial situation, adding that "the supreme court has done a lot of things we like and a lot of things we don't like."

Didn't Like Decision

"We didn't like the Dred Scott decision," he said, and then the court "improved a bit when it adopted a doctrine of separate but equal facilities . . . and in recent times the court moved on to a more Democratic and truly American decision that said the Negro is a first-class citizen, that there is no room for any second-class citizens" in the Republic. That, he said, "Is a great advancement."

He urged his race to "keep your temper and smale" in the face of uncomplimentary remarks directed at Negroes and "don't press too hard" for a complete reversal of segregation because everything is on our side now."

Those protesting equality "feel outlawed" by the supreme court desegregation ruling of May, 1954, "and don't know how to adjust themselves," Shepard said.

Understanding Will Come

Understanding will eventually come, howeve, he predicted. Shepard said "the poison of racial prejudice" has made it so that no political party dare nominate any Southern white man for the presidency of the United States, no matter how qualified. When this prejudice is wiped out, any man in the South can aspire to the presidency and have the blessing of the Negro vote both North and South, he declared.

Shepard paid tribute to the late Dr. J. S. Clark, the moving force behind the founding of the "new" Southern university 42 years ago, declaring that the university's success is due to the "sense of the prescence of God" which he associated with Clark.

His address climaxed a week-long celebration of the anniversary, marked by band concerts, parades, radio and television programs, and vespers.

Four Founders Present

Present for the event were four of the handful of founders who were credited with Southern's rebirth in 1914 when it moved from New Orleans where it had been functioning since 1880, to Scotlandville, on the northern outskirts of Baton Rouge.

The founders attending were Mrs. O. H. Clark, wife of the late Dr. J. S. Clark; J. S. Jones, the school's first dean; Mrs. E. N. Mayberry, first director of home economics, and J. B. Moore, former Southern instructor in mechanics.

Also among those present was Octavia A. "Miss Octavia" Smith, 79, New Orleans, one of Southern's first two graduates while the institution was still in New Orleans.

Telegrams Received

Congratulatory telegrams from several national and state officials, newspaper executives, and others were read. Among them were messages from Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, Gov. Robert F. Kennon, Gov.-Designate Earl K. Long, and Dr. Ralph Bunche of the United Nations.

The Long telegram said, "Louisiana is to be congratulated on having such a fine institution as Southern university, which has sents its graduates out to fill many important places in the life of our state.

"During my term as governor, I shall do everything possible to improve the educational opportunities of all our people."

Dr. Felton G. Clark, son of the founder and now the president of Southern, presided at the program. The ceremonies began with an academic procession and concluded with a recessional. The university choir sang.

Poem Is Read

A poem written by freshman student Alvin B. Aubert, Lutcher, dedicated to Friday's service, was read by the author. Invocation was given by Julius M. Thomas, principal of Northwestern High school, Zachary, La., and the telegrams were read by Miss Annie Mae Piper, a junior student.

Following the service, a pilgrimage was made to the grave of Dr. J. S. Clark.

Dr. William H. Gray, also a minister from Philadelphia, was scheduled to have made the principal address but was unable to be present.

Not By Bombs Alone

Advertiser P. 2-A

We have been warned from several sources recently against expecting World War III, if it must come, to be brief. Some have indeed predicted that with the terrible agencies of destruction in the hands of the belligerents, it would all be over in short order. The other view is that even a shattered nation would fight on among the ruins, making it necessary for ground troops to go in and finish the job.

Mon. 2-6-56

What we would be witnessing, according to this school, would be "artillery preparation" on a gigantic scale, with an entire nation as the target instead of a trench sector as in the old days. Even when a line of trenches had been blasted, almost obliterated, there were likely to be enough defenders left to make actually occupying the enemy position a tough and costly proposition. It is argued that the same will be true in the vastly bigger-scale warfare of tomorrow—that a nation will not surrender to bombardment any more than an old-fashioned line of defenses.

Montgomery, Ala.

World War I was expected to be short—when it started, in August, 1914, it was freely predicted that it would be over by Christmas. It was assumed the machineguns and other improved weapons would kill men so fast that a decision would have to come soon. These prophecies did not take into consideration that men would burrow into the ground—resulting in a war of more than four years.

Another thing that makes wars longer nowadays is the growing habit of fighting them to a finish. If the weapons are vastly more destructive, the determination to achieve complete victory and the corresponding will to resist, are much more in evidence than in earlier days.

An illustration of this change in objectives may be found by comparing our Revolutionary War with World War II.

The Revolutionary War was decisive in the field in which Americans are most interested — winning our independence. But before it was over, it developed into a world war, with France, Spain and Holland ganging up on England. The belligerents fought in Africa and India as well as in North America, and their fleets clashed in many parts of the world.

In its larger aspect, the war was another 18th Century conflict, settled by a negotiated peace, a war in which no one had any idea of dictating terms in the occupied capital of the vanquished.

It was notable for the fact that England lost control of the sea, at certain times and in certain areas. The capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown was made possible by French sea power, which blocked his escaped by water, the French fleet also landing troops that cooperated with Washington.

But England did not receive a permanent setback at sea. A year after Cornwallis surrendered, the English beat the French in a great sea fight in the West Indies. The French admiral who had helped us at Yorktown, the Comte De Grasse, was made prisoner.

The balance, on the whole, was against England, and this was reflected in the peace settlement. She acknowledged the independence of the American colonies—by far her biggest loss. She returned Florida to Spain, certain trading posts on the west coast of Africa to France, and ceded a couple of minor West Indian islands to France. The indecisive nature of the general war was indicated by the fact that France did not even insist on the return of Canada, which she had ceded to England only 20 years before.

At the end of the Revolutionary War, England was not nearly as bad off as she was oin 1940 after Dunkirk and the fall of France. She had not been invaded, or hit at home with anything comparable to the German air attacks. She simply admitted that she had the worst of it, paid off, and they called it quits.

If the wars of our time were waged in the spirit of those of the 18th Century, England would have asked for terms after Dunkirk. She would have returned the German colonies taken in World War I, perhaps throwing in one or two of her own to boot, and acquiesced in limited German territorial gains on the continent. World War II would have been a relatively short affair.

The Revolutionary War was not indeed a quick war, even though it was not fought to the bitter end—the complete overthrow of one of the belligerents. It lasted seven years—but that was in the days of sailing ships and muzzle-loading muskets, which tended to slow matters down.

In our time, we have the weapons needed for a much quicker decision, in theory at least. But our idea of what constitutes a decision is also different from what it was in the days before "unconditional surrender" constituted the terms offered the vanquished.

'DEEP SOUTH' REBUFFED

Times P. 31-C

Senator Douglas Urges Firm U. S. Policy on Integration

Mon. 2-13-56

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12 (UP) —Senator Paul H. Douglas said today that the Government should insist, but "not in a vindictive way," that the South end racial segregation in its public schools.

New York

The Illinois Democrat advocated a firm but sympathetic policy toward states in the "deep South" that he said, were trying to evade the Supreme Court's order to integrate white and Negro children.

N. Y.

Mr. Douglas, who was interviewed on the American Broadcasting Company television program "Celebrity Parade," said the real trouble was in the "deep South."

P. 30-C

He agreed with Adlai E. Stevenson, Democratic Presidential candidate, that troops should not now be sent into the South to enforce the Supreme Court's decision.

But, he added, "we shouldn't give Federal funds for school construction programs to states and communities that are in open defiance of the Supreme Court."

NO FENCES STRADDLED

Advertiser P. 1

Butler Says Demos Planning Clear-Cut Integration Stand

Sun. 5-20-56

Montgomery, Ala.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., May 19 (UP) — Democrats will not straddle the fence on racial integration in their 1956 campaign platform, National Chairman Paul M. Butler said today.

He said they will take a "clear and unequivocal" stand on the issue which will follow the "moderate" view of the South upholding the U.S. Supreme Court's ban on segregatin.

"We're not going to recommend that the Supreme Court decision be enforced by guns, bullets and bayonets," he told newsmen. "But we're certainly not going to straddle the fence on the necessity of all our people to recognize the decision of the Supreme Court as the law of our land.

"I think we can state that principle in our platform without any offense to the moderates in the South."

He said Democrats will not try to chart a course on the degree of enforcement of the court order because that is something for federal courts to determine.

Butler was in town for a meeting of the Indiana emocratic committee, which re-elected him to a third two-year term as the party's national committeeman.

Butler said the Democrats expect to regain a "solid south" in the fall election. Four years ago, President Eisenhower carried Texas, Tennessee, Virginia and Florida.

A 'moderate" view on the racial issue prevailed in the South in 1952, he said, and the moderates seem to have even more strength now. He said "most Southerners are moderates—it is the extremists at each end that are causing the trouble."

South No Longer Solidly Segregated, Survey Finds

Courier-Journal Sun 9-16-56

(Editor's Note: The first region-wide attempt t... how integration is progressing in the South in the wake ... Court order of May 17, 1954 has turned up some su... Here is a report on the survey, soon to be pu... for the Republic, which sponsored the study.

By BEM PRICE

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15 (AP)—After turning up 1,100 examples of racial barriers dropped in all walks of life in Dixie over the past two years, a Southerner concludes: "There is no longer a solid South of segregation."

Reporting on a carefully documented survey of 17 Southern and border states where segregation has been the historic pattern, Harold C. Fleming said:

"The common notion that desegregation just can't work in the South is plainly contradicted by the findings."

The survey turned up examples, by specific location, of desegregation in schools, housing, public health and welfare, private enterprise, government, public transportation and public accommodations.

* * *

FLEMING, a native of Georgia and assistant director of the Southern regional council at Atlanta, said the survey was by no means complete and that the examples cited must be taken as merely representations.

The council is an interracial group devoted "to equal opportunity for all." Its membership is confined to Southerners.

Fleming's findings—all 1,100 of them—are to be published shortly in book form by the Fund for the Republic, which provided the money for the survey, along with a companion study on the removal of racial barriers in the 31 states outside the South.

The study, now in the hands of the printers, was made available in the aftermath of recent disturbances in the South over the admission of Negroes to public schools in Mansfield, Tex., Clinton, Tenn., Texarkana, Tex., and Sturgis and Clay, Ky.

* * *

IN ASSESSING his state-by-state survey, Fleming, a student of his region for 10 years, wrote:

"The 1,100 instances of desegregation discovered were almost evenly divided between the five 'border' states on the one hand and the 12 'Southern' states on the other. Virtually all of them took place smoothly and harmoniously.

"Obviously," he said, "a large reservoir of good will and capacity for change exists among private citizens, even in states where the official climate is harsh. There is no longer a solid South of segregation."

The survey covers the period from May 17, 1954 — date of the U.S. Supreme Court decision holding school segregation unconstitutional — to May of this year.

It is the first regionwide attempt to find out what movements toward integration have taken place in the wake of the court's opinion among all segments of Southern life.

* * *

THE SURVEY did not deal with what was expected to take place, but what has actually happened. The findings in part:

More than 350 school districts in nine of the 17 states had integrated to some degree. There were no integrated public elementary or secondary schools in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Virginia or North or South Carolina.

Negro children were attending previously all-white Catholic parochial schools in 21 Southern cities located in Arkansas, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Since 1935 some 164 accredited colleges and universities in Southern and border states and the District of Columbia have opened their doors to Negroes. Of these 164 now open to Negroes, 95 have newly desegregated at some level since May 1954.

AS OF MAY this year, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina enforced complete segregation in state-supported institutions. However, all but South Carolina had at least one private college which admitted students of both races.

In the field of public service, Maryland stood at the top of the list in the number of Negroes appointed or elected in the two years inventoried. At least 11 Maryland Negroes were named, all but one for the first time, to city and state posts.

Fleming noted here that developments in this field are not a reliable measure of the extent of Negro representation. For example, he said, in 1954 Negroes already were serving on city councils in at least 11 Southern cities and held elective or appointive office in more than 20 others.

* * *

IN PUBLIC HOUSING, Fleming found "segregation not only deeply entrenched but virtually unchallenged in the South."

Even so, this field was not without its exceptions. Negroes were living in public housing projects occupied by whites in Taylor and Crystal City, Tex.; Baltimore, Charleston, W. Va., St. Louis and Rayne, La.

As for transportation, Fleming reported that "local transit systems known to have dropped segregation were found in Texas, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Arkansas.

Among religious groups 20 newly integrated ministerial associations — were counted — four with elected Negro officers. Fleming noted, however, "the overwhelming majority of churches continue to serve either white or Negro congregations, although at least 10 formerly white churches accepted Negro members."

* * *

AS FOR HOTELS, restaurants and theaters, Fleming observed, "desegregation in public accommodations and theaters has been confined so far mainly to cities in the border states, chiefly St. Louis and Louisville.

"Instances of new desegregated seating in motion picture theaters were found in five border-state cities, and some eating places began serving both races in a like number of communities."

Why did the council undertake the survey at this time? Fleming explained in his summary: "It is universally recognized that this is a time of trouble in the South. . . . In recent months dissension and conflict have dominated the news from the region. The danger is that Southerners themselves, to say nothing of people elsewhere, will be blinded to the constructive evidence and will surrender to fear and discouragement."

Estes' New Authority

Advertiser 9-3-6

THAT THE race mixing whirlwind should now be reaped in the states of Texas and Tennessee may become more than a little awkward for the Democrats in the presidential race since these states are those of foremost Democratic leaders.

Montgomery, Ala.

Sun. 9-2-56

The Texas rioting reminds the country of Senator Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic majority leader in the Senate, and of Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, the permanent chairman of Democratic conventions.

The spotlight glare in Tennessee is painful because of Gov. Frank Clement, the aggrandized keynoter at the Democratic Convention in Chicago, and Senator Albert Gore, a nominee for vice president and a major Democratic figure. But above all is that rare Volunteer, Estes Kefauver, Democratic nominee for vice president.

Both Clement and Kefauver are most ambitious for national political preferment. Meanwhile, however, they have to remain in office in Tennessee. What will these gentlemen now say about "implementing" the Supreme Court decision?

Estes has hitherto said repeatedly that the court decision was just, desirable and must be complied with. Will he now denounce his fellow Tennesseans for resisting the race mixing?

Will he join the Harriet Beecher Stowe press and NAACP in demanding, as was demanded at the University in the case of Student Lucy, that the Democratic keynoter, otherwise Gov. Clement, hurl National Guard troops into Clinton to "implement" the court decision?

At the very least, Estes will be able to address his fellow Americans on the subject of race mixing with a new authority. And he won't have to leave Tennessee to do it.

Why Don't Southern White People Want Integration?

Sat. 9-19-56 Norfolk, Va.

Editor, Journal and Guide:

As I write this article, I am asking a question that I have been wanting to know ever since the United States Supreme Court handed down its final decision outlawing segregation in the public schools. There must be a reason and I mean a better one than what they say. They say we are lacking in intelligence and we have a bad health condition.

They know that it is as wrong as two left shoes. To me that is a very poor excuse to get around the Supreme Court decision, just to try to prolong segregation in public schools where Negroes are paying taxes to go and yet cannot go. The health of white people is no better generally than Negroes, and they know it as well as we do.

BUT I MUST agree with them when they say that their intelligence is better than ours, and they have a right to have it. They have better schools, better books and better facilities. Well, we know that it's not that. If so, and they are as intelligent as they say they are, why do they have Negro girls to keep their children? And why do they have them to cook in their kitchens?

That is something for them to think about. If they have not thought about it, I want to tell them this one thing — there is not a single Negro that has a dirty disposition toward any of their fellowmen. I wonder is it that the history of the Negro has been hid behind closed doors for the past 50 or 75 years, and is about to come to light, or are they selfish in their minds, knowing how they have treated Negroes for so long, and they are afraid they will be treated the same. Well, they are wrong again. All the Negro wants is his rights—that is all. I CANNOT understand why white people will let anybody in this whole world come over here and do anything they want to do and get any kind of a job they want and make a good living, yet they try to hold the Negro down and he is born right here in America, and pays taxes, and helps fight to save our country.

As I close these few lines I want them to know that God above sees everything.

—R. B.

Norfolk, Va.

South No Longer Solid On Segregation of Races

Journal + Constitution
Sun. 9-16-56 P. 16-A

(Editor's Note: The first region-wide attempt to find out how integration is progressing in the South in the wake of the Supreme Court order of May 17, 1954 has turned up some surprising results. Here is a report on the survey, soon to be published by the Fund for the Republic, which sponsored the study.)

Atlanta Ga.

By BEM PRICE

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Fleming noted here that developments in this field are not a reliable measure of the extent of Negro representation. For example, he said, in 1954 Negroes already were serving on city councils in at least 11 Southern cities and held elective or appointive office in more than 20 others.

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Why did the council undertake the survey at this time? Fleming explained in his summary: "It is universally recognized that this is a time of trouble in the South. . . In recent months dissension and conflict have dominated the news from the region. The danger is that Southerners themselves, to say nothing of people elsewhere, will be blinded to the constructive evidence and will surrender to fear and discouragement."

"Soothing the South

Post + Times Herald
Wash. D.C.
Sun. 9-13-56

"Befuddling the Issue" would seem to be a neater caption of your lead editorial of Sept. 6, appraising Mr. Eisenhower's position on school desegregation. Habits and instincts impair the processes of reflection, which is primarily a revealer of consequences. Maintaining order—while very important—here is an automatic political gimmick and is not the issue.

Nor is soothing the South an appropriate purpose at this time of the leader of a bona fide "party of principles and of the future" or even of an opportunistic political bystander at a time when events demand an answer which is not an evasion. The ramparts of progress are found in the minds of men even though a change of heart is what is called for here. A refusal to say anything constructive though it might aggravate an already precarious condition at this time is a sort of political nonentity trying to coerce a reality.

The first duty of a party of the future is to perfect that democracy to which it is committed and which is as yet has so imperfectly realized. The basic ethics of such a party in a social democracy require that the evils therein be remedied and abated, for the merit of such a system is to be judged by the rationality, fair treatment and well-being which it creates. The good of the controlling group must embrace the good of the controlled.

Nor is Mr. Eisenhower "right about the importance of education and training in bringing about a change of spirit in the South on the school desegregation issue." This could be true if the south actually were "full of people of good will," for such people would have inspired and promoted long ere this the kind of education and training for both groups essential to social responsibility and to rational neighborliness, to say nothing of the belief in the participation of the subordinated and exploited in their own deliverance. Yet the successful conquest of ignorance in the South must still be anticipated; and here is where the creative leadership and broad personal popularity of Mr. Eisenhower can appropriately be employed.

Basically matter and men remain the same; but—with increasing knowledge—both can be controlled in the best interest of the human estate. The airplane, the wireless and atomic energy are familiar evidence of man's mastery of matter. In the control of human nature, man—more frequently moved by passion and ignorance rather than by reason and knowledge—has been much less striking or impressive.

Befuddling a basic issue which calls for creative leadership rather than for merely maintaining order is a striking example of our lack of desire and of our failure to control human ingenuity. An eye to basic social consequences—to say nothing of party integrity—should inspire a role of leadership that would enlighten or gently bend the will of the South in connection with the school desegregation issue.

Enlightenment through persuasion with the object of winning consent will depend upon finding a substantial common ground upon which to negotiate. Despite the fact that most of the people who live in the South are too close to the problem to be objective, because of their experience with the problem, they should best be able to provide the working hypotheses or rational proposed solutions.

Mr. Eisenhower should take the initiative in providing this substantial common ground upon which to work and a "test-tube" arrangement that will weed out the beck and call of automatic reactions and promote creative leadership on the local level that should lead to the acceptance of the basic requisites of a social democracy.

JOHN P. MURCHISON.
Washington.

Leader Says Scriptures Don't Back Segregation

Courier Journal
P. 8
Louisville Ky.
Wed. 9-5-56

By GEORGE DUGAN
© New York Times News Service

Lake Junaluska, N. C., Sept. 4.—Segregationists who seek Biblical support for their views were taken sharply to task today by a Mexican church leader.

Gonzalo Baez-Camargo, secretary for literature and literacy of the committee on co-operation in Latin America of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., told the ninth World Methodist Conference here:

"Race discrimination and segregation have no support whatever in the Scriptures."

The churchman said Christianity teaches the "essential unity of mankind" and enjoins men to deal with each other in a spirit of mutual love and forbearance.

Some religious and civic spokesmen in the South have stoutly maintained that the Bible condones white supremacy.

Baez-Camargo based his thesis on these "Biblical assertions:"

1. All men have a common creator. There is not a "single" hint in the Bible that God bestowed His likeness in different degree.

2. God is a universal God, demonstrating no partiality to any nation or race.

3. All men have a common ancestry in a "single and original couple" from whom all men descended.

4. The Christian law of love is universal and all-embracing. It makes no exception on racial or other grounds.

The findings of science, Baez-Camargo told the conference are also in accord with Christian teaching on the subject of race.

Found In All Races

In commenting on intermarriage, Baez-Camargo said there are "no desirable or undesirable races."

"There are only desirable and undesirable individuals," he observed, "and both are found in all races. To ban a whole ethnic group, then, as undesirable for marriage with other races, is to act against the commandments of the gospel of love and the dictum of science."

Turning to the church, Baez-Camargo said:

"If only the churches would decide to bring segregational practices in their own organization and life all at once to an end, and to throw themselves open to all races, the whole traditional structure of race discrimination and segregation would crumble overnight, or at least within a short period of time."

UNREST 'MORE SIGNIFICANT'

Dixie Editor, Negro Cite 'North's Race Tension

Constitution P. 6

Mon. 3-12-56 Atlanta, Ga.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 11 (AP)—A Southern editor and a Northern Negro leader charged today that racial disharmony is prevalent in the North as well as the South.

Grover C. Hall Jr., editor in chief of the Montgomery Advertiser, said racial unrest in the North is even more significant because of relatively few Negroes "and they start out with equality and theoretical acceptance."

Gloster B. Current of New York, who directs the program and organizational activities of 1,600 branches of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, had this to say:

PROBLEM UNSOLVED

"In the North we struggle with the subtleties and hidden aspects of discrimination and segregation. In no community in this nation where there is a sizable Negro population can you say the problem of race relations has been completely solved."

Hall made his comments in a letter to James A. Wechsler, editor of the New York Post. Current's remarks were included in an address to bus boycott leaders at a Negro church. The Negro boycott is in protest to segregated seating on buses.

The Advertiser editor, whose late father won a Pulitzer prize for fighting the Ku Klux Klan, said a New York Post columnist told him that an official map exists showing how school districts in New York "are gerrymandered to achieve segregation."

NEW YORK STORY

Noting that reporters from all over the world covered the Montgomery Negro bus boycott story, Hall proposed that Wechsler assign the columnist, Murray Kempton, to him for a week in New York "to get something of the New York story for Alabamians."

"Since all the New York reporters are down here doing the Alabama story, I propose to help fill their vacuum in New York," Hall added.

Hall said, with few exceptions, New York papers "merely peck" at stories of racial discrimination in the North.

OUT INTO OPEN

"However, they are characteristically pietistical kibitzers or bell-mouth gluttons when it comes to race strife under the Dixie magnolias," he said.

Current said recent racial unrest in the South has brought the "dirty aspects of Jim-Crowism" and mob violence "out into the open."

"The nation does not like what it sees," Current continued, but "this is all to the good for during the present conflict a lot of soul-searching is going on, and that ultimately means something constructive will be done."

ANSWERS REQUEST

In New York, Wechsler answered Hall's proposal by assigning reported Ted Poston to do a series on "The New York Story" and offered to make it available to the Advertiser for "simultaneous publication."

Poston is the Negro reporter who recently concluded a biographical series for the Post on Autherine Lucy, Negro student expelled from the University of Alabama.

Also in New York, City School Supt. William Jansen branded Hall's "gerrymandering" information as "completely false."

GENERAL

Gospel Does Not Allow Segregation

Commercial Appeal P. 5

Jewish Converts Learned Christianity Is Meant For All

Sun. 5-13-56

By DR. EARL L. DOUGLASS

IT IS HARD for us in this day of toleration and breadth of thought to realize how determined men in the past often were to keep certain benefits for themselves, their class, or their race.

Dr. Douglass

The Christain Church has for centuries been a missionary church. It has extended the benefits of faith and urged them upon people of all races. But in the beginning it was not so. The disciples which Jesus left on the earth after His ascension into heaven all believed that Christianity was meant just for them and for others members of the Jewish nation.

The Gentile was outside the pale of God's love. He might be a little better than the four-footed animals, but God had definitely chosen the Hebrew people as His people, and the best Gentile in the world was, according to the conviction of the original apostles, lower than the lowest Jew.

Vast Forces At Work

It took a tremendous upheaval in thought and the projections of vast supernatural occurances into the affairs of the early church to awaken the original disciples to the fact that they were wrong.

Peter had had a vision as he prayed on the housetop, and in that vision God made it plain that there is no such thing as clean and unclean in the religion of Christ. The old distinctions between clean and unclean—which had served a good purpose in their day—had now been put aside. The gospel of Christ was meant for all men.

Peter, under divine direction, went from Joppa to Caesarea and there found Cornelius, a Gentile army officer, assembled with family and friends in his home, ready to receive the message Peter had to give.

As Peter preached the message of forgiveness of sins through Christ, the Holy Spirit fell on these Gentiles. The unthinkable had occurred. God had accorded His benefits even to the Gentiles. Surely a great change was taking place in human and divine affairs. Cornelius and his family and friends had been received into the Church on the same basis as Jewish converts.

Jews Were Shocked

No doubt many Jewish Christians shrugged their shoulders over this incident and declared that it had very little significance. A few Gentiles would not be able to corrupt the church.

But when certain Jewish teachers, fleeing from the persecution which arose over Stephen, went to Antioch and there presented God's offer of salvation indiscriminately to Gentiles, the church was understandably shocked. The apostles in Jerusalem hurriedly sent Barnabas, a man of understanding spirit, to Antioch to see what this was all about. To receive Gentiles into the church on the same basis as Jews appeared to be diabolical.

But if anyone could evaluate the situation, this Greek-speaking Jew, Barnabas, who was born on the Island of Cyprus, only a short distance from Antioch, would be able to do so.

Shrewd Appraisal

Barnabas looked over the situation and was thrilled by what he saw. Quite evidently God was blessing these Gentiles precisely the same as He blessed Jews. It must be apparent now that the benefits of Christ were meant for all men.

Barnabas was a Jew, and all the apostles were Jews, and Jesus Himself had been a Jew, but evidently the religion which Jesus came to proclaim was meant not just for Jews but for every human being.

Barnabas put his seal of approval on the new church in Antioch and, in order that its life might be cultivated and deepened, he went to Tarsus and sought out Saul who had been living there since his conversion some years before.

True Spiritual Foundations

"And it came to pass, that a whole year they (Barnabas and Saul) assembled themselves with the church, and taught much people." The result was a firmly established Gentile Christian church, now being taught by two outstanding Christian teachers.

In this Antioch church, we see the four things which make a Christian church valid and strong. The first is evangelism—telling the message of salvation to others. The second is righteous living, for without this all Christian pretension is a sham. The third is religious education—Barnabas and Saul taught the people diligently. The fourth basis of a sound Christian church is benevolence; for when the people at Antioch heard that there was suffering among their fellow Christians at Jerusalem, they raised a contribution and sent relief.

Church Became Model

This first Gentile Christian Church has become a model to the churches which have followed through the centuries.

It was a church with true concern for human need. It was a missionary church. It was dedicated to the divine proclamation that God extends His grace without qualification to men of faith everywhere.

Every sound Christian church from that time to this has been built on the foundations laid down by that first Jewish-Gentile Christian congregation in Antioch.

The Sunday School Lesson for May 20, 1956, is "The Church in Antioch." Acts xi, 19-30.

(Copyright by the International Council of Religious Education, Chicago, Ill.)

Treasure Trove

By RIC ROBERTS

SCHOOL, CHURCHMEN AGREE "RACE" IS MYTHICAL

Courier Mag Sec P. 7

TWENTY years ago, at Blackpool, England, Dr. Julian Huxley advised a global conclave of biologists and anthropologists that the term "race," as applied to human beings, has ceased to have any scientific meaning.

Today, two decades later, in the United States, several integrated movements are in progression, with a common aim: to regard the beauties of human diversity, without human discord. A movement which catches the eye, most definitely, is the one projected as "We Humans," under aegis of Pittsburgh (Pa.) schools, Carnegie Museum, the Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations, and the United Steelworkers of America.

General

■

Most engaging is the key declaration of the movement, to wit: "No matter who or what you are, physically or socially, we (the human species) have a common ancestry traceable to a common origin and a common Father."

Sat. 6-2-56

Since the Nordic Protestant Church, in 1786, sanctioned the "official" birth of "racial segregation," it is warming to notice the signatures of outstanding white Catholic, Protestant and Jewish clergymen, along with that of Dr. Earl A. Dimmick, the Pittsburgh school superintendent, affixed to the opening declaration of the "We Humans" booklet.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Prepared by the Carnegie Museum, "to clarify certain basic matters relative to intergroup relationships," the beautifully designed booklet, by way of preamble, among other things, asserts: ". . . As children of a common Father, it is our moral responsibility to accept one another as we are, and to love one another as we love ourselves.

■

"We do not do this by forgetting physical differences, nor by trying to obliterate them, but by accepting them as God's work. Thus, we can live together as brothers under the Fatherhood of a God who wants us always to see first His own image and likeness in each of His creatures."

■

The signatures of Father John B. McDowell, Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof, the Very Rev. Dean N. R. H. Moor precede that of Dr. Dimmick. With Dixie's racialist rioters growing ever the noisier, a church-supported urgency for clarification, understanding and logical approach is, indeed, certain to be gratefully received by a group, such as ours, whose numerical and technological disadvantages invite suppression.

■

Science has decided on dividing the human species into Mongoloid, Caucasoid and Negroid divisions. Herewith, you are asked to notice and to identify the three racial types, each wearing an American hat.

■

Dr. F. A. E. Crew, a famed geneticist, believes human diversity is traceable to interbreeding and heredity; saying, "When an animal breeder wants to keep a strain what he calls 'pure,' he uses barbed wire." Although the English-speaking peoples of South Africa and the U. S. A. have upthrust "barbed" legal barriers, to preclude intergroup unions, some Americans still roam and mate interracially.

■

There are no biological barriers among mankind. TROVE has seen splendid love matches eventuate in lasting marriages; between a dimpled co-ed, from Iceland, and the son of a Philippine diplomatic envoy; between a tiny lass, from Thailand and a smiling brown boy, from 'Bama; between a regal British lady and a chocolate Army captain, from Cleveland; between a dynamic Utah redhead, and an umber-toned New York clerk; between a suntanned sweetie, from Texas, and a divinity student, from The Hague!

■

The only barriers to human mating are taboos . . . authored in modern times only by what Sir Winston Churchill proudly, but debatably deifies as "The English-Speaking Peoples."

Since command of the environment is usually a basic need for successful interracial interludes and since a general realization of such command is at least five decades away, for non-white U. S. males, the Dixie "barbed wire" preclusions are needless. Civil rights, economic opportunity and enrollment into the American body social, as a citizen, constitute the present chief concern of men of pigmentation. Nowhere has the easing of racial bars led to noticeable intergroup matches.

More than several disappointed white women have been flabbergasted to discover, belatedly, that nine of ten men of color pride, all else above, in answering "I do" to a clergyman while formalized shoulder-to-shoulder with a lissom-sheathed little lady of milk-chocolate-toned daintiness.

Compliance With Law Will Ward Off Racial Tensions

World, Thom, Ala.

Fri. 5-18-56

NEW YORK — To achieve less strained racial relations in the Deep South, the nation as a whole must inform that region it will not "tolerate" lawlessness, even though such lawlessness "emanates from minds sick with fear," it was declared here at the First Annual Forum on Anxiety and Tension.

Speaking on the subject of racial tensions, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, NAACP board chairman, repudiated the theory advanced by some southern spokesmen that racial tensions had erupted as the reesult of the Supreme Court's anti-segregation school decision.

"In Alabama, as in Poland, there is 'peace' as long as the people whose rights are being denied have no channel through which to express their discontent and little or no opportunity to challenge the status quo," he asserted. "To interpret their silence under this totalitarian regime is to fail to realize what lies beneath the surface. The absence of violence under such conditions is not to be equated with peace and harmony."

Dr. Tobias emphasized that "it was not the Court's decision which precipitated the present crisis in the South." He maintained it was rather "the organized defiance of that ruling, which, in the ultimate, is defiance of federal authority."

"Despite the protestation of those who seek to cloak themselves in the garb of respectability, there is no 'legal' way to disobey the law," the NAACP official declared.

He contended that segregation was instituted in the South to replace slavery "as an instrument of 'white supremacy.'"

"The present hue and cry in the South is raised not so much against the leveling of physical barriers between the races as against the destruction of the symbols of a superior status," Dr. Tobias asserted. "Jim Crow bestows upon the insecure white southerner a cherished status of superiority which he does not have to prove in open competition."

Goodwill Ambassador

'Integration Is Inevitable'

Courier P. 8

By CHESTER HIGGINS

Sat. 6-2-56

DETROIT — You probably could get an argument out of some people just by implying that a cop could be an Ambassador of Goodwill.

But a cop can be such and, by golly, we know one who is!

He's big—six-five, 240 pounds stripped — Homicide Inspector Thomas R. Cochill, a greying, 41-year-old career police officer, who worked his way up from a harness bull in the 10th Precinct, to his present position, 19 years later.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

IT HAS ONLY been since he took over the reins of the Homicide bureau that a Negro team was named to that department. That this was done with the okay and cooperation of Commissioner Edward S. Piggins, is beside the point.

There had been other Negro teams working out of the bureau on detail, but none was ever appointed to it. Cochill became Inspector in July, 1955.

"There was talk in the department that a Negro team should be named and I was in agreement with it Detective Larry Bleach and Pat. Warren Taylor were named last year. (Taylor has since departed and Pat. Robert Williams has taken his place.)," Cochill said.

INSPECTOR THOS. R. COCHILL
. . . "it's inevitable"

He had some pretty pointed things to say about integration and prejudices, but prefaced his remarks by declaring these "are my own opinions" not necessarily those of the department.

"Integration," he remarked, "is inevitable . . . it's inevitable and for the ultimate good of all. But it should be brought about with the least amount of friction possible.

"No matter how much some people may be opposed, it is coming. Why, then, can't we all work together to bring about that change peacefully and orderly?"

■

CONCERNING the high incidence of Negro crime in the city, he observed:

"I haven't read this anywhere, but if I were a Negro and had the ego that I now have, I would be resentful when I couldn't get ahead simply because I was black. I would be frustrated being forced to live in segregated areas and in generally run down homes.

"And, I think, my feelings of frustration and resentment would show in precisely the same way—in crime and murder over petty and seemingly ridiculously small things that most people less restricted, would probably laugh about."

38a 1956

GENERAL

Segregation Is Not Confined To The South

Advocate Sat. 5-5-56

In the midst of the furor over desegregation in the deep South, Manhattan newspapers recently quoted a report by a municipal planning board to Borough President Hulan Jack:

Jackson, Miss.

"If our new buildings (in Harlem) are not to be the racial ghettos of the future, we must within the next five years make a start in desegregating Harlem."

This is, of course, a backhanded concession that not very much of a start has yet been made toward desegregating Harlem, where a third of a million Negroes live, some in incredible squalor, in an area rigidly and purposefully hemmed in by the white portions of the community.

P.A

This is an example of the paradox of the North—that a report attesting segregation in New York City should be addressed to a man who, in addition to being the chief executive officer of Manhattan, is also a Negro. Negroes can go far in Manhattan; more often they are locked, by social circumstances, into the dismal estate to which they were born.

38a

The same thing is generally true of the other communities of the northern United States. Occassionally a Negro will emerge from the group to achieve distinction in law, medicine, politics, sports or entertainment. But for every one who does, a hundred or a thousand remain at the foot of the ladder, or only a rung or two up. The Negro is making progress in the North. But the progress is gradual, and the chief restraint is a bias that erodes only very slowly. And the process of erosion is interrupted from time to time by ugly outbreakings of racial violence—in the East, in the Mid-east, in the Mid-west and the Far West. New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, the San Francisco Bay area — all these and many more have had their periodic eruptions of race prejudice in recent times.

So there is no clear-cut cleavage, say, along the Mason-Dixon line, between prejudice and tolerance. The differences are of degree, and some times these differences, as between North and South, are slight. For the South is making progress, in its own way. Integration, at the school level, is proceeding in Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee, Missouri, Oklahoma, Maryland and Delaware; Arkansas has desegregated its State University; more significantly still, Louisiana, North Carolina and Florida are all approaching with earnestness and responsibility the difficult task of compliance with the Supreme Court's decisions.

Those decisions, themselves, were more temperate than some of the curbstone interpretations rendered by zealous laymen in their wake.

They enunciated, so far as public schools are concerned, the simple American principle of equal rights.

At the same time they acknowledged that no law can be written to compel a state of mind or heart. This was the wisdom prompting the doctrine of "flexibility," or gradualness, in application of the principle.

Now, if the "attitude of the South" is gauged on the basis of the utterances of the more vocal politicians, rabble rousers and hotheads, a plausible case can be made for despair in the matter of noncompliance.

But if the "attitude of the North" is assumed to be indicated by the sporadic muggings and window smashings and race riots in these areas, one can as readily leap to the conclusion that there is no hope, anywhere, for integration.

We do not agree, certainly, with the often-voiced theory that desegregation in the South is exclusively the South's own business; injustice anywhere in the United States has inevitable impact upon the whole nation's reputation and welfare.

Still, we have little patience with some of our smug brethren in the North who point the finger of shame at the South and ignore the bigotry that exists in the next block. In fact, we sometimes wonder if there's anything wrong with the South that the muzzling of a few score Southern politicians and Northern zealots wouldn't cure.

At any rate the solution of segregation will never be found in indignant carping and angry recriminations.

The shrill arguments among those who presume to speak for "the people" on either side of the subject are waged over the mute bodies of those for whom the problem is direct and personal. The theory is noisly argued as a more or less private matter between the professional debaters, and any dim light that is shed or help that is given the people themselves is mainly accidental.

The people of the North can help most, we believe, by cleaning up their own mess—and this process might well begin with a general soul searching to discover what residues of prejudice remain there. When Harlem has been desegregated, when Negroes have been welcomed as neighbors in the pleasant suburbs of New York and Chicago, when Chinese and Filipinos have been made to feel at home in San Francisco's Sea Cliff and Pacific Heights, there will be time enough to point a finger at the South.

In the meantime we would suggest that those best qualified to handle the situation in the South are the millions of thoughtful, moderate Southerners who both perceive the inevitability of justice for all, and realize the massiveness and delicacy of the task of securing such justice in all the circumstances.

No observer has any moral right to interfere unless his interference aims intelligently at a constructive result. And the mischief that can be wrought by unintelligent interference is enormous; enough of it can conceivably set back the cause of Southern integration by a half century. For the desegregation of schools, or of trolleys, or of restaurants can mean little unless accompanied by a corresponding change within the hearts of men, women and children. The courts can point the way and undertake to punish the laggards, but the step-by-step journey is an individual, private matter. There is involved here the need for the mutual discovery of the fellowship and the shared dignity of humankind. There is no simple formula for speeding this process of discovery, but it has never been achieved by prim finger pointing or volleys of invective.

EDITOR'S NOTE: In selecting the above editorial from the current issue of Collier's Magazine, the editorial being one with which we are in general agreement we saw it as being most appropriate for republication on our Editorial page particularly its concluding paragraph; after listening to the speech of Dr. T. R. M. Howard and some of the other speakers at the meeting of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership here last Friday.

JOHN M. CUMMINGS

Inquirer P. 14

Desegregation Ruling And Party Platforms

Fri. 4-27-56

Philadelphia, Pa.

APPEARING on a recent "Meet the Press" television program, Adlai Stevenson, in response to a question, said he could see no reason why the Democratic platform to be adopted at the Chicago convention in August, should carry a plank affirming the party's support of the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in public schools and its order that integration be effected with deliberate speed.

ADLAI STEVENSON

Desegregation is now the law of the land by virtue of the Court's ruling, said the Illinois candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination. This being the case, there is no need for a declaration on this phase of the racial issue.

James Reston, a member of the panel interviewing Mr. Stevenson, wanted to know if he was suggesting the convention might ignore the question entirely. To this Mr. Stevenson replied that the Democratic Party had a strong civil rights plank in its platform of four years ago and undoubtedly would have one this year.

Moreover, he felt the party's position on the issue would be acceptable to the segregationist South and the party forces in the North which hold to a decidedly opposite view.

The assumption that there can be no reason for upholding—or criticizing—a law in a party platform, merely because it happens to be the law, must have a strange sound to many Democrats and Republicans, too.

Adlai Stevenson is old enough to remember a thing called Prohibition, which was once embedded in the Constitution and enforced, after a fashion, through the medium of enabling legislation called the Volstead Act.

Every four years, from the time of its adoption until its repeal, the 18th or Prohibition Amendment found its way into the platforms of both major parties. In the early days of the dry period a lad called Wayne B. Wheeler, head of the Anti-Saloon League, saw to it that both the Republican and Democratic planks pledged enforcement of what President Hoover once called a "noble experiment."

* * *

THE first real break with this custom of pledging enforcement and ducking all around repeal, came in 1928 when Al Smith was nominated by the Democrats at their

Houston convention. As usual the Prohibition plank was one of weasel words, as was that of the Republicans, adopted at Kansas City.

But Al Smith was no believer in weasel words, nor did he believe in Prohibition. He wired the delegates from New York, stating he would not stand on the plank and if they didn't like his attitude they could nominate another candidate. No substitute was nominated. The convention adjourned and Smith went on to become the worst defeated candidate up to that time.

Yet he started something. By campaigning for repeal he broke into the Vare stronghold in Philadelphia and he won to the Democratic Party young Republicans of the type of former Mayor Joe Clark, present Mayor Richardson Dilworth, Jack Kelly and many others. And he paved the way for the Democratic repeal plank adopted at the Chicago convention of 1932, the convention which nominated Franklin Roosevelt for the first time.

Al Smith entered that convention as a candidate and an advocate of repeal. Mr. Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, thought the time to push for repeal had not yet arrived. Mr. Stevenson no doubt remembers the exciting days of that convention. He will remember how the Roosevelt drive was on the verge of collapsing. The Smith people had worked up strong repeal sentiment. Roosevelt finally went along. The deal with Hearst and Garner was made. FDR became the candidate for President; Texas Jack got second place on the ticket.

We have no Prohibition today because of the stand taken by that convention. Let Mr. Stevenson keep this in mind the next time he is tempted to suggest the Supreme Court's decision on segregation can have no place in the Democratic platform because its ruling is the law of the land.

'I want to leave this country...

Afro-American P.8

Sat. 5-19-56

WASHINGTON

"I want to leave this country because people here are two-faced, hypocritical and sinful. They smile, but there's no feeling toward another human being."

Baltimore Md.

When he made this extreme statement, there was neither scorn nor contempt on the cocoa-brown face of Howard B. Spears, 28, of St. Louis, who is trying to renounced his American citizenship and go to Russia.

Mr. Spears has been trying to do that for two years now. He has a letter from the Russian Embassy, dated June 17, 1955, saying his application for entry had been forwarded to Moscow.

* * *

HE TOLD the AFRO Monday that he came to Washington two weeks ago to speed up plans for his deportation, but had run into snags from the Passport Division of the State Department.

"I was told at the Russian Embassy that they are trying to fix it so I can leave, but the State Department jumped down their back," said Mr. Spears, a high school graduate who plays the vibraphone.

He said he was honorably discharged from the Air Force in 1947 and enlisted in the Army.

"I had a heck of an experience," Mr. Spears recalled. "I felt like a prisoner in North Carolina.

"I refused to do anything under segregation, hate and prejudice. I was court-martialed and given six months in the stockade. I got out of the Army on a bad conduct discharge."

* * *

WHEN ASKED about his family, Mr. Spears replied:

"I have parents; but there's no need to mention them since they are not involved in my efforts to leave the country. My sister is a college student in Chicago."

He said, "At the Russian Embassy, they told me I could go back to school and get all the opportunities I want. I want to study more in music."

* * *

MR. SPEARS said he studied for a year and a half at the Chicago Conservatory of Music. He state that he has "made 10 special sticks to play the vibraphone."

A sparkle showed in his eyes as he referred to the sticks. "They make the instrument sould like a string harp or piano. The tone is pretty."

Ashley Nicholas, acting chief of the passport legal division, said Mr. Spears did not ask for a passport, but wanted to renounce his citizenship and be deported.

Mr. Nicholas said his department has nothing to do with such matters. A native-born American citizen cannot be deported.

"I will continue to try for deportation," Mr. Spears said. "If I had got a dishonorable discharge, instead of one for bad conduct, it would be easy."

WHAT'S HAPPENING ON THE Desegregation Front

Journal Sat. 5-5-56 P.1

Wilmington, N.C.

DETROIT MAY GET CITIZENS' COUNCIL

DETROIT — Pro-segregaionist Citizens' Councils of Alabama are recruiting members and organizing chapters in the Detriot area, it was reported this week.

The Free Press quoted Sam Engelhardt, an Alabama state senator, who is executive secretary of the Citizens' Council of Alabama, as saying that Detroiters had written him asking for organizational literature which he sent.

"I won't tell who they are because they are scared of trouble," Engelhardt was quoted as saying.

Journal P. 4

WARING WARNS ABOUT "PRESSURE" ON SOUTH

NEW YORK—Speaking at a symposium, "Education—the Social Aspects"—at Columbia University, here Friday, Tom R. Waring, editor of the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier, warned that too much pressure on the South to integrate its schools will "wreck public education for both races."

Rep. Adam Powell (D.-NY) who was scheduled to debate Waring on the segregation issue, was unable, because of legislative duties in Washington, to be present, but his speech was read by the Rev. O. D. Dempsey, his assistant at the Abyssinian Baptist Church.

* * *

BALL GAME HALTED BY RACE PREJUDICE

BATON ROUGE, La.—A scheduled ball game was broken up here Saturday night when parish recreation officials refused to permit Lake Charles of the Class C Evangeline League, to field its team which includes two Negro players.

The parish recreation commission owns Goldsby Field where Baton Rouge's Vangy team plays its scheduled Evangeline League games.

A statement, read over the public address system, said that the Baton Rouge team had "no choice but to postpone the game." Since the league has no rules against mixed athletics, officials said that they may rule later that it was a forfeiture, not a postponement.

* * *

MONTGOMERY CO. SUIT SET BACK TO AUGUST

GREENSBORO—A suit seeking to bring about integration in the schools of Montgomery County has been continued until August 16 in U. S. Middle District Court.

Judge Johnson J. Hayes ordered the continuance on Thursday after attorneys for both sides agreed to it. The case was first filed in federal court here last July and several hearings have been held as new motions and questions were raised.

* * *

NO SETTLEMENT YET IN ALA. BUS DISPUTE

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Two meetings between representatives of the National City Bus Lines and of the city of Montgomery have failed to end the dispute over bus segregation here.

The company said that it would comply with the U. S. Supreme Court ruling banning segregation in intrastate travel, while the city has insisted that it will coninue to enforce laws requiring segregation of bus passengers.

Meanwhile, the five-month-old boycott against the bus company continues.

Division Shown On Integration

Post & Times Herald P.39

Wed. 5-16-56

The question of racial integration finds whites almost evenly divided on the subject while 90 per cent of the Negroes want to see it accomplished, a survey sponsored by the Catholic Digest reveals.

The survey was made by an independent opinion research firm for the Digest. It found that 48 per cent of the whites favored bringing the two races close together, while 42 per cent favored keeping them apart. Among Negroes, 90 per cent favored bringing the races close together and 6 per cent favored keeping them apart, according to the survey. Ten per cent of the whites and 4 per cent of the Negroes had no opinion.

Washington D.C.

The survey contacted 500 whites and 500 Negroes in the North and 500 whites and 500 Negroes in the South. Fifty-eight per cent of Northern whites favored bringing the races close together.

Thirtyt-wo per cent favored keeping them apart. Only 17 per cent of the Southern whites favored bringing them together. Seventy-four per cent opposed it.

Among Northern Negroes, 95 per cent favored bringing the races close together and 3 per cent favored keeping them apart. Eighty-seven per cent of the Southern Negroes contacted favored bringing the races close together and 8 per cent favored keeping them apart.

A Gallup Poll released May 9 found 71 per cent of those contacted favored gradual integration of the schools over a period of years.

Adlai Says Ike Has Failed In Integration Leadership

Courier-Journal P. 3
Thurs. 4-26-56 Louisville Ky.

New York, April 25 (UP)—Adlai E. Stevenson charged tonight that President Eisenhower has failed to meet his sworn responsibility by refusing to give the nation "moral leadership" toward racial desegregation.

The Democratic presidential aspirant also scored the Administration for what he called its failure to see that the constitutional guarantee of the right to vote is effective throughout the country.

Stevenson said that during the first two years of this Administration a "flood stage of hate and hysteria . . . reached its crest."

Speaks at $100 Dinner

". . . if the flood has receded," he said, "the evidence of the damage it did to the soul of America remains. There is much to be done today to repair the structure of the Bill of Rights, to restore this foundation of freedom under law."

Stevenson, in a televised speech at a $100-a-plate campaign-fund-raising dinner, vowed that if he is elected to the presidency he will work ceaselessly for civil rights for all.

"The achievement of equal rights for all American citizens is the great unfinished business before the United States," he said.

Says Leadership Lacking

"There remains," he said, "the abiding responsibility of the executive branch of the Government to do its part in meeting this most fateful internal problem and the rising tensions that have followed in its train.

"The present Administration, in my judgment, has failed to meet this responsibility. . . .

"The presidency is above all a place of moral leadership. Yet in these months of crucial importance no leadership has been provided."

Civil rights hit a low mark, Stevenson said, in the days when the Government "quaked" before Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) and White House aides spoke of Eisenhower's "passion not to offend anybody in Congress."

"Those were the days when books were banned and even burned in American libraries abroad," Stevenson said.

SEDITION ACTS OF STATES HIT BY HIGH COURT

Daily Tribune Chicago Ill.
Tues. 4-3-56

Upsets Conviction in Nelson Case

BY PHILIP DODD

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, April 2 — The United States Supreme court in a 6 to 3 decision today ruled state governments cannot punish persons for sedition against the federal government.

The court overturned the conviction of Steve Nelson, a Communist party leader, who drew a 20 year prison sentence in 1952 for violation of the Pennsylvania state sedition law.

Today's action cast doubt on the validity of sedition laws of 42 states, including Illinois, altho Chief Justice Warren, in the majority opinion, said the decision did not affect the right of a state to prosecute for sedition against the state itself.

State Court Ruling

The Pennsylvania Supreme court had thrown out the Nelson conviction on the grounds that sedition against the United States is a field in which only Congress can legislate. Today's decision upheld that ruling.

Steve Nelson

In other actions today, the high court:

1. Rejected an appeal by the Hillsboro, O., school board from a lower federal court order directing immediate integration of the town's elementary schools. The board has set next Sept. 1 as a target date for ending racial segregation.

Takes Up Slow-Downs

2. Agreed to decide whether a labor union may engage in slowdowns and other harassing tactics during contract negotiations without violating the Taft-Hartley law "good faith" obligation. The case arose when textile union members quit work 26 times in 1952 and 1953 during negotiations with the Personal Products corporation, Chicago.

3. Denied a hearing to a white man, Robert E. Lea, convicted of murder in Louisiana. In his appeal, Lea charged Negroes were excluded from the grand jury which indicted him. He noted the supreme court had reversed the convictions of Negroes on those grounds.

Similar to Smith Act

The Pennsylvania sedition law under which Nelson was convicted is similar to the federal Smith act which makes it a crime to advocate violent overthrow of the United States government.

Nelson also has been convicted under the Smith act, drawing a five year sentence. The United States Supreme court has accepted his federal conviction for review later in this term of court.

In holding the federal government has exclusive jurisdiction in the field of sedition against the United States, Chief Justice Warren said "the dominant interest of the federal government precludes state intervention."

Conflict with Act

"Administration of state acts would conflict with the operation of the federal plan [the Smith act]," the chief justice declared.

But Chief Justice Warren said the court did not reach the question of whether double punishment for the same offense is permissible under the Constitution.

"Without compelling indication to the contrary, we will not assume that congress intended to permit the possibility of double punishment," the chief justice said.

Justices Black, Frankfurter, Douglas, Clark, and Harlan joined the chief justice in the majority opinion. The dissenters were Justice Reed, who wrote a minority opinion, and Justices Burton and Minton.

Justice Reed Dissents

In the dissenting opinion, Reed said state and national legislative bodies "have legislated within constitutional limits so as to allow the widest participation by the law enforcement officers of the respective governments."

"The individual states," Reed said, "were not told they are powerless to punish local acts of sedition, nominally directed against the United States. Courts should not interfere. We would reverse the judgment of the Supreme court of Pennsylvania."

The attorneys general of 29 states, including Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan, had filed briefs urging the Supreme court to reverse the Pennsylvania Supreme court. United States Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff supported the states' arguments.

During argument of the case in the Supreme court last November, counsel for Pennsylvania read a letter from Rep. Smith [D., Va.], author of the Smith act, asserting Congress never had "the faintest notion" of nullifying state laws when it passed the act.

MIGHT AFFECT ACT

Grenville Beardsley, first assistant Illinois attorney general, said the United States Supreme court decision apparently has no effect on the Illinois Broyles bills loyalty oaths, but might affect the state's 1919 sedition act.

This act makes it a crime to advocate violent overthrow of the state or federal government. Beardsley said the Supreme court ruling might affect that part of the act pertaining to the federal government.

Pleased With Work Toward Integration

Call P. 24
Fri. 5-25-56 Kansas City, Mo.

NEW YORK. — The Urban League of Greater New York has congratulated the Commission on Integration of the Board of Education for its adoption of recommendations designed to improve educational standards for Negro and Puerto Rican children it was announced (Wednesday May 16) by Edward S. Lewis executive director of the interracial agency.

Mr. Lewis said, in a telegram to Comptroller Arthur Levitt and Board of Education President Charles H. Silver, co-chairman of the commission, that the recommendations which were adopted from the Subcommission on Educational Standards and Curriculum" are the minimum necessary to insure a beginning towards correcting the terrible educational deprivations sustained by Negro and Puerto Rican children in our city's public schools."

The League expressed its expectation that the board's professional staff would "immediately set up machinery to implement these recommendations so that a significant proportion of children attending school this September may benefit."

The subcommission was headed by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Associate Professor of Psychology at City college. His charges of racial segregation and inequalities in the public schools of New York City at an Urban League meeting two years ago led to a board of education-requested study, made by the Public Education association, and to the setting up of the commission of integration to help achieve the "ideal" of racially integrated public schools.

The Urban League is a 46-year old interracial social agency working to achieve equal opportunities for Negroes and other minorities in employment, housing, education, health and welfare services.

The full text of the telegram signed by Mr. Lewis follows:

"The Urban League of Greater New York congratulates the Commission on Integration of the Board of Education on its adoption of the recommendations of the Subcommission on Standards and Curriculum.

"These recommendations are the minimum necessary to insure a beginning towards correcting the terrible educational deprivations sustained by Negro and Puerto Rican children in our city's public schools.

"It is our expectation that the board's professional staff will immediately set up machinery to implement these recommendations so that a significant proportion of children who attend school this September may benefit."

A Milestone in South's Fight

Sat. 3-24-56 Times-Picayune

(Editorial Comment from the Richmond Times-Dispatch)

The declaration of constitutional principles, signed by 100 Southern members of Congress (19 senators and 81 representatives), including all those from Virginia, is a powerful and impressive document.

It is not a nullificationist defiance of the US supreme court, but it sets forth in strong and unequivocal language why the South is overwhelmingly opposed to the court's ruling against segregation in the public schools.

The signers, with distinguished lawyers and forum judges among them, declare solemnly that the supreme court justices "undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal, political, and social ideas for the established law of the land."

The NAACP agitated ceaselessly for many years on behalf of a reversal of a long line of supreme court decisions upholding segregation in the schools, including a unanimous one handed down as recently as 1927. It is a bit difficult to understand, therefore why its general counsel — who finally obtained the 1954 reversal of this 1927 decision —should now accuse the Southern senators and congressmen who express an intention to seek a similar reversal, of encouraging lawlessness and violence. In view of the fact that the court has reversed itself dozens of times in recent decades agitation for a reversal of this objectionable decision is altogether right and proper.

The mere fact that so many respected Southern members of congress have signed this manifesto should carry weight with the supreme court and the lesser courts, and should have its impact on public opinion throughout the North and West. This is an action solemnly considered, and solemnly carried out, after due reflection. It marks a significant milestone in the efforts of the South to preserve the rights of the states to control their own affairs in the field of public education.

The Retreat Of Southern Moderates

The Sentinel Wed. 5-16-56

The Segregation Issue Is Forcing Politicians To Abandon The Middle Ground And Join The Extremists

Montgomery, Ala.

From Newsweek

FEW Southern politicians fully comprehended the depth and passion of the white South's opposition to integration until the Supreme Court's decision angered the region like nothing since enfranchisement of the Negro in Reconstruction days.

For more than a decade, old-fashioned politicians who offered little in the way of a platform but pledged allegiance to the cause of white supremacy had been fading from favor. As ranters like Rankin and Bilbo departed, their places were taken by men who, while they almost always favored segregation, talked as little as possible about it, and abhorred extremist positions.

As the extent of Southerners' opposition to integration revealed itself in the aftermath of the court's decision, these "moderate" politicians were forced to take sides. And, to survive, most of them were compelled, in many instances, to tolerate extremist views.

Ruefully, a politician who has made this hard choice asked last week: "What would you do if a pack of S.O.B.'s were out to take your job and get the butter off your bread?"

To understand why politicians are being driven to take sides, look at Hale County, Alabama. This is pleasant country—rolling hills, ancient magnolias on the grounds of old plantation houses, well-tended gardens. But the most evident thing about Hale County is fear.

Of the county's 20,832 residents, 14,641 are Negroes—70%. The whites fear that integration would inevitably lead to equal voting opportunities for Negroes.

A white man said: "Look at the figures and tell me what we could do if the Negroes had full voting rights. Why, the blacks would be in the judges' seats and running the schools. They'd stick together at the polls and elect their candidates to every office in the county."

Route Of Retreat

THAT attitude explains why politicians are shifting their ground. To understand how they are doing it, look at the successive statements of Gov. Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas, formerly a "moderate."

As a candidate for governor in 1954, Faubus said: "The problem of desegregation should be solved at the local community level."

By June 1955, Faubus had retreated slightly: "We must recognize that this . . . may ultimately pose serious social problems in many communities of the state."

By last February, planning to run for reelection this fall and with an ear to the ground, Faubus came out for an interposition resolution and legal steps to "circumvent" the Supreme Court.

Two months ago Faubus announced that if he had been in Congress he would have joined in signing the Southern manifesto denouncing the decision of the court.

Folsom's Fate

SO STRONG has become the "conservative" tide in the South that so-called liberal standard-bearers have all but disappeared. Gov. James E. Folsom of Alabama is an example. Two years ago he was swept into office by the biggest majority in Alabama history.

After the Supreme Court ruling, Alabamans began to notice that Folsom was "soft" on racism. When Adam Clayton Powell visited Montgomery, Folsom was accused of entertaining the Negro congressman in the governor's mansion. Folsom was reported to have intervened with University of Alabama authorities to get them to expel white students who had harassed Autherine Lucy, a former Negro student.

Recently Folsom ran for National Democratic Committeeman. His opponent was Charles Watson McKay Jr., a vigorously pro-segregation author of Alabama's interposition resolution, which Folsom called "hogwash." Two years ago Folsom carried 62 of the state's 67 counties. This time he carried four.

One-Plank Platform

IN THE recent Florida gubernatorial primary Leroy Collins was renominated with a 378,482 vote. Collins is popular and has been an able governor, but his political advisers are convinced he could have been beaten if he had not taken a firm stand against integration. As it was, a political unknown named Sumter Lowry, who ran on the single plank of preserving segregation, got 130,000 votes. An integrationist candidate got 5,000.

In most parts of the South, politicians are mounting the platform to proclaim: "Vote for me and I'll see that your children don't go to school with Negroes." That they are on the right track politically is attested to by shrewd and successful Southern politicians.

Herman Talmadge, candidate for the U.S. Senate from Georgia, says segregation is "more important than all other issues at the moment." Georgia's Attorney General Eugene Cook says: "No man, in my opinion, can be elected to even a minor office on the state level in any of at least five states—Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida—unless he commits himself in a forthright and effective manner to support our pattern of segregation . . ."

A potent force in driving politicians to support this pattern is the so-called Citizens' Councils, which now have at least 200,000 members and are growing. These councils screen candidates for their views on segregation, and they get out the vote. The head of the Citizens' Councils of Alabama, state Sen. Sam Englehardt Jr., claims these groups were responsible for 75% of the vote against Folsom. He probably is right.

Third Party?

SO FAR these pressure groups have operated only on the local and state levels. But as they grow and become better organized, they undoubtedly will try to bend the national Democratic Party to their will.

And if the Democratic Party adopts a strong civil rights platform at Chicago, as it will have to do if it is to have any hope of carrying Northern states with large labor groups and Negro populations, the Citizens' Councils will want their state delegations to bolt.

The bolters would not turn to the GOP. Southerners are constantly reminded that the Supreme Court decision was written by Chief Justice Earl Warren and that President Eisenhower was responsible for hurrying desegregation in public places in Washington.

So far no Southern leader has said he will lead a third party movement. Gov. James P. Coleman of Mississippi says his state will stay with the Democratic Party unless there is "strong provocation" at the Chicago convention.

But *The Knoxville Journal* recently repeated its conviction that there will be "a revived third party in the South this fall." It quoted from AFL-CIO Vice President Walter Reuther's recent speech in which he said: "The labor movement collectively ought to say . . . to the leadership of the Democratic Party . . . that in '56 you've got to make a choice—you cannot have Mr. Eastland and have us at the same time."

Eisenhower Urges South to Start Obeying Integration Law, Pleads With Nation to Avoid 'Nasty Mess'

Inquirer P. 11 Thurs. 3-22-56

WASHINGTON, March 21 (AP).—President Eisenhower declared today that "All the South" should show some progress toward racial desegregation.

"I am for moderation, but I am for progress," he told his news conference.

He raised this plea:

"Let's don't try to think of this as a tremendous fight that is going to separate Americans and get ourselves in a nasty mess.

"Let's try to think of how we can make progress."

Philadelphia

Mr. Eisenhower discussed racial matters in a half-hour of questions and answers which also produced these Presidential comments:

FARM—He thinks the bill the Senate passed Monday night is neither good nor workable. He hopes the Senate-House conference on farm legislation "may write a good bill, and one which can really be helpful to the farmer." He said the bill as it now stands "would bury farmers under surpluses that they couldn't stand, and it would break the prices still further."

DEFENSE—The Defense Department is making much progress in adopting recommendations of the Hoover Commission on Government Reorganization.

The first mention of segregation issues came with a request for word on how Mr. Eisenhower felt "about Negroes being brought to trial for refusing to ride the Montgomery (Ala.) buses."

Mr. Eisenhower said, in effect, that he was not a lawyer.

Speaking generally, he went on:

"I do believe that it is incumbent on all of the South to show some progress. That is what the Supreme Court asked for. And they turned it over to local district courts.

"I believe that we should not stagnate, but again I plead for understanding, for really sympathetic consideration of a problem that is far larger, both in its emotional and even in its physical aspects, than most of us realize."

He showed what sounded like a bit of temper when a reporter told him that there were indications of a switch by some Negro leaders from the Democratic to the Republican Party. The reporter asked if he could discuss possible reasons for this.

"Well, I have got a very good one," the President replied warmly. "I have told you a dozen times that it is anybody's judgment as to whether I am doing my job well or not doing it well, but as far as I am concerned, I am trying to do it for 166,000,000 people, not for any group.

"I don't care how you define them, how you separate them geographically or racially or religiously, I am for America, and that is what I am trying to do.

"So if they want to come in under that umbrella, I welcome them with open arms."

Ike Says South Must Act on Bias

World-Telegram & Sun P. 1 Wed. 3-21-56

By MERRIMAN SMITH,
United Press Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, March 21.—President Eisenhower said today he thinks it is incumbent on the Southern states to make some progress toward racial integration in schools as decreed by the U.S. Supreme Court.

New York, N.Y.

Under news conference questioning, Gen. Eisenhower said he is well aware of the deep emotions involved in the South, and he advocates a pattern of moderation and progress.

The Chief Executive said he does not believe in stagnation on the racial issue in the South. But he added that he wanted to take the occasion of his meeting with reporters to plead again for understanding and patience.

Asked About Trial.

The President was asked how he felt about Negroes being brought to trial in Montgomery, Ala., for "refusal to ride the buses."

The President said first that he understood there was an Alabama state law against boycotts, but as for the over-all problem of segregation he said he wanted to refer back to his news conference statement of last week when he asked for patience and understanding.

The President paused for a moment and then said he had an added idea—he believes it is incumbent on the South to show some progress toward school integration in conformance with the opinion of the Supreme Court.

A reporter said that some Negro leaders who had supported Gen. Eisenhower were switching their political allegiance because of his "patience" policy.

Duty to All U.S.

The President shrugged his shoulders and said anybody is entitled to an opinion on how he is conducting the affairs of his office, but he felt his duty is to the total American population regardless of race, creed, color or religion.

The President said the racial question in the South should not be thought of as a tremendous fight among Americans. Such thinking, he said, would lead the country into a dreadful mess.

He said the basic law of the nation is the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court. He added that the interpretation of the Constitution changed from time to time, but that the findings of the court have to be recognized and accepted as basic law.

KEFAUVER ASKS A LIBERAL SOUTH

New York Times 4-18-56

Senator, in Florida, Dares Region to Accept Ruling on School Integration

Tues. 4-3-56

Text of the Senator's speech is printed on Page 18.

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to The New York Times.

ORLANDO, Fla., April 2—Senator Estes Kefauver challenged his native southland today to adopt a liberal policy in the controversy over the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in the public schools.

The Tennessee aspirant for the Presidential nomination kicked off a four-day stumping campaign for Florida's twenty-eight votes in the Democratic National Convention. He described himself as a "twentieth century Southerner" who regarded the court's ruling as "the final word."

In a bold political tactic that surprised some of his local supporters, Senator Kefauver emphasized that the Florida Presidential primary on May 29 "will be looke dupon by many as a testing ground for sentiment in the entire southland."

"As a Southerner," he added, "I am glad to have my views and policies so tested in the crucible of a campaign right here." His speech was prepared for delivery over a television station here.

Senator Kefauver is vying with Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic Presidential nominee of 1952, for the support of Florida's convention delegates. Political observers believe Mr. Stevenson has an edke in the contest, but Mr. Kefauver's recent primary successes have emboldened his supporters here. Mr. Stevenson speaks in Jacksonville on Friday.

Senator Kefauver said he frequently had heard reports that he was "not acceptable" to the South as a Presidential nominee because "from the beginning of my career I have taken what some refer to as the national viewpoint."

Political Propaganda

"This is political propaganda as you and I know so well," he told his audience. "We will prove it again in this campaign as we have proved in so many campaigns in my native state of Tennessee."

He said that while "the South fondly remembers its yesterday," he was convinced that there were many "twenty century southerners" who "in planning our tomorrows are just as liberal, just as dynamic, just as vibrantly alive as anyone, anywhere in the nation."

In a series of talks during the day, the Senator fashioned a broad appeal to "proagressive, expanding South." He said the region should show that it is united to the rest of the country by economic interdependence to the point that "some shadings of difference are not nearly so marked as those who would destroy the unity of our nation would have us believe."

He rebuker those who hold that "this year the South will separate itself from the Democratic party and from the nation because of the Supreme Court decision on integration in the public schools."

Senator Kefauver said the South should keep in mind that as the result of Supreme Court rulings the region had benefited economically because of adjustments in freight rates. He noted that other sections of the country had supported the discriminatory rates to gain economic advantage over the South.

He observed that national welfare and sectional welfare were intertwined in an expanding economy and that without a final interpretive authority such as the Supreme Court there would be anarchy.

A Testing of His Views

The Senator then said that if he should be elected President, he would "do all in my power to assist the men and women of goodwill in both races" to solve the school integration problem.

The Tennessean's declaration that he regarded the Florida Presidential primary as a testing of the popularity of his liberal views in the South came as a somewhat dramatic political development in this state's current controversy over school segregation.

There are five candidates for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination which will be voted on in a first primary on May 8. In the event no one candidate wins a majority of the votes, a run-off primary will be held in conjunction with the Presidential primary on May 29.

The gubernatorial battle has centered largely on the school integration issue, and all the candidates have pledged that they will seek to retain segregated schools. The debate has generated political tension throughout the state.

Recently, Gov. LeRoy Collins urged President Eisenhower to call a conference of Southern Governors and state Attorneys General to consider the region's integration problems.

On Saturday, President Eisenhower, replying to the Governor, said he hoped Congress would name a bipartisan commission to study the problem. He added that if such a commission was not designated he would perhaps consider a conference of the kind proposed by the Governor.

Asked at a pres sconference to express his views on this matter, Senator Kefauver said that he looked favorably on either a commission or a conference. He added "anything that gives us perspective through sound discussion would be helpful."

38a 1956 GENERAL

NEGRO CLERGYMEN ADOPT RESOLUTION
AGAINST MANIFESTO

20 NEGRO MINISTERS REJECT 'GRADUALISM'

Times p.22-C

Special to The New York Times.

CHICAGO, April 3—"Gradualism" in the application of anti-segregation laws was rejected today by twenty Negro clergymen from eleven states. They met here to draw up a "Negroes Declaration of Intention."

The Rev. Dr. Joseph H. Jackson of Chicago, who is president of the National Baptist Convention, said the declaration was designed to show that Negroes would support the Constitution fully and uphold obedience to the "laws of the land."

It is an answer to the "manifesto" issued recently by Southern Congressmen denouncing the Supreme Court's decision outlawing school segregation, Dr. Jackson added.

"While we recognize a need of patience that accompanies growth," the declaration said, "we intend at all times to reject that doctrine of gradualism which implies that the established laws of the land should be gradually applied and gradually obeyed in order to respect the unjust traditions of men and give free reign and honor to destructive prejudices."

Negro Clergymen Adopt Resolution Against Manifesto

Herald 4-4-56

CHICAGO, April 3 (AP)—A group of Negro clergymen from 11 states today adopted "The Negroes Declaration of Intention" rejecting the "Doctrine of Gradualism" in applying the nation's anti-segregation laws.

The declaration also pledged obedience to the "laws of the land" and asserted that anyone who disobeys these laws and teaches others to do so "is a declared enemy of this nation and is working for its overthrow."

The Rev. Joseph H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention, said the declaration is an answer to the "manifesto" issued recently by some southern Congressmen.

The manifesto denounced the Supreme Court's decision outlawing school segregation.

Manifesto Answered

Daily World P.1

Declaration Of Intention Is Adopted By Ministers

Thurs. 4-5-56

Atlanta, Ga.

CHICAGO — (INS) — Negro clergymen from 11 states rejected the doctrine of gradualism in the enforcement of anti-segregation laws and adopted "the Negro's declaration of Intention" in answer to the manifesto of 100 Southern Congressmen.

The manifesto of the Southern Congressmen denounced the U. S. Supreme Court's decision banning racial segregation in public supported schools.

The Negroes' declaration was adopted by the executive committee of the five-million-member National Baptist Convention in Chicago. The committee also voted to divert missionary funds to aid the campaign for racial integration in the South.

The Negro's declaration said in part:

"While we recognize the need for patience that accompanies growth, we intend at all times to reject that doctrine of gradualism which implies that the established laws of the land should be gradually applied and gradually obeyed, in order to respect the unjust traditions of men and to give free reign and honor to destructive prejudices .

"We intend to participate in the total cultural life of the nation, both for personal growth and development and for the further progress of the country itself."

The Rev. Joseph H. Jackson, Convention president, said copies of the declaration will be sent to President Eisenhower, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., and members of Congress.

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GENERAL

MANIFESTO

Segregation Manifesto Draws Fire in Congress

Herald Tues. 3-13-56 P. 14-A

Miami, Fla.

WASHINGTON — (AP) — Southern legislators presented their manifesto or integration to Congress Monday, and drew a challenge from Sen. Wayne Morse, Oregon Democrat, to offer a constitutional amendment allowing race segregation practices.

Predicting there would be few votes for such an amendment, Morse told his colleagues:

"Why, one would think that Calhoun was walking across the floor of the Senate today."

John C. Calhoun, a South Carolina senator, was a leading figure in pre-Civil War debates over slavery and states rights.

Sen. Walter F. George, Georgia Democrat, presented to the Senate the statement signed by 19 senators and 81 House members from 11 states pledging use of "all lawful means" to reverse the Supreme Court's 1954 decision outlawing race segregation in public schools.

Four more House members signed the manifesto Monday. They are Reps. Charles R. Jonas, North Carolina Republican; William Cramer, Florida Republican; and Ross Bass, Tennessee Democrat.

Rep. Howard W. Smith, Virginia Democrat, read this "manifesto" to the House. The document spells out no specific course of action but declares the court's decision was "a clear abuse of judicial power."

George told the Senate the group's action in drafting the document "has not been hastily taken."

"It has been carefully considered by its signers for four or five weeks," he said.

Sen. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina Democrat, told the Senate Monday the South will "fight to the end" to reverse the Supreme Court's order.

"It would be submission to cowardice if we failed to use every lawful means to protect the rights of the people," Thurmond declared.

Some Southern senators have said that if the Democratic National Convention should take a strong stand in favor of integration, a third party movement might arise in the South.

Thurmond, who led a States Rights ticket in 1948, said in an interview he knows of no such movement at this time.

But he told the Senate that "the white people of the South are the greatest minority in the nation today."

Morse jumped into battle against the stand set out in the manifesto immediately after George and Thurmond had their say. He was quickly joined by Sens. Richard Neuberger, Oregon Democrat, and Hubert Humphrey, Minnesota Democrat.

Sen. Herbert Lehman, New York Democrat, got out a statement saying he is "wholly in disagreement" with the position taken by the Southern senators, and would reply to the manifesto later.

Morse said there are forces in the nation seeking to put themselves "above the Supreme Court and the Constitution," and predicted at one point:

"An historic debate is going to have to take place in the not too distant future because the Congress is going to have to determine whether it will back up the Supreme Court."

Sen. Humphrey said Congress should back up the high court's segregation decision as the law of the land."

Humphrey said it was incorrect to argue that the Supreme Court wrote new law in its decision.

What it did, he contended, was to apply for almost the first time the 14th Amendment to human beings instead of to corporate interests.

Humphrey said that the "doctrine of interposition, fully developed, becomes nullification."

He said he was pleased to see "an appeal to law and order" in the statement of the Southern bloc.

Neuberger suggested that President Eisenhower should call a White House conference of governors, senators and congressmen from states "where the Supreme Court decision is being defied."

He said that White House conferences had been called recently on much less important matters.

Neuberger asked how this country must look to the rest of the world when a large group of congressmen join in what he termed open defiance of the decision of the highest court of the land.

Reply to Manifesto By Case of Jersey Urges Moderation

N.Y. Times 3-16-56

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, March 15—The first formal Republican reply in the Senate to the southern segregation manifesto was made today. It was in a tone of marked moderation.

In a declaration of last week nineteen southern Senators and eighty-one southern members of the House of Representatives, all Democrats except two, pledged to use "all lawful means" to overturn the Supreme Court's decision outlawing racial segregation in the public schools.

Senator Clifford P. Case of New Jersey, a liberal Republican of the Eisenhower wing of the party, rose this afternoon in retort. All other Republicans continued their silence.

Senator Case called on the anti-segregationists as well as the pro-segregationists to avoid all extremism of utterance and action.

"Let us each in every way open to us make clear that the extremists will not have their way, that men of good will and moderate temper can and will work out the problems involved in complying with the law if they really want to," he told his colleagues.

In the House of Representatives, Kenneth B. Keating, another liberal Republican, from upstate New York, called also for understanding tolerance of the southern viewpoint, though making it clear that he wholly supported the Court.

"I agree with my esteemed friends from southern states that we are facing challenges akin to those which plagued our nation in the sad days of Reconstruction," Representative Keating declared.

"But I am sure that on reflection none of us will wish to carry his partisanship on this matter beyond the limits of judicial reconsideration or legislative and constitutional revision," he added. "And I hope the wisdom and restraint of the court's own language in these decisions will prove helpful to all of us."

Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Democrat of Manhattan, raised the possibility of a third party in the November elections.

For the third time he urged President Eisenhower to call a White House conference of white and Negro leaders "from the tension areas of the South to try to ameliorate the situation."

Mr. Powell asserted that many Negroes were dissatisfied both with the general Democratic record on civil rights and with what he called a lack of leadership by President Eisenhower himself.

If the President continued to decline to summon a White House conference and if Adlai E. Stevenson and other Democrats continued in their middle-road stand on segregation, Mr Powell said, he and other Negroes would meet to discuss a third party movement.

Representative Charles C. Diggs Jr., Democrat of Michigan, asked President Eisenhower and Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. to intervene in the case of Elmer O. Kimbell, acquitted Tuesday in Mississippi of the killing of a Negro. Mr. Diggs asked the President to try to establish some Federal jurisdiction in the case.

Case Regrets Manifesto Action

Senator Case told the Senate: "I wish with all my heart that Senators and members of the House had not felt impelled to issue their manifesto. That it is responsive to the present feelings of many people in the southern states I do not doubt.

Senator Clifford P. Case

That the feeling of the moment will pass, I am equally certain.

"For it is inconceivable that at this point in our history the American people should refuse to accept the determination of our Supreme Court on a question involving the interpretation of the Constitution. And it is inconceivable also that the American people can fail to recognize the essential rightness of these decisions from the standpoint of simple justice and good consience.

"Yet, despite its expressed appeal for moderation, the effect of the manifesto can only be to incite further resistance and inflame a situation already difficult.

"Obviously, the period of adjustment to the court's decree is a time for all Americans to demonstrate the fullest measure of patience and understanding. Instead, this trying period has been made immeasurably more difficult by intemperate statements by people on both sides of the argument and by extremist action."

MANIFESTO DECRIES FORCED INTEGRATION

Times Picayune

New Orleans La.

Dixie Congressmen Sign Protest Document

Sun. 3-11-56

By EDGAR POE

(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, March 10 — In a historic manifesto, nearly 100 members of Congress representing 11 Southern states Saturday commended the motives of those states which have declared their intention to resist forced integration in the public schools system.

Decrying the supreme court's "encroachment on the rights reserved to the states and the people," the 19 senators and 78 House members, in an appeal to the people of other states not directly affected by the court decision, declared that they, too, might some day be victims of "judicial encroachment."

The manifesto, written by a committee in the Senate and House, called upon Southerners not to be provoked by the outside "agitators and troublemakers."

George, Smith to Read It

Sen. Walter F. George of Georgia will read the document in the Senate Monday. Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia, chairman of the House rules committee, will read it in the House about the same time.

Two Mississippians, Sen. John C. Stennis and Rep. William M. Colmer, served on the committee that helped draft the document. Rep. Colmer was chairman of the 14-member strategy committee in the South which included Reps. Edwin E. Willis of Louisiana and John Bell Williams of Mississippi. In addition to Stennis, the Senate drafting committee included Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia and Sen. Samuel J. Ervin of North Carolina.

A Southern congressman gave a copy of the manifesto to The Times-Picayune Friday afternoon with permission to use the text Sunday. He gave permission to release it after there had been a series of partial "leaks" of the statement.

Official Release Monday

However, the official release will not be made until Monday morning.

Rep. Colmer said all senators and representatives from Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia signed the statement.

The congressman said all members of the delegations from North Carolina, Texas, Tennessee and Florida did not sign it. Neither Texas senator was asked to sign it, according to an informed source.

Neither Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson, Senate majority leader, nor Sen. Price Daniel, an Eisenhower Democrat in 1952 and who is a candidate for governor, was asked to sign. Neither was House Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas asked to sign.

Two Republicans Sign

Virginia's delegation includes two Republicans who attached their signatures to the document. Rep. George S. Long of Louisiana said the entire Louisiana delegation signed the document.

The delegations of seven of the states signed the manifesto unanimously.

Several members of the Texas House delegation affixed their signatures.

'Inescapable Lesson of History'

The text of the manifesto follows:

"The unwarranted decision of the supreme court in the public school cases is now bearing the fruit always produced when men substitute naked power for established law.

"The founding fathers gave us a constitution of checks and balances because they realized the inescable lesson of history, that no man or group of men can be safely entrusted with unlimited power.

The Times Picayune

"They framed this constitution with its provisions for change by amendment in order to secure the fundamentals of government against the dangers of a temporary popular passion or the personal predilections of public office holders.

New Orleans La.

"We regard the decision of the supreme court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the federal judiciary undertaking to legislate, in derogation of the authority of Congress and to encroach upon the reserve rights of the states and the people. The original constitution does not mention education. Neither does the 14th Amendment, nor any other amendment. The debate preceding the submission of the 14th Amendment clearly shows that there was no intent that it should affect the systems of education maintained by the states.

Action of 1868 Cited

"The very Congress which proposed the amendment subsequently provided for segregated schools in the District of Columbia.

"When the amendment was adopted in 1868, there were 37 states of the Union. Every one of the 26 states that had any substantial racial differences among its people either approved the operation of segregated schools already in existence or subsequently established such schools by action of the same lawmaking which considered the 14th Amendment.

"As admitted by the supreme court in the public school case (Brown vs. Board of Education) the doctrine of separate but equal schools 'apparently originated in Roberts vs. City of Boston—(1849), upholding school segregation against attack as being violative of a state constitutional guarantee of equality.' This constitutional doctrine began in the North, not in the South, and it was followed not only in Massachusetts, but in Connecticut, New York, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and other Northern states until they, exercising their rights as states, through the constitutional processes of local self - government changed their school systems.

Taft's 1927 Ruling

"In the case of Plessy vs. Ferguson in 1896, the supreme court expressly declared that under the 14th Amendment no person was denied any of his rights if the states provided separate but equal facilities. This decision has been followed in many other cases. It is notable that the supreme court, speaking through Chief Justice Taft, a former President of the United States, unanimously declared in 1927 in Lum vs. Rice that the 'separate but equal principle is' within the discretion of the state in regulating its public schools and does not conflict with the 14th Amendment.

"This interpretation restated time and again, became a part of the life of the people of many of the states and confirmed their habits, customs, traditions and way of life. It is founded on elemental humanity and common sense, for parents should not be deprived by government of the right to direct the lives and education of their own children.

"Though there has been no constitutional amendment or act of Congress changing this established legal principle, almost a century old, the supreme court of the United States with no legal basis for such action undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land.

'Creating Chaos, Confusion'

"This unwarranted exercise of power by the court, contrary to the constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the states principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that had been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races.

"It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding.

"Without regard to the consent of the governed, outside agitators are threatening immediate and revolutionary changes in our public school systems. If done, this is certain to destroy the system of public education in some of the states.

"With the gravest concern for the explosive and angerous condition created by this decision and inflamed by outside meddlers:

"We reaffirm our reliance on the constitution as the fundamental law of the land.

'Contrary to Established Law'

"We decry the supreme court's encroachments on rights reserved to the states and to the people, contrary to established law and to the constitution.

"We commend the motives of those states which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means.

"We appeal to the states and people who are not directly affected by these decisions to consider the constitutional principles involved against the time when they, too, on issues vital to them may be the victims of judicial encroachment

"Even though we constitute a minority in the present Congress, we have full faith that a majority of the American people believe in the dual system of government which has enabled us to achieve our greatness and will in time demand that the reserved rights of the states and of the people be made secure against judicial usurpation.

"We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation.

"In this trying period, as we all seek to right this wrong, we appeal to our people not to be provoked by the agitators and trouble-makers invading our states and to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts."

Rome News-Tribune

Constitution

Sat. 3-17-56 P. 4

Southern Manifesto Is Appeal To Reason, Not to Prejudice

Atlanta, Ga.

When almost one-third of the membership of the Congress of the United States signs a declaration, that document should not be regarded lightly.

One hundred and one senators and representatives, representing 11 states, have signed a manifesto declaring the Supreme Court ruling on segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional.

Those 101, it is true, are from Southern states.

All except two are Democrats.

But, unquestionably, there are congressmen from other states and there are other Republicans who would be willing to sign the declaration and who subscribe to its principles.

In substance the declaration says that there has been a breakdown in the separation of powers of our government; that the Supreme Court has usurped powers not granted to it; and that the segregation decision should be overthrown by legal means.

That there is a breakdown in the separation of powers has been obvious; but it is again shown by the statements of some of those who denounced the manifesto. Some are even saying the Congress should have no voice in the matter.

The manifesto is by no means an inflammatory document.

On the contrary, it urges caution.

It points to the results of the Supreme Court decision in these words:

"This unwarranted exercise of power by the court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the states principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding.

"Without regard to the consent of the governed, outside agitators are threatening immediate and revolutionary changes in our public school systems. If done, this is certain to destroy the system of public education in some of the states."

There are two main points at issue which many persons are ignoring.

First, there is the question of the constitutionality of the Supreme Court's decision itself.

Second, there is the agitation and strife which has been brought on by those who are acting hastily, or are stirring up trouble for selfish or ulterior motives.

There are many persons who believe the Supreme Court's decision was wrong, yet who would not deny full rights and equality to every race.

But the agitators refuse to recognize that fact. They confuse an honest belief with racial prejudice.

There is no appeal to racial prejudice in the Southern manifesto. On the contrary, there is an appeal for common sense and application of reason in dealing with a difficult problem; an appeal directed to persons of both races.

Southerners' Manifesto May Doom Democratic Party

Washington (ANP)—The Democratic Party this week stood on the brink of total disaster as 96 southern congressmen and senators issued a proclamation denouncing the Supreme Court for its rulings against segregation in public institutions.

Only two Republicans were among the 19 senators and 77 representatives who have formed the largest congressional protest group since before the Civil War.

The manifesto, which accuses the Supreme Court of "abuse of power," was read in the Senate by Sen. Walter F. George, (D.-Ga.), president pro tempore and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Rep. Howard W. Smith (D.-Va.), chairman of the House Rules Committee, read the document in the House.

Immediately, there was talk of a third party and the name of Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, majority leader, was heard as a possible candidate.

Johnson was one of the few southern lawmakers who did not sign the manifesto. Other nonsigners included:

Estes Kefauver (D.-Tenn.), Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.), Sam Rayburn (D.-Tex.) and Harold Cooley (D.-N. C.), chairman of the House Agriculture Committee.

Repercussions have continued to mount in the nation's capital following the introduction of the manifesto.

Views expressed by others follow:

Sen. Douglas (D., Ill.) protested that the document "will have the effect of encouraging resistance to the court's order." He told the Senate that others so encouraged may "not be so meticulous about law and order."

Sen. Humphrey (D., Minn.) suggested a counter-statement supporting the anti-segregation decision appears "valid and desirable."

Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas, one of the few Southern legislators not signing the manifesto, stated that "in my opinion, the solution of the problem cannot be found on the federal level . . . It's my fervent hope that wise leaders on the local levels will work to resolve these differences."

Rep. Cooley (D., N. C.) said he did not sign because he considers the manifesto a "dangerous document, calculated to aggravate the situation." He added that it **"holds out the false hope that there are legal means through which the Supreme Court decision can and may be reversed."**

Sen. Kefauver of Tennessee said he did not sign the manifesto because, "I just don't agree with it."

Sen. Gore, also of Tennessee, did not sign. However, he did not make a comment.

Every senator and representative from the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, **Louisiana,** Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia signed the manifesto.

Only four of 22 representatives from Texas were signers, while six of Florida's eight men put their names to the decree. Five representatives from Tennessee and four from North Carolina refushed to join the move.

Here (in part) is what the Congressmen said:

'The unwarranted decision of the Supreme Court in the public school cases is now bearing the fruit always produced when men substitute naked power for established law . . .

"We regard the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the federal judiciary . . . to encroach upon the reserve rights of the states and the people . . .

The congressmen said "this unwarranted exercise of power by the court . . . is creating chaos and confusion . . . and is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that had been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races."

They pledged themselves "to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal or this decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation." . . .

WASHINGTON

A Desegregation Solution?

News P. 22 Thurs. 3-15-56

Manifesto Brings The Issue Into Focus, And Raises Question, What Is Moderation?

Bryan, Ala.

BY ROSCOE DRUMMOND

THE MANIFESTO of the 19 Southern senators and 77 Southern congressmen, seeking to erect a wall of nullification around the Supreme Court's unanimous decision against segregation in the public schools, contributes no constructive step at any point to solving the nation's problems of racial discrimination.

But it is well that it has come. It has been in the making for many months. A year ago it was a cloud on the horizon no bigger than a man's hand. Today it is a thunderstorm of indignation, emotion, honest conviction, prejudice and frustration.

It is well that it has come because it brings blazingly into the clear the depth, magnitude and perilous gravity of the matter with which we are dealing.

This is the stuff out of which the Union could be destroyed—or rise to greater heights.

We are dealing with an issue which now, not next month or next year, but now requires the greatest degree of wisdom, justice and moderation, the highest qualities of heart and mind and true affection,

one for another, that we have ever summoned in our whole history. Nothing less. It is our whole duty to summon these qualities to serve the republic now.

Let us not underrate the need for all the greatness, all the poise, all the goodness at our command.

It is almost impossible to overstate the size and somberness of the problem.

Mishandled, it is capable of splitting the nation, the people and our political parties irreparably asunder.

If the wrong words are spoken by the wrong people at the wrong time, there can be bloodshed. That is how serious it is.

We are dealing with the stuff out of which civil war has been made and can be made. It would be perilous to see this problem in lesser terms.

To see this problem in its true terms is not to solve it; to fail to see it in its true terms could be fatal.

The ingredients of moderation in attitude and action are still within our reach.

It is the extremes in attitude and action which must, at all costs, be avoided: The extreme, as advocated by some, that the most gradual application of the law must be implacably fought; and the extreme, as advocated by others, that the most precipitate application of the Supreme Court decision must be pressed by force if necessary.

No; that is the road to impasse and turmoil.

What Any Solution Of The Problem Requires

THE INGREDIENTS of any solution require a willingness to implement the Supreme Court decision moderately by those who most want to implement it rapidly, and a willingness to carry it forward moderately by those who want to resist it totally.

The ingredients of moderation must reject the use of nullification to avert the Supreme Court's authority and must reject the use of force to carry out the court's authority.

Are there sufficient moderates among those who support the cause of public school desegregation, including the Negroes themselves? The latest Gallup Poll suggests some significant facts. It shows that 47 per cent of the Southern Negroes are either opposed to or undecided about desegregation. This is an adequate basis to induce others to tone down impatient and unproductive demands for haste. The same Gallup Poll showed that 20 per cent of the Southern whites either approve—or do not disapprove—of public school desegregation.

Recently in Life magazine the most eminent and esteemed novelist of the South, William Faulkner, who holds "discrimination by race" to be "incontrovertably immoral," appealed to the North to pause, to ponder, to make haste more slowly lest they immobilize and destroy the Southern moderates themselves.

That is well and that can be acted upon if the moderates of the South will join in turning aside the other extreme of total resistance and nullification.

Once again the nation needs to summon its highest degree of wisdom, moderation and goodness.

Presidential Leadership At Its Best Called For

MODERATION WILL come into being, will come to life and power only by leadership. The only leadership equal to the need, the only national instrument of moderation and conciliation is the presidency of the United States. The times once again call for presidential leadership at its best—wise, firm, kindly, fearless.

Here is the supreme opportunity for Mr. Eisenhower to expend, when it is most needed, all the prestige and respect and regard—which are his precious possession—to exert that leadership to keep the United States united.—©

A Manifesto Based on Racial Bigotry

Inquirer - 3/14

The manifesto pledging 100 members of Congress to use "all lawful means" to overturn the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in the public schools is a remarkable document. Philadelphia Pa.

It embodies one of the sharpest attacks upon the high court ever delivered by representatives of the legislative branch. It marks a new step in the organized resistance of the South to the integration decree. And it demonstrates the division within the Democratic Party on this issue, a division that may have important political consequences.

While affirming their own devotion to the Constitution, as they interpret it, its signers point out that neither the original Constitution nor any of its amendments mention the subject of education. Therefore, we are to gather, separate schools for white and Negro children are constitutional.

The 14th Amendment does not specifically mention public schools, any more than it mentions buses, or playgrounds or railroad depots, or sidewalks. But it does say that "No State shall ever make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." And the highest court in the land has ruled that equality of citizenship applies to public education. Inq. 3-13-56

The dissenting Congressmen say they will try to maintain racial segregation by "lawful" methods. They mean, of course, methods they may regard as lawful but which the courts, when the issue comes before them, may look upon as just the reverse.

Repeal of the 14th Amendment or adoption of a new amendment forever fixing "separate but equal" school facilities upon non-white citizens would doubtless solve the problem for the Southern bigots, but they are remote possibilities.

Senator Willis A. Robertson, of Virginia, one of the signers of the manifesto, has introduced a bill declaring that a State could meet the requirements of the Constitution either by desegregating the public schools or providing separate but equal schools for whites and Negroes, and efforts may be made by the Southern bloc to move this bill along.

Interposition by individual States in an effort to block enforcement of the integration order has been set in motion in some parts of the South, but this euphonism for nullification is not expected to get very far. Virginia is planning to continue segregation by grant of public funds to pay for the tuition of white children in private schools where Negroes would be excluded. This plan, with its implied destruction of the public school system, is also headed for the courts.

Another measure of resistance that has been mentioned is a boycott of candidates for public office who are favorable to the court's ruling. This brings up the political complexion of the segregation manifesto and the issue that is bound to be made of segregation in political battles in the South.

With the exception of four Republican Congressmen, all signers of the manifesto are Democrats. They represent 11 States and in several cases comprise the complete Senate and House delegations. Nineteen Senators were among the signers, including the chairmen of nine committees.

The bitter debate which presentation of the document set off in Congress yesterday is only a prelude to what is still to come as Southern Democrats try to make local political capital out of the denial of equal rights to Negroes. The Democratic National Convention next summer is faced by perhaps its severest crisis when the Southern segregationists with their big bloc of delegates raise the banner of revolt against any moderately liberal civil rights plank in the party platform.

Meanwhile, on the same day that the Southerners issued their concerted defi of the court ruling, the Supreme Court tied down integration more forcibly than ever. Last Monday it had broadened its original order to include State-supported colleges and universities. Yesterday, it reversed a Florida Supreme Court decision permitting delay in the admission of a Negro to the University of Florida law school.

The yapping of the prejudiced continues, but the Supreme Court still stands. And so does the law.

The Manifesto and the Law

Herald Tribune

As to what may happen in Congress on civil rights or whether the Northern and Southern Democrats can find any sort of common ground in this highly political year only time can tell. Wed. 3-14-56

At least two points, however, are very plain. First, the quality of Southern resistance to the Supreme Court's 1954 decree against racial segregation in the public schools, as evinced by the manifesto delivered to Congress on Monday, is impressive. It renews the old fracture in the Democratic party, but whether this will provoke an enlarged Dixiecrat bolt such as that of 1948 depends on the leaders' skills for compromise. Second, it is worth repeating that the Southern declaration merely pledges the use of "all lawful means" to reverse the Supreme Court. This is temperate. People are entitled to dispute the correctness of the law and to try to change it if they can. Differences of opinion should be respected, but it has to be understood that all debate must accept the premise of law and order. Furthermore, the whole concept of segregation is morally wrong and repugnant to the American principles of freedom and equal rights for all.

As the debate grows, it is interesting to see how the Supreme Court is proceeding. Last week the court affirmed that the ban on segregation in public schools applied equally to all tax-supported institutions of higher learning. This was entirely logical. Indeed there are already some 2,000 Negroes attending previously all-white colleges and universities in most of the Southern states. This week the court went a little further. It ruled that the University of Florida could not stall on admitting a properly qualified Negro student to law school on the ground that more time was needed to make adjustments. Here the court properly insisted that the lenity permitted in elementary and secondary schools on the pace of desegregation could not apply to the Florida case. As it happens, the student had been waiting seven years.

The impact of these decisions is progressive. What the court is saying is that where change-over is difficult the law will take reasonable cognizance of local problems. In theory this should lead to a gradual reduction of the area of controversy. But the court quite rightly sees no reason for letting this principle of patience and forbearance apply to universities. This much is a clear gain.

MANIFESTO AND REPLY

Daily Tribune

Unfortunately, there was nothing new on the subject of segregation to be found in the manifesto signed by the 19 senators and 81 representatives in Congress from southern states. The men who drew up the declaration did little more than repeat the arguments which the Supreme court heard and rejected unanimously nearly two years ago. Wed. 3-14-56

Surely there was nothing to be gained by proclaiming what everybody knows: that the decision was and is displeasing to large numbers of people in the south. The time and effort spent in preparing the manifesto was wasted and worse than wasted. As Sen. Douglas of this state remarked with great cogency, the action of these southern spokesmen in Congress is likely to make matters worse by encouraging the lawless among their constituents and discouraging those who are seeking ways to live with the law as it has been interpreted. Chicago, Ill.

It is no answer to say that the manifesto condemns the use of force. The kind of people who form mobs will pay very little attention to the words of restraint to be found in the paper but they may very well be fired to violence by the crusading tone of the document and its assumptions that the court acted lawlessly, that segregation is wholly right, and that any holding to the contrary must be wholly wrong.

The manifesto will have the additional disadvantage of encouraging members from some of the northern states to feed the flames with angry replies. The political advantage that the signers thought they could gain by their manifesto will have its parallel in the political gain which representatives of northern cities will expect from counterblasts of rhetoric.

What the situation calls for is not rising tempers but a growing willingness to make adjustments. There is no slightest chance that in the foreseeable future the Supreme court will change its mind and no better chance that the Constitution will be amended to mollify southern opinion. The spokesmen for the south in Congress know all this and if they are real leaders of their people will try to find ways of adjusting to the needs of their time instead of rehearsing their grievances.

38a 1956

How Gradual Can You Be?

Afro-American 3/4

If the "Southern Manifesto" handed down by the Dixiecrat bloc in Congress has done nothing else, it has served to place sharply in focus the basic issue in the United States today.

That issue, simply stated, is the right of all citizens to use tax-supported institutions.

Baltimore Md.

The majority of Americans and the United States Supreme Court say we have that right.

The 101 Congressmen from 11 Southern states and officials from five die-hard states would deny colored Americans that right.

Sat. * 3-*24-56

UNQUESTIONABLY that right was conferred with the 14th Amendment which was enacted in the 1860's.

That Amendment gives equal rights to all citizens, forbids the states from taking them away and declares that all citizens shall have the same privileges and immunities.

Every Southern state which was readmitted to the Union after the Civil War had to take out of its constitution all discriminatory measures.

But the Southern states, as soon was they were admitted organized as they are doing now, to modify the Amendment both through basis of laws and state constitutions.

The result was that in 1896 they had the Supreme Court construe an equality clause in the Constitution to mean "separate but equal."

* * *

SINCE THE Plessy vs. Ferguson decision of 1896, colored Americans have sought determinedly, temperately, and within the law, to have the Supreme Court change its mind.

From 1896 to 1954 is 58 years.

In our briefs before the Supreme Court, we declared that equal rights under the Constitution are personal and should be restored immediately.

The Supreme Court refused to state that our children should immediately be admitted to the nearest school of their choice.

But it did say something else.

It said that the doctrine of "separate but equal" was no longer valid.

And it further said that the state now discriminating against colored children in education should immediately present a plan for integration.

And after that plan has been presented, it should proceed to put it into effect with "all deliberate speed" and "in good faith."

That's gradualism, isn't it?

That is moderation, isn't it?

* * *

WHAT HAS alarmed us is that after this long debate over the question of second-class citizenship which actually began in the Constitutional conventions of the 1870's, the 101 manifesto signing Congressmen are still not willing to concede that we are citizens.

They are still unwilling to admit the Supreme Court has the right and duty to interpret the Constitution when that interpretation interferes with their myth of white supremacy.

From 1896 until 1954, they never really accepted the doctrine of "separate but equal" to which they now look back with so much longing.

They embraced the "separate" all right, but with stubborn consistency rejected the "equal."

One gathers the impression that the only decision which has ever won their whole-hearted approval was that of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney in the celebrated Dred Scott case.

Mr. Taney's court held that in America a colored man has no rights

GENERAL MANIFESTO

which a white man under the law is bound to respect.

That was back in March 6, 1857.

The "Southern Manifesto" shows that almost a century later their thinking hasn't changed one whit.

How gradual can you be?

Dear Old Bill, Again

Dear Old William Faulkner, the 1949 Nobel Prize novelist, who two weeks ago used Life Magazine to plead with the NAACP to ease up its pressure on a breathless Dixie, is back in the news again.

This time, in a copyrighted article appearing in The Reporter Magazine, he expresses the defiant belief that the South is armed for revolt.

Mr. Faulkner says Southerners will launch another Civil War, knowing they are going to lose it.

Upon whom would the South declare war?

Surely, there's no need for it to fight the millions of helpless colored people who are unarmed, and whose only complaint is that they are denied the rights of citizenship, including the right to vote, to use public institutions and to elemental justice.

Is it going to attack the Government of the United States?

It tried that back in 1860 and failed.

Is it going to declare war on the United State Supreme Court?

No, that would be simply another way of attacking the Federal Government.

The Supreme Court is the highest authority in the land whose specific function is to interpret the Constitution.

Its place is secure in our government.

Nobody in their senses, who sincerely believes in law and order, would think of contradicting it.

The record is clear that colored people are not fighting anyone. They simply insist that the laws of the land be enforced where basic human and constitutional rights are concerned.

We should have every reason to believe that a Nobel winner like Mr. Faulkner would be more familiar with the facts of life, and that he would be a prize winner an moderate, temperate and less inflamatory statements.

Time To Speak Out

Senators Morse, Oregon; Lehman, New York; Neuberger, Oregon; Humphrey, Minnesota and Douglas, Illinois, all Democrats were quick to let the world know that well-meaning and responsible members of the United States Senate did not subscribe to the rash attack on the Supreme Court launched by 19 Southerners Monday.

We think the time has come for all friends of law and order and for those who have the highest respect for the nation's highest tribunal to speak out.

This goes for Republicans as well as Democrats. And it goes for Representatives as well as Senators.

The founding fathers wisely established the Federal Government to consist of three branches — executive, judicial and legislative.

In matters involving national policy and the welfare of the nation, they should speak as one.

The Times Supplement

Ten veteran staff members of the New York Times, began a journey on Jan. 18 which carried them thousands of miles, into 17 of the segregation states.

Thousands of interviews and several million words later, they returned to New York on Feb. 22, to report what they found.

That report on "The Integration Issue" was carried in a special eight-page section on Tuesday, March 13,, 1956.

It is a magnificent piece of work, the kind of objective reporting no other publication but the New York Times would have been able to do.

And the conclusion that some form of compliance with the court's decision "seems inevitable in most Southern States —perhaps in all" coincides exactly with what we have contended all along.

The reporters did appear bewildered that colored persons in what the Times calls the "resisting states" — Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia—"were reluctant to speak frankly if at all."

This should not have come as a surprise.

Does the New York Times think it could go into Russia and find persons who will complain freely and openly against the Communist regime?

Of course not.

The totalitarian atmosphere is just as oppressive in Mississippi and Alabama as it is in the Soviet Union.

The punishment in Russia is to line you up before a firing squad or send you to a Siberian concentration camp.

The punishment in Mississippi is to assassinate you on the courthouse steps, throw your weighted, beaten body into a river, fire you from your job or refuse to let you have credit at the bank.

In Alabama it is to permit you to become a victim of an egg and rock-throwing mob and then expel you from school if you are bold enough to resort to the courts to obtain your constitutional rights.

The fact is the New York Times itself would not speak out as it does if by doing so it would be compelled to close up shop tomorrow.

What's Their Excuse?

Not many persons will be surprised by the acquittal in Mississippi of Elmore Kimbell, a white cotton gin operator, in the killing of Clinton Melton, a gas station attendant.

The only surprising fact was that the all-white jury required three hours and twenty minutes to reach its verdict.

The case did prove how phony was the complaint of Mississippians, smarting under the whiplash of worldwide censure about their handling of the Emmett Till case.

Two men, who later confessed the Till killing, were freed of murder in the same Sumner courtroom and escaped punishment for kidnapping the 14-year-old boy when a grand jury refused to indict them.

Sensitive Mississippians argued that it would not have ended that way, if "outsiders" had not interfered with their administration of justice.

One wonders what they are saying now?

No "outsiders" were involved in the Melton murder.

Actually, the local community was so outraged by the senseless killing, the Sumner Lions Club passed a strong resolution calling for Kimbell's conviction.

Yet the verdict was no different.

And anyone who expected anything different had to be engaged in the most wishful kind of dreaming.

Painless Drilling

With the new supersonic drill, your dentist can be through before you can holler, "Take it easy."

The diamond-tipped drill, demonstrated recently in Canada, has a 'cruising speed' of 130,000 revolutions a minute. (Those now in use operate at a turtle-paced 6,000 a minute.)

This is nothing new, we've always had 'painless dentists' — except when they, themselves, had a toothache

Racial Manifesto Called Dark Page for U. S. in History

Post & Times Herald

Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.) told the Senate yesterday that the Southern manifesto "will forever be a dark page in American history."

McNamara's speech was another in a series by Civil Rights advocates and others in Congress against the manifesto, in which 101 Southern Congressmen pledged to use "every legal means" to overthrow the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

Talk continued among Northern Senators of issuing their own manifesto expressing approval of the decision.

Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore. called for a White House conference on race relations to "meet a developing crises in our democracy." He said the President had the authority to set up a commission to deal with the long-range racial problems.

President Eisenhower said yesterday he preferred that Congress authorize an investigative commission on racial relations, as he had requested in his State of the Union message. Such a commission could subpena witnesses, he said, and should be authorized as quickly as possible.

Careless With The Truth

SIGNERS of the Southern Manifesto obviously were careless with the truth when in their document they said: "This unwarranted exercise of power by the Court (meaning the U. S. Supreme Court), contrary to the Constitution, is creating "chaos and confusion" in the states principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that had been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races."

In the first place the confusion and chaos' referred to is being created by the Southern Legislators refusal to **accept** or **respect** the United States Supreme Court's unanimous decision making segregation in public schools and public recreational facilities unconstitutional. The Manifesto signers are the ones who have taken the hysterical leadership in urging defiance to the Highest Court in the land. Negroes have been willing to abide by the Court's ruling just as they have always done in the past. They have respected law and order and expect other law abiding citizens to do likewise. They have never murdered, committed violence or urged violence while asking to be treated as ordinary American citizens in their determined efforts for first-class citizenship. The record is quite clear on this point.

A number of Protestant and Catholic church groups, community character building organizations, rabbinical, ministerial alliances, civic and race relations groups largely composed of the **good people** have already indicated a desire to abide by and comply with the Supreme Court ruling. Certainly that is not evidence of confusion and chaos.

The fantastic assertion that the Supreme Court's decision is "destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that had been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races" indicates the confused, chaotic state of mind of the Manifesto signers. The high court's ruling more than likely has given the **good white** people of the South a way to clear their conscience. The "amicable relations" referred to and built up over a period of 90 years are still amicable if they were built on the solid ground of mutual dignity and respect. Ten chances to one if they were not built on solid ground they never have been "amicable relations."

What have the Manifesto signers themselves publicly done toward creating amicable relations between white and Negroes? Nothing, absolutely nothing.

Ninety-nine per cent of them haven't the guts, character or moral courage to invite in a mixed group of their constituents to even discuss this problem of obeying or disobeying the Supreme Court or any other problem involving the 'peaceful race relations' that allegedly exist in the South.

Southern legislators as a rule have almost always catered to the God of White Supremacy. Seldom have they bothered to find out what the people, white or black thought and felt. Only the **high priests** of the God of White Supremacy are consulted and obeyed. Rarely and seldom have any of them ever had the moral stamina to take a stand on principle if it involved an interracial situation. All that political expediency and the God of White Supremacy will let them stand for is the same brand of racial superiority that Hitler tried to foist on the world.

Their action only serves to advertise further to the nation and to the world their moral corruptness and delinquent statemanship. It shows how far out of step they are with the principles of democracy and christian living. They can beat on their chests and proclaim all they want about the use of 'legal means' to defy the U. S. Supreme Court rulings they cannot change the fact that in the eyes of Christian thinking and democracy loving people at home and abroad they are wrong and out of line besides shaming the United States as the moral leader of the world against the menace of Communism.

38a 1956

REPUBLICANS MANIFESTO

World Jun. 3-20-56

P. 1 B'ham, Ala.

High Court Decision Is Called "Simple Justice" To Senators

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Republicans Thursday joined in the fight provoked by southern Democrats in Congress when they issued on March 12 a manifesto attacking the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools.

In a speech on the Senate floor, Senator Clifford P. Case, of New Jersey, said, "it is inconceivable at this point in our history that the American people should refuse to accept the determination of our Supreme Court on a question involving the interpretation of the Constitution."

He added that it was "inconceivable also that the American people can fail to recognize the essential rightness of these decisions from the standpoint of simple justice."

DECISION ANALYSIS

On the House side, Representative Kenneth B. Keating, of New York, gave a legal and scholarly analysis of the Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases.

The debate arising from the formal reading of the manifesto in the Senate and House on March 12 had been between northern and southern Democrats, except for an acceptance of the challenge of the Southerners by Senator William Langer, Republican, of North Dakota, on March 13.

"On behalf of the Abraham Lincoln-Theodore Roosevelt-Robert La Follette, Sr.-George Norris faction of the Republican party," Langer told the Senate, "I am authorized to say that we accept the challenge issued yeserday by 19 Senators and 77 members of the House who issued a manifesto on the subject of the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the segregation cases, to work out the problems involved in the public education cases."

[illegible]LY WITH LAW

[illegible]tor Case called for "men of good will and moderate temper" to complying with the law.

"Despite its expressed appeal for moderation," said Case, "the effect of the manifesto can only be to incite further resistance and inflame a situation already difficult."

Case said "the period of adjustment to the court's decree is a time for all Americans to demonstrate the fulles measure of patience and understanding.

"Instead, this trying period has been made immeasurably more difficult by intemperate statements by people on both sides of the argument and by extremist actions.

"Economic reprisals, job dismissals, work stoppages and even treats of mob violence have fed the fires of discord.

NATION UNDER LAW

"Ours is a nation under law. There is no room for violence in our land."

World P. 6

Case commended the leaders of Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia and the District of Columbia for their progress in school desegregation.

"Our children, wherever they live and whatever their color or race," Case said, "take the same pledge of allegiance to 'one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.'

"Implicit in this, I believe, is our pledge not just to refrain from overt defiance of the law, but to accept in good faith the working of our constitutional processes."

Case urged both Democratic and Republican Senators to give the problem "the earnest, dispassionate attention which it deserves" and "make clear that the extremists will not have their way."

Keating took issue with a statement made by a Southerner on the House floor that no reputable lawyer would defend the legality of what the Supreme Court undertook to do in the school segregation decisions.

AGREES

"I happen to agree with the decision," he said. "Furthermore, I have an abiding respect for the institution known as the Supreme Court.

"I have great admiration for Chief Justice Warren, identified in each of the opinions as the man who actually chose the words in which they are cast, and who is generally accorded credit for the manifesto statemanship that produced unanimity at every stage of the proceedings."

Keating told the House that "The very oaths of office we took on entering service in this House would prohibit advocacy of direct defiance amounting to a conflict with the Federal Constitution."

It was "surprising" and "very gratifying," Keating said, that three separate opinions and important order of the court were written by the Chief Justice for a unanimous court.

"Whatever questions or difficulties might have troubled the nine justices who comprise the court were resolved before the opinion was prepared," he said, adding:

"The result is that the court throws all is weight and prestige, with undivided force, behind this determination of what the Federal Constitution means, as applied to the rights of an important segment of our American community."

Keating called the opinions "singularly fine specimens of clear legal writing. They are terse, lucid, and to the point in a style which recalls the Olympian simplicity of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes."

Representative Stewart L. Udall, Democrat of Arizona, reminded the Southerners who signed the manifesto that "moderation is a two-way street, and a temperate course assumes acceptance of change and adjustments which will permit headway to be made toward our ultimate goal.

The manifesto, he said, cannot be classified as a moderate statement. "It makes no mention of change or of a transition period," he said. "In essence, it is a call to resistance which can only harm the cause of moderation and lend new and powerful support to the die-hards and bitter-enders who oppose any change, gradual or otherwise.'

The South and the Court

News + Observer

From The Hartford Courant

The Southern manifesto read to Congress yesterday by the respected Senator George is more a document of propaganda than of action. To be sure it breathes the spirit that split the country asunder in the Civil War, and thereafter flared up again in such extremes as the Ku Klux Klan. But the document, which bears the names of respected and sober legislators as well as those of the Senator Foghorn type, is careful to confine its opposition to "all lawful means."

Jun. 3-23-56

Raleigh, N.C.

Even so this expression of the intensely felt resentment of the South should be a warning to Northern hotheads, whose impatience matches the intransigeance of their Southern counterparts. It is a warning to take it easy. In matters that rouse passions as deep as this there comes a point when right and wrong have no meaning, and law—which is only the consensus of a society anyway—cannot be rammed down unwilling throats. The British, at the moment, are discovering precisely that in Cyprus.

The net of the manifesto is that the Supreme Court exceeded its power in its desegregation decision. Thus the declaration speaks of substituting "naked power for established law," and so on repeatedly and violently throughout. Actually, of course, the Supreme Court did no such thing.

It is true that, as Charles Evans Hughes said when he was Governor of New York, "We live under a Constitution but the Constitution is what the judges say it is." Such judicial power is unique in the world. In no other country does the highest judicial authority have the right to undo legislation by declaring it unconstitutional. And without John Marshall we might not have had that. But by now it is established far beyond the power of any section of the country to upset it. When in recent years South Africa's white supremists didn't like what their top court did, the Prime Minister legislated himself a new court. But when before the war Franklin Roosevelt was moved to try a similar experiment here he ran into a buzz saw. The buzz saw won.

Unique as the power of our top court is, it has served its Constitutional purpose remarkable well. At times the Supreme Court may be behind its generation, as during the depression years. At times it may be ahead, as now so far as the Southern objectors are concerned. Yet over the years the rarely-used decisive power of the Supreme Court is a delicate, sensitive, and responsible balancewheel of the Constitution.

Where the Southern manifesto causes concern, then, is not in its arguments. Rather it is in its fresh revelation of the burning resentment among responsible Southerners who would go so far as to defy the Supreme Court. This is something for the rest of us to note with restraint, before urging either private individuals or government to embark upon a course that can end only in catastrophe. For the appeal to force, to hurry things too swiftly, will meet resistance. That will call for an answer in the way of more and more force, until we face the prospect of using federal troops to set up some new Fort Sumter.

Actually there is no need for such headlong action. The fact is that the Supreme Court's historic decision of 1954 has broken the log jam. Desegregation is on the march. It will come no matter how deep a sense of outrage it arouses in upholders of "the Southern way of life"—a way of life that does not square with the twentieth century. We should remember that only half a dozen of the 17 states that had segregated schools are resisting. Most of them are loyally taking action to bring about the change.

Left to this normal process, and not rammed down the most unwilling throats first of all, desegregation will proceed on its inevitable course. To press too fast where resistance is strongest will strengthen only the Ku Kluxers, and the racists who wouldn't mind starting another Civil War. It will hurt rather than further the majestic process, already in motion, that will not stop until eventually no vestige of segregation is left anywhere in the land.

ROSCOE DRUMMOND

Congressional Manifesto Aims At Nullifying Supreme Court

Inquirer Sun. 3-16-56

Philadelphia Pa. WASHINGTON, March 15.

ONLY twice in our history has the Supreme Court been the target of as bold, as uncompromising, as purposeful an attack as comes from the manifesto of 19 Southern Senators and 81 Southern Congressmen seeking to nullify the court's decision on desegregation in the public schools.

The substance and intent of the manifesto have a parallel in the efforts which were made in Congress and by State courts to immobilize the court in the years preceding the Civil War. Then, as now, the court was excoriated by those who disliked its decisions.

The other analogy is more recent. In 1937 after the court's decision in the Schechter-NRA case which President Roosevelt did not like, he criticized the judiciary as being as out-of-date as the "horse and buggy." Mr. Roosevelt then threw at Congress legislation designed to make the supreme bench subordinate to the President. This was the famous—the infamous—court-packing bill which would have forced the resignation of several justices or would have permitted the President to appoint additional justices to help them make "better" decisions.

On this historic issue the Southern Senators were on the other side of the trenches. They rallied and led the crusade to rescue the Supreme Court from subordination to the executive branch of the Government.

* * *

TODAY the Southern Senators and Congressmen are rallying and leading a crusade designed to undermine the authority of the court as the ultimate adjudicator of the Constitution. This time it is they who dislike an opinion of the Supreme Court, though it be unanimous, and wish to substitute their adjudication of the Constitution for that of the court itself.

It is worth noting that the Southern manifesto does not assume to deal with the principle and propriety of racial segregation in the public schools. It focuses its argument upon the law of the land, the Constitution, and asserts that the Supreme Court's verdict is invalid and should be resisted.

Let us assume, for purposes of the argument, that the court, could well be wrong. It has reversed itself in the past; it may well reverse itself again—and on this very issue. But when citizens or States or Congressmen or Presidents are in disagreement as to the meaning of the Constitution, who is to decide—the complainants or the court?

* * *

THIS manifesto, like a lawyer's brief, cites precedent and makes legal arguments to advance its case. The files of the Supreme Court are rightly filled with lawyers' briefs, but are we to accept the lawyers' briefs in place of the verdicts of the court?

The Senators who drafted the manifesto repudiated the jurisdiction of the court on the question of racial segregation in the public schools. But they do not question, and others who feel as they do did not at the time question, the jurisdiction of the court when in 1849 it ruled on an aspect of segregation in the public schools and upheld the doctrine of "separate and equal" schools.

If the court was exercising proper jurisdiction in finding that "separate but equal" doctrine was compatible with the Fourteenth Amendment, it is exercising proper jurisdiction in reversing that finding. We may or may not approve the reversal, but it has the same sanctity of law as the previous ruling unless we are to embrace the doctrine that we need only support the court when we like what it does.

THERE is one way the Supreme Court can be legally reversed by a power outside itself. The manifesto bespeaks resistance to the Supreme Court decision "by any lawful means." That is good. The manifesto bespeaks respect for "change by amendment." That is good. Since the Supreme Court has unanimously ruled that racial segregation is incompatible with the Constitution, why shouldn't the 19 Senators and 81 Congressmen and others who wish, submit an amendment stipulating that "separate but equal schools" are compatible with the Constitution?

That way would lie orderly government. That way would lie respect for the Supreme Court which we cannot expect others to obey if we are going to reserve for ourselves the right to disobey. That way would lie "change by amendment" or rejection of change by amendment—a lawful referendum on the decision of the Supreme Court itself.

NORTH CAROLINA:

Way of the Transgressor

News-Week New York 5/28

When Southern congressmen signed their "Manifesto" attacking the Supreme Court for its decision outlawing segregation in the public schools, the names of three North Carolina representatives were missing. Last Saturday, North Carolina Democratic primary voters handed down their decision on the omission—they renominated one of the representatives and rejected two.

Mon. 6-4-56

Rep. Harold Cooley, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, who said he would not be a "rubber stamp" supporter of segregation maneuvers, was the lone victor. He defeated W.E. Debnam, a Raleigh radio announcer, in the Fourth Congressional District.

But Reps. C.B. Deane, a ten-year veteran, and Thurmond Chatham paid for their independence. Deane was whipped by A. Paul Kitchin, lawyer-member of a prominent North Carolina political family, and Chatham by Superior Court prosecutor Ralph J. Scott.

The South, it appeared, was closing ranks on the segregation issue and ready to cast out transgressors at the ballot box.

ONE BEFORE GOD

Daily World

"All Men Are Brothers," Rabbi Tells Gammon Group

Fri. 4-27-56 P. 1

Atlanta, Ga.

"All men are one before God, and therefore all men are brothers," so stated Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild of the Temple of Israel, as he spoke for the Chapel Services at Gammon Theological Seminary, Thursday morning.

The Rabbi very clearly stated that Judaism is a religion that emphasizes deed rather than creed, for Pudism frew out of an experience of a people. He very clearly defined the principles ofthe Jewish faith which are as follows....

1. A doctrine concerning the universe..... This doctrine concerns God and man. We believe that God lives, and the universe rest on the eternal law of God and since man is a child of God, all men are brothers.

2. The existence of morality—In Judaism there exists a morality which is an ethical way of life. By the mere fact that man is able to distinguish betwen right and wrong proves that there is a power of good in the universe.

3. A requirement of rights, customs, and ceremonies.

4. A body of laws——This is the moral law of God.

5. A sacred literature—This literature is the Bible, and is used to learn of God's will, To reveal His glory, and to hallow His name through our relationship one with another.

6. The Institutions—The Temple, The Synagogue, and the Home.

7. The people—God is one, and besides Him there is no other. Rabbi Rothschild is a graduate of the University of Cincinnati and the Hebrew Rabbi College of the same city. Gammon Theological Seminary extends a cordial welcome to everyone to worship at each of its chapel services each Tuesday and Thursday mornings at ten o'clock in the Thirkield Memorial chapel, 9 McDonough Blvd. Atlanta, Ga.

Integration Issue Splits U.S. Editors

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 4-7-54 P. 1

By ROBERT G. NIXON

WASHINGTON—(INS)—U.S. Editors were sharply divided along sectional lines Friday on the controversial question of racial integration in the nation's schools.

Northern and eastern editors asserted that integration will take place under the U. S. Supreme Court decision while Southern editors insisted emphatically that the South is not ready for such a step.

These views were aired by editors attending the annual gathering here of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Most of those who voiced opinions on the highly explosive question advised caution and moderation in seeking solutions to the problem of integrating public schools.

HEAVENS WON'T FALL

Herbert Brucker, of the Hartford, Conn., Courant, said that when the nation makes the necessary adjustments to the Supreme Court ruling "the heavens won't fall."

He said: "The first obligation is to recognize that this thing has happened and that integration is coming. People in the South who oppose this thing most strenuously say 'Yes, it is going to come about.'

"We have to adjust our minds to the fact that the Negro is not an animal but is a human being. But we still have a long way to go."

Lenoir Chambers, of the Norfolk, Va., Virginian-Pilot, urged that President Eisenhower create a commission to study the integration problem which he said now appears insoluble."

Chambers said: "The present situation in the South resembles a logjam. We are in a state of collision between two forces of extremists. The result is that moderation minds of the South have been squeezed out. That is a basically unhealthy situation."

SOUTH SPEAKS

John Q. Mahaffey, of the Texarkana, Tex., Gazette and Daily News, commented: "The Southern white man is a forgotten man in this deal anyway. But we wish northern newspapers would ease up just a little bit. It seems to me northern newspapers just can't wait for us to integrate. We aren't ready for it."

Another southern editor spoke of the need for an "editorial guide."

setting forth a middle course between extremists on the racial issue. Sylvan Meyer, of the Gainesville, Ga., Times, explained:

"If you are exposed to the demagogery of as many politicians as are in the South you would realize we have a highly inflammatory problem. What we need is an underlying editorial guide to refer to from day to day.

"It should be a moderate course.

The problem of segregation must be solved on the community level."

And Coleman Harwell, of the Nashville Tennessean urged his colleagues not to "point the finger editorially to other sections of the country."

He said: "Let us each in our own areas deal with our own problems, thoughtfully and prayerfully.

It may be as dangerous to go too slow as it is to go too fast."

Comment On Southern Manifesto

Journal + Guide

The South Not A Unit

P.10 Sat. 3-24-56

From (Raleigh) News and Observer

ANY IDEA THAT the South is a single unit should be dispelled by a special section on "Report on the South: The Integration Issue," which *The New York Times* carried on Tuesday.

Norfolk Va.

With its usual thoroughness and objectivity, the *Times* dispatched 10 experienced reporters into the area most affected by the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling on public schools and kept them there for five weeks. The result is a concise and accurate report on conditions as they exist nearly two years after the decision.

For purposes of comparison, the *Times* divides the 17 states and the District of Columbia, all of which had segregated public schools at the time of the decision, into three categories. Those found to have integrated or to be in the process of integrating are the District of Columbia and the border states of Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia. Seven states — Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas — are listed as "Divided or Delaying." The third category, "Resisting," includes the following five states: Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia.

On this issue the South is not only divided by states, but there are sharp divisions within some of the states.

Whatever may have been true in the past, the South is not now a single unit, economically, socially or politically.

A Wasted Effort

Chicago Tribune

THE TIME and effort spent in preparing the manifesto was wasted and worse than wasted. As SENATOR DOUGLAS, of this State, remarked with great cogency, the action of these Southern spokesmen in Congress is likely to make matters worse by encouraging the lawless among their constituents and discouraging those who are seeking ways to live with the law as it has been interpreted.

It is no answer to say that the manifesto condemns the use of force. The kind of people who form mobs will pay very little attention to the words of restraint to be found in the paper, but they may very well be fired to violence by the crusading tone of the document and its assumptions that the court acted lawlessly, that segregation is wholly right, and that any holding to the contrary must be wholly wrong.

The manifesto will have the additional disadvantage of encouraging members from some of the Northern States to feed the flames with angry replies. The political advantage that the signers thought they could gain by their manifesto will have its parallel in the political gain which representatives of Northern cities will expect from counterblasts of rhetoric.

Reason To Be Sad

Washington Post

IT IS SAD to find members of Congress interposing their private judgment against the duly constituted authority of the Supreme Court. And it is saddest of all to find among them men of such enlightenment and character as JOHN SPARKMAN and LISTER HILL and J. W. FULBRIGHT. No doubt some of the men who supported the declaration did so as a concession to passions at home. Perhaps, since the declaration was shorn of its nullification language, the issue will now be permitted to blow over.

Let us hope so. For it is to the wisdom and statesmanship and loyalty to American institutions of such men as SENATORS SPARKMAN, HILL and FULBRIGHT that the nation must look for a rational adjustment of local customs to constitutional requirements. It is in the leadership of such men that the troubled South must find release from the scourge of demagogues and bigots whose doctrine of hatred and rebellion is fast being allowed to erode away the middle and undo the progress of many years in better race relations. The South needs its great and good men today not to pander to its prejudices but to lead it into a new freedom.

Dixie Attack On Top Court Stirs Dispute

Post-Herald Tues. 3-13-56 Birm. Ala.

No White House Manifesto Comment

WASHINGTON, March 12 (AP)—The racial integration issue set off an oratorical North-South conflict in Congress today, with the submission of the new Southern manifesto.

Most of the fireworks was in the Senate; the House met only briefly.

The debate began when Sen. George (D., Ga.) formally presented the manifesto signed by 19 senators and 77 House members from 11 states.

It says the U. S. Supreme Court decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in public schools was "a clear abuse of judicial power" and pledges the signers to do everything legally possible to overthrow it.

Sen. Morse (D., Ore.) dared the Southerners to submit a constitutional amendment allowing race segregation practices, and predicted there would be few votes for it.

Morse also declared:

"A historic debate is going to have to take place in the not too distant future because this Congress is going to have to determine whether it is going to back up the Supreme Court."

Morse said some forces were trying to put themselves "above the Supreme Court of the United States and the Constitution."

Sen. Thurmond (D., S. C.), who led the states rights movement in 1948, told the Senate the South will "fight to the end" to reverse the court ruling.

"It would be submission to cowardice if we failed to use every lawful means to protect the rights of the people," he said.

"We are free morally and legally to oppose the decision. We must fight it to the end."

Morse, and Sen. Humphrey (D., Minn.), said leaders on both sides should sit down and work out the problem in a calm way.

Humphrey said he was displeased to see the Supreme Court become "the subject of passion, antagonism and bitterness."

He asked that Congress back up the court's segregation decision as "the law of the land," and said that "by holding back, you impede what is inevitable."

"This is a perplexing, confusing and bewildering day in the Senate," he said.

Sen. Neuberger (D., Ore.) said President Eisenhower should immediately call a White House conference of governors, senators and representatives from states "where the Supreme Court decision is being defied."

There the White House said there would be no presidential comment on the Southern manifesto.

George, in presenting it to the Senate, said it was not the product of hasty action. "It has been carefully considered by its signers for four or five weeks."

It was presented in hte House by Rep. Howard W. Smith (D., Va.). Smith said the court decision assumed powers the justices do not have under the Constitution.

Smith spoke of the nine justices as "temporary occupants of high office in the judicial branch."

Sen. Stennis (D., Miss.) said the court decision was unconstitutional and the signers of the manifesto had come together to do what they could about it.

"Even though now in a minority," he said, "we can exert power as to the confirmation of any new members of the court and will make a sustained drive against further judicial usurpation of power."

While the debate was going on, the court handed down another unanimous order in the segregation field. This held that state universities may not delay the admission of Negro graduate students for the time it uses to make an investigation of whether the admission should be granted.

In another action, the court put off indefinitely any decision as to whether states may ban interracial marriages. This involved a Virginia white woman and a Chinese seaman, but the state law primarily sets up a ban against Negro-White marriages. The court said the case before it was "devoid of a properly presented federal question."

Vote In Congress Shows 3 Republicans And 125 Democrats Signed For Manifesto

(The following editorial was published by the Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide on March 24, 1956:

WHERE ELSE CAN THE NEGRO GO BUT TO THE NAACP?

Where, indeed, does the Southern Negro have to go except to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

It is the only legally influential instrument that is able to get the case for the Negro's legal rights heard before the bar of justice. It is the only instrument for preventing those who would destroy these rights from doing so. It is the only means of protecting those rights.

All but 27 of the 128 members of Congress from eleven Southern States signed the Southern Manifesto against the Supreme Court. Among the twenty-seven who did not sign is **Representative Harold D. Cooley**, of North Carolina, who described the document as "dangerous, calculated to aggravate the situation."

Mr. Cooley also said that he believed it "holds out a false hope that there are legal means through which the Supreme Court decisions can and may be reversed." Mr. Cooley is a lawyer.

Some people wonder why, despite the sound and fury raised by reactionaries, the NAACP is growing in stature and influence among colored and white people in the South. One reason for this is that colored people in the South have no representative in government, except at times a man of Mr. Cooley's experience and judgment, will come forward and express a word of caution when the anti-Negro majority appears to be going overboard. There were a few such men in the recently adjourned session of the Virginia General Assembly.

What do Negroes in the South have to look forward to from their representatives in Congress when nineteen senators and eighty-two representatives in the House from 11 States present to Congress a joint "declaration of principles," which has for its purpose stripping Negroes of all legal or personal rights?

They chant that "outsiders" have destroyed "amicable race relations in the South." Amicable for whom? As long as Southern patterns of race relations held Negroes to an inferior "place" in the Southern economy they were satisfactory to the politicaly and economic interests which formed and maintained the patterns.

But these relations were built on sand. They were an illusion. They did not contain the ingredients of neighborliness and good-will for Negroes who sought to rise above the level of economic and saocial destitution. A show of hands had to come. It was inevitable.

If the Supreme Court decision in the public school cases should be any chance fall, there will also fall every civil rights decision rendered by the Supreme Court during the past 25 years, and every social and economic gain made thereby.

Virginia has two Republican representatives in Congress. **Messrs. Broyhill** and **Poff**—They signed the manifesto along with their Democratic colleagues. North Carolina has one Republican, **Mr. Jonas**, of the Charlotte district. He also signed. The lone Republican from Florida signed.

More and more Negroes in the South will join the NAACP and will throw financial support to it as these stark facts become more and more apparent.

Pass Resolutions Opposing Dead And Gone States' Rights

Southern Manifesto Group And Other Politicians Facing Tough Sledding As Time Nears For National Conventions Of Both Parties; Local "Constitutional" Group, So-called, Goes On Record Declaring 14th Amendment Invalid Causing Democrats Uneasiness

Just about the same time that a group of Nashville lawyers began what is believed to be "planned delaying action against the ultimate carrying out of all the latest edicts of the U. S. Supreme Court, the National Bar Association was launching its defense of the hight court's decision of May 17, 1954, outlawing compulsory seggregation in schools.

The local group of lawyers are sticklers for the 1896 Supreme Court decision which furnished the "separate but equal" formular for public education, and they even go so far, at this late date to declare that the passage of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution was unconstitutional. This is considered so rediculous that no fairminded lawyers hereabout believe it will get any further than the front door of congress and has not the ghost of a show to be seriously considered in the Democrat Party's National Convention to be held in Chicago in August.

And of course, not even that queer group of politicians who style themselves by the ridiculous name of "State's Rights Republicans" will even express their views above a whisper at the GOP Convention to be held in San Francisco in August.

It is a fact that the present idea of the Democrats is to go along with the behavior of politicians composing the "manifesto group" of southerners and coddle them with the hope they will not walk out of their party's convention.

However, even a majority of the Democrat delegates could be induced to come right out in the meeting and tell the recalcitrant "manifesto boys to get up and go if they insist upon carrying out their form of outlawry— that of defying the Supreme Court and of assailing the 14th Amendment.

In the meantime, Gov. Frank G. Clement who they say has been grooming himself for vice president and keynoter for the Democrats is about to be forced out of the picture because despite his ability as a rousing speaker, he would be embarrassing to his party in a conspicuous leadership role at the present time. He has failed to take a forthright stand on the desegregation issue like Senator Estes Kefauver, the only Southern Democrat believed to be a logical candidate for his party's highest honor. Senator Kefauver, who graduated in law at Yale University has a claim on Northern Democrats because of that fact.

The Tennessee senator is looked upon as a statesman who will go along with what are the findings of the nation's Negro lawyers, who point out in their intelligent "manifesto" just what is wrong with the thinking of the obstructionist lawyers like the Tennessee Organization for Constitutional government.

The National Bar Association to which practically all of the Negro lawyers belong has just issued its release citing its action defending the Supreme Court. It is as follows:

The following Resolutions were adopted at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Bar Association held at the Hotel New Yorker, on June 16, 1956:

RESOLUTION NO. 1

WHEREAS, a bill has been introduced in the House of Representatives of the Congress which would prohibit the Supreme Court from reviewing any decision which has been in effect for fifty years or more without the specific permission from the Congress; and

WHEREAS, the said bill provides that it shall be retroactive to January; 1954; and

WHEREAS, the bill is admittedly designed to "wipe out" or nullify the Supreme Court ruling against segregation in the public schools; and

WHEREAS, it is the considered opinion of this body that the decision and opinion of the Supreme Court rendered in 1896 upholding the doctrine of "separate but equal" was wrong and erroneous in the first instance, and based upon the false premises of racial inferiority; and

WHEREAS, the doctrine of "separate but equal" in the middle of the twentieth century was outmoded in our American democracy and a dangerous legal anomaly in a democratic world;

NOW, therefore, be it resolved by the Executive Committee for and on behalf of the National Bar Association as follows:

1. We condemn and denounce the aforesaid bill as a dangerous attempt to nullify a decision of the Supreme Court interpreting the Federal Constitution.

2. We likewise deplore this attempt to place curbs on the Supreme Court and other Federal Courts, designed to prevent the proper performance of their function of interpreting the Federal Constitution and laws, and settling constitutional disputes under our Federal system of government.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

WHEREAS, a bill sponsored by twelve senators would in effect forbid the Supreme Court and other Federal Courts from holding that Acts of Congress dealing with matters of national interest supersede state legislation on the same subject; and

WHEREAS, the result of such a bill would be to put in doubt many Federal Laws dealing with labor, health, safety, commerce, and many other matters that the courts have consistently ruled took precedence over State Laws in the same area; and

WHEREAS, the bill is retroactive and might apply to all past Acts of Congress that have failed expressly to state that exclusive jurisdiction was reserved to the Federal Government; and

WHEREAS, the said bill, if enacted into law, would cause unlimited confusion as to many subjects of legislation as between the Federal Government and the forty-eight states of the Union; and

WHEREAS, the passage of such a bill is contrary to and denies the supremacy of the Federal Constitution and its laws;

NOW, therefore, the Executive Committee of the National Bar Association respectfully urges the safety, morals, interstate and foreign commerce, and many other conflicts of law in respect to Federal Laws dealing with labor, health, safety, morals, interstate and foreign commerce, and many other matters including some dealt with in the Federal Constitution and its Amendments; and

(a) cause great confusion and conflicts of law in respect to Federal Laws as well as the Supreme Court and other Federal Courts as the interpreter of the Federal Constitution and laws, and as arbiter of disputes under our Federal Constitution and laws, as provided for in Article VI of the Constitution and laws of the Federal Government and the several states; and

(b) cause chaotic dislocation and maladjustments of the constitutional and other legal relations between the Federal Government and the forty-eight states; and

(c) produce a fractionalization and splitting of our nation into many local regional and sectional parts, and thus create a "throwback" to the situation of our country under the Articles of Confederation; and

(d) change and destroy the historic constitutional position of the Supreme Court and other Federal Courts as the interpreters of the Federal Constitution and laws, and arbiters of disputes between the Federal Government and the states, and among the several states.

WHEREAS, the bill negates and denies the historic ernment and states, and among would and constitutional position of the several states;

RICHARD ATKINSON, Pres.
307 E Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Tel. No. District 7-8000

Washington Merry-Go-Round

Advertiser P. 3-B
Sun. 3-18-56

By Drew Pearson

WASHINGTON

UNTOLD STORY behind the southern manifesto attacking the Supreme Court is that most southern senators signed it reluctantly. Virginia's Sen. Harry Byrd, whose cherubic face belies his political prowess, mainly inspired the document and wangled his Dixie colleagues into signing it.

Montgomery, Ala.

BYRD

Chief resistance, surprisingly, came from two outspoken conservatives — Sens. Spessard Holland of Florida and Price Daniel of Texas. They succeeded in toning down the original inflammatory language. The first draft scathingly denouncing the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling as an "illegal and unconstitutional seizure of power by the nine men composing the court."

This was reduced to the simple charge that the verdict was a "clear abuse of judicial power." Other smouldering passages that were removed included such words as "flagrant and unjustified" and "invasion of (state) sovereignty."

Holland and Daniel warned that the first draft was a declaration of anarchy. They also managed at the last minute to insert a calm paragraph acknowledging majority rule.

The manifesto idea was concocted by Byrd, who had already gone out on a limb urging "passive resistance" to the Supreme Court decree. He wanted more company on the limb, so he got busy behind the scenes.

THURMOND

Byrd easily recruited South Carolina's unrepentant Dixiecrat, Sen. Thurmond, to be his front man. Surprisingly, two southern moderates, John Stennis of Mississippi and Sam Ervin of North Carolina, eagerly joined Thurmond in drafting the first angry manifesto.

They quietly lined up what support they could, then presented the document as an accomplished fact to the rest of the Dixie senators. Southerners were faced with a tacit ultimatum that they must sign it or be branded as pro-National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. With the temper of the South what it is today, the NAACP label is political poison below the Mason-Dixie line.

Hill Signed In A Hurry

Alabama's Sen. Lister Hill, whose state is torn by racial strife, almost tripped over himself in his hurry to sign the manifesto. Another who wasted no time was Louisiana's Sen. Russell Long. Though both moderates, they are running for re-election this year.

John Sparkman of Alabama hung back. So did Smathers of Florida.

HILL

Holland and Daniel, however, led the backstage fight against the manifesto, but signed it along with the rest after watering down the language. They warned that the document, at least in its original form, challenged the constitution, itself. They also pointed out that the signers could do nothing about the Supreme Court decree, short of declaring civil war again.

Pressured by Byrd, the remaining southerners reluctantly affixed their signatures. Georgia's solemn Senator George, as dean of the Dixie bloc, unhappily acted as spokesman for the signers, though he, too, privately disapproved of such action.

Most southerners who signed the manifesto admitted privately that they were only adding fuel to an explosive situation.

Note—Only southerners who flatly refused to sign were Kefauver and Gore of Tennessee. Lyndon Johnson of Texas also did not sign. He stated that he was not asked to do so.

Defeat For Democrats

Disgruntled Democrats, who had counted their parity chickens before they hatched, are blaming their Senate leader, Lyndon Johnson, for the farm bill's defeat.

It was a case of the Republicans' 66-year-old heart patient, they say, working harder than their own 47-year-old heart patient. Eisenhower was busy on the phone lining up GOP voters for flexible supports, while Johnson was flying to Texas for rests and worrying about the natural gas fiasco. The White House even wooed away six Dixie senators from under Johnson's nose by offering them high supports on cotton.

The White House strategy was astute and shrewd. First, a delegation of White House aides went around to break down wavering senators. These aides warned that the President would have to veto a high-support bill and that Republicans would be putting him on the spot by voting for it. A presidential veto, they argued, would create worse publicity and antagonize the farmers even more.

On top of this, Ike put through personal phone calls to the unpersuaded Republicans and turned on the charm. Result was an overwhelming GOP vote for flexible supports.

Benson's trade with the cotton-bloc senators was more than enough to catch the Democrats by surprise.

What time Johnson devoted to his duties, meanwhile, was spent fighting a rear-guard action on the natural gas bill. He all but ignored the farm bill while maneuvering and manipulating to hamstring the Senate lobby investigation.

With the help of New Hampshire's potent Sen. Styles Bridges, Johnson took the lobby probe away, first from Missouri Sen. Tom Hennings, then from Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore, both anti-gas Democrats. Now it is safely in the hands of Arkansas' stern Sen.

Community Solution Urged for Integration

Star Fri. 4-6-56

By the Associated Press

Washington, D.C.

The committee which conducted the White House education conference called today for solution of racial integration problems community by community—but "within the intent of the relevant Supreme Court decisions."

P.1

In its final report on last winter's conference, submitted to President Eisenhower, the committee said:

"This committee agrees that the great social, psychological and organizational changes implicit in the recent decisions of the Supreme Court designed to abolish segregation in the public schools cannot be achieved with equal speed in every community.

"The committee also agrees that the intent of the majority of the American people is to abolish racial segregation as soon as possible."

Subject is Surprise

Inclusion of a statement on desegregation in the report came as a surprise. The subject was mentioned only incidentally in reports issued during the conference and not at all in a summary of reports of State conferences held in preparation for it. The State summary was compiled by the committee and included in its report.

The committee, headed by Neil H. McElroy, president of Proctor & Gamble Co., was not limited in preparing its own report to points raised at the State or national conferences. However, this was the only major issue on which it struck out on its own to any significant extent.

The matter came up in the committee's discussion of proper objectives for schools, which it defined as: "To help each child to become as good and capable in every way as native endowment permits."

"Two particular aspects of this goal," it said, "involve basic disagreements which the committee did not resolve satisfactorily, partly because of the limited time."

Suggests Further Study

The first question, it said, deals with the fostering of moral, ethical and spiritual values, which "inevitably raise questions about . . . religious doctrines." It recommended further study of this.

"The second difficult question, the committee continued, "concerns the relationship of the issue of segregation to the generally accepted goal of equal educational opportunity. This is an area of conflicting opinions not entirely resolved by Supreme Court action. . . . A problem which must be worked out by each community in its own way within the framework of existing legal structures and the intent of the relevant Supreme Court decisions."

"This committee notes," the report said, "that the present era of rapid social change offers special opportunities and makes special demands for understanding and tolerance of differing convictions. It is only in the achievement of this mood that there is hope for an ultimate meeting of minds."

MANIFESTO SPURS 3 PRIMARY FIGHTS

Times Mon. 4-9-56

North Carolina Congressmen in Contests Over Refusal to Sign Segregation Appeal

New York, N.Y.

Special to The New York Times.

RALEIGH, N. C., April 8 — The Southern manifesto criticizing the Supreme Court for its school segregation decision has become a major campaign issue in the districts of the three North Carolina Congressmen who refused to sign the document.

P. 18-C

The manifesto was signed last month by nineteen Senators and eighty-one Representatives from eleven Southern states. It declares the intentions of the signers to resist by all lawful means implementation of the court's desegregation ruling.

As of today, the manifesto is

indeed the main issue in the three primary contests in North Carolina. However, Ralph J. Scott of Danbury, Superior Court solicitor, is not personally exploiting it in his effort to win the Democratic nomination from Representative Thurmond Chatham of the Fifth District. Mr. Scott announced his candidacy several days before the manifesto was read in Congress on March 12. On the other hand, opposition to the other two nonsigners developed only after their stand on the manifesto became known.

In the Fourth District, Representative Harold Cooley, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, is opposed by W. E. Debnam of Raleigh. Mr. Debnam, a radio commentator and author of two books on the race question, has described Mr. Cooley's stand on the manifesto as "the obvious issue."

In the Eighth District, Representative C. B. Deane is opposed by A. Paul Kitchin of Wadesboro, a lawyer and former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Mr. Kitchin first announced he would not use Mr. Deane's stand on the manifesto as an issue. Later, Mr. Kitchin said he would "cherish the opportunity to join the * * * Southern members of Congress who have signed the manifesto."

Mr. Cooley explained that he did not sign the manifesto because he considered it "a dangerous document, calculated to aggravate the situation." But he said he was "definitely and positively" in favor of segregated schools.

The campaign has been much less personal in the Eighth District, although the issue also has been clear there. Representative Deane has explained that he did not sign the manifesto because "I have tried to reach a God-guided decision on this matter" and "it is not who is right but ultimately what is right (and) it is my opinion that one group opposing another will not bring the answer."

The issue actually has been foremost in Representative Chatham's Fifth District. This has been so even though Mr. Scott has refrained from aligning himself with any prosegregation elements and has remarked that use of the segregation issue would be detrimental to both races. However, local units of the Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., which is devoted to the maintenance of "the purity and culture of the white race," have led the fight against Mr. Chatham.

Mr. Chatham explained that he had not signed the manifesto because "I've been raised to believe the Supreme Court is the final law of the land" and that he felt the resolution would "do more harm than good" by fanning passion and prejudice. He said he "didn't like" the court's decision but "if I had it to do over, I still wouldn't sign" the manifesto.

The Democratic primary, in which nomination is tantamount to election, is on May 26. Sharp fights are being waged for nomination to three other Congressional seats, but the manifesto is not an issue in those races. Representative Carl T. Durham of the Sixth District has strong opposition from State Senator Ralph H. Scott, a brother of United States Senator W. Kerr Scott, Democrat of North Carolina; Representative F. Ertel Carlyle of the Seventh has a strong opponent in former United States Senator Alton A. Lennon of Wilmington, and in the Eleventh District a three-way contest is under way for a seat which Representative Woodrow W. Jones is relinquishing after three terms. The participants are Ralph Webb Gardner of Shelby, a son of the late Gov. O. Max Gardner; Hugh Wells, a lawyer, also of Shelby, and Basil Whitener of Gastonia, Superior Court Solicitor.

The Jim Crow Manifesto

Courier, Hd. Sat. 3-24-56

The manifesto which 100 Southern Senators and Congressmen have signed and put into the Congressional Record is essentially the same kind of documents which were being signed a hundred or more years ago to perpetuate slavery. No such document was signed, for instance, in the great debate over the off-shore oil lands.

Wilmington, Del.

The truth of the matter is simply that these Southerners do not want Negroes to be wholly free in 1956 any more than their ancestors wanted Negroes to be free in 1856. Then they wanted to keep Negroes in hattle slavery. Now the object is to keep Negroes in the slavery of segregation and discrimination. The explains the manifesto fully.

American In Japan Admits Shame of Dixie Manifesto

Defender Sat. 3-24-56 Sec. 1 P. 1 380

Chicago, Ill.

TOKYO—(INS)—The Asahi evening news reported last weekin an interview with James Michener that the famed American novelist considered southern objections to the Supreme Court ruling against racial segregation as "really very distressing and shameful."

The Asahi printed a front page interview writted by Alfred Smoular, a French correspondent, in which Michener was quoted as saying pro-segregationists provide ammunition in Asia for "anti-American propaganda."

The article said:

"I found him very disturbed. News just had come from Washington that 19 senators and 81 representatives, all from the South, had pledged to exercise every 'lawful means' to reverse the Supreme Court ruling against segregation of white and Negro races in American schools."

The writer added that Michener commented:

"It is shameful that, at this point of world history, an entire section of the nation, which is responsible for the defense of one kind of freedom, should so stubbornly ignore another.

"I am really terribly distressed by it all and when you put this in your own words, you cannot make it too dark or too strong.

"It is really very distressing and shameful."

Smoular wrote:

',Michener, who has lived so much in Asia, noted the damage this has done to the American cause in this part of the world and elsewhere and that it can be and is used to reinforce anti-American propaganda."

Michener who won the Pulitzer prize with his "Tales of the South Pacific," is author of numerous other books about Asia including "The Bridges of Toko-Ri."

He arrived in Tokyo recently on a honeymoon with his bride, an American girl of Japanese ancestry.

GOP Hopes on Congress Boosted by Bias Manifesto

Inquirer Mon. 3-19-56 P. 3

By JOHN C. O'BRIEN
Philadelphia, Pa. Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 18.

REPUBLICAN leaders are more cheerful about the prospect of regaining control of the Senate, and possibly the House, since the issuance of the Southern States' manifesto calling for resistance to the Supreme Court's desegregation decision by all "legal means."

A few weeks ago, Republican strategists who were cocksure about the re-election of President Eisenhower, conceded privately that there was no certainty about the outcome of congressional contests. Despite a public show of confidence, they saw only a slim chance of reversing the two-vote margin by which the Democrats control the Senate and the 28-vote margin by which they rule the House. They even feared greater Democratic majorities in the next Congress than in this session.

But in the opinion of the GOP leaders, the Southern States' manifesto and the elevation of Sen. James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), most rabid white supremacy advocate in the Senate, to the chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee, have changed the picture.

The ascension of Eastland to the chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee, even more than the manifesto, the Republicans point out, amounted to notice to the 13,000,000 Negroes in the United States that the most vociferous foes of integration are part and parcel of the Democratic Party.

The Negroes, the GOP leaders feel certain, will not forget that if the Democrats retain control of Congress the Senate committee which deals with civil rights and confirms appointments to the Federal bench will be dominated by a man who regards the Supreme Court's desegregation decision as an "abuse of judicial power."

Negroes will realize, it is pointed out, that no appointee to the Federal bench known to favor upholding of the desegregation decision could be approved with Eastland and a majority of the Democrats on the committee coming from Southern States.

* * *

IN VIEW of this, the Republican leaders look for a return of the Negroes, particularly in the populous Northern States, to the Republican column in November. The GOP strategists believe that the Negro vote will plump for Mr. Eisenhower and for the Republican candidates for the Senate, and in predominantly Negro districts for the Republican candidates for the House.

If such a swing develops, it could affect the outcome of the Congressional contests in six or seven States—Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Missouri and New York.

Senators seeking re-election from four of these States are Republicans, three are Democrats. Until the issuance of the manifesto and the naming of Eastland to the chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee, the Republicans regarded the seats held by Sens. George Bender (Ohio), Homer Capehart (Ind.) and James H. Duff (Pa.) as shaky. The other Republican, Sen. Everett Dirksen (Ill.) was thought to be in less serious trouble, although no one can forecast the extent of the dissatisfaction of the farmers in Illinois' rural counties.

But if there is a switch of the Negro voters to the Republican column, the Republican incumbents in all four States would benefit. Cleveland and Cincinnati, the biggest cities in Ohio, have substantial Negro populations. So have Indianapolis and Chicago, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

HOUSE districts embracing city wards heavily populated by Negroes also might be swung out of the Democratic into the Republican column.

Normally, Sens. Earle C. Clements (Ky.), Thomas D. Hennings (Mo.) and Herbert H. Lehman (N. Y.) would be considered sure bets for re-election. But a Negro revolt in Louisville, St. Louis and New York City could spell disaster for the incumbents.

Clements, incidentally, is by no means certain of renomination. He is being supported by the Democratic organization in Louisville, but Gov. A. B. (Happy) Chandler is out to cut him down. No matter which faction wins, the Democratic nomination, wholly aside from the possible desertion of the Negro voters, would not have its normal value. If Clements should get the nomination, the Chandler faction could be expected to drag its feet. And if the Chandler candidate wins, the Louisville organization would lose interest.

In any event, Kentucky Republicans think their candidate, Thruston B. Morton, former Assistant Secretary of State, has a good chance to win.

Sen. Lehman may be in a better position to stave off the desertion of Negro supporters than Hennings. He has been one of the severest critics of the attitude of the Southern Democrats toward the Supreme Court decision. But if the Negro voters decide that no Democrat, not even the most friendly disposed, could be effective with the Southern Democrats pulling in the opposite direction, even Lehman could be hurt.

Southern Senators Draft Segregation Statement

Evening Star P. 10-A
Washington, D. C.

By ROBERT K. WALSH

A statement by most Southern Senators and possibly by many House members reportedly advising State resistance to school racial integration, but suggesting no specific congressional moves, awaited final touches and signatures today. 3-9-56

It was tentatively scheduled for issuance next week in a formal presentation to the Senate. Senators from nine Southern States discussed a three-member committee survey and a proposed exact wording and extent of the pronouncement for several hours statement. yesterday. Some said numerous revisions were made, mainly in language rather than basic viewpoint. The statement was whipped into a shape satisfactory to Senators who differed among themselves on how far to chart a course.

The 14 Senators—all Democrats—at the morning and late afternoon meetings in the office of Senator George of Georgia, represented Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas. Several other Southern Senators sent word that prior engagements prevented attendance.

Text Remains Secret

The text and range of the intended statement remained an official secret. Senator Russell of Georgia, chairman of the report committee chosen at a similar gathering February 7 in Senator George's office, remarked that "we might call it a manifesto." Then he added: "But I'll have to look that word up in the dictionary."

From all accounts after yesterday's discussion the statement will not attempt to tell individual States specifically what they ought to do to counteract the Supreme Court's ban on racial segregation in public schools.

The Russell committee, of which Senators Stennis of Mississippi and Ervin of North Carolina also are members, reported on moves made by several State legislatures or governors. It was understood also to have listed other steps which Congress or the States conceivably could take in challenging the Supreme Court's ruling.

Senators said after the meeting that much of the time was spent in "going over the entire ground" before determining the

Interposition in Doubt

One Senator indicated that the statement will not urge or perhaps even mention, "interposition." This is a theory that individual States have constitutional power to reject Supreme Court's decision and refuse to enforce it. There seemed little sentiment for introducing an "interposition" resolution in Congress, if only because of the danger of long and bitter debate in both branches.

It was learned that a Senate resolution introduced last January by Senator Robertson of Virginia, will not be pushed by the Southern Senators as a group. This resolution would put Congress on record as declaring that a State could meet requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment either by desegregating public schools or by providing separate but equal school facilities for the different races.

The Robertson bill is in the Senate Judiciary Committee but it has not yet been considered by that group.

That resolution, for which Senators George, Russell, Ervin and Johnston and Thurmond of South Carolina were co-sponsors, declares some of the fundamental political and constitutional philosophy which the forthcoming statement is believed likely to contain.

"Disruptive Effect"

Those include contentions that the Constitution grants to the Federal Government no power over public education; that such power rests in the States under the Tenth Amendment which reserves to the States and the people all powers not specifically conferred on the Federal Government; that Congress never "implemented" the Fourteenth Amendment to apply to public education, and that the Supreme Court had a "disruptive effect" by saying the Fourteenth Amendment does require desegregated schools.

While the statement of the Southern Senators is expected to center on the Supreme Court's decision against school segregation, members indicated it would question other decisions of the tribunal along that line. They indicated it would warn, in general, against judicial, legislative or executive trends toward increased Federal invasion of many fields constitutionally reserved to the States.

Forming Southern Bloc?

Times-Picayune Sun. 3-18-56

Might Throw Presidential Election Into House

New Orleans, La.

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON — The states' rights doctrine, which now has been dramatically proclaimed anew in a manifesto signed by 100 members of Congress from Southern states, could result in the formation of a bloc of electoral votes that might throw the next presidential election into the House of Representatives. P. 6

The chances of such a contingency arising are increased by the closeness of the presidential race. Thus, if seven doubtful states are not carried in 1956 by Eisenhower as they were in 1952 and if no states in the Solid South go Republican, the President might find himself with less than 266 votes in the electoral college needed to win. The Democratic nominee would likewise not have a majority because his normal strength in the South would be given over to a third group of electors.

The constitution says that, when the House of Representatives chooses a president, each state delegation inside the House casts only one vote. It is a majority of 48 votes that decides who shall be president. The South would have 12 votes—enough to block a choice unless the Republicans get a majority of House seats in 25 states —which they didn't do in 1954.

THE PROCESS of selection is confined to the three candidates receiving the highest number of electoral votes for President in the election, and there can be no new name or compromise candidate voted on. If a state delegation is tied, it casts half a vote for each.

The new Congress—the one elected next November—would be the one to choose a president and vice-president if no candidate gets a majority in the electoral college. It would have from Jan. 3 to Jan. 20 to make the selection. If a deadlock ensued in the House on the selection of the President and if the Senate was similarly deadlocked in choosing a vice-president, the speaker of the House would serve until the president or vice-president had qualified.

The third-party bloc, which cast 39 votes for states' rights electors in 1948, could conceivably add to that total and unite the Southern vote behind Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas or Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia, thus preventing a choice by the electoral college and throwing the issue into the House of Representatives.

PRESUMABLY the Southern bloc would want some concessions before casting its ballots for a Democrat or Republican. For obviously the Southern bloc would have the balance of power.

Already the Southern bloc has determined to hold up and, unless satisfactory to the South, refuse to confirm any judges for the federal judiciary who may be appointed to posts in the South or to the supreme court. If the judges are to be political and are to decide questions on the basis of public pressure—which is what the Southern senators think happened on the segregation question—they will feel justified in examining carefully in advance the views of any nominees for the federal courts.

The manifesto by the Southern senators reflects a basic principle that cannot be dismissed as merely sectional prejudice. It is primarily an opposition to the so-called "liberalism" of today whereby the power of the federal government has been enlarged on the theory that anything that benefits the "general welfare" is constitutional, irrespective of what was decided before as to the rights of the states.

For, apart from the merits of integration or segregation, the fact remains that, if the supreme court is going to overturn basic principles long ago decided as within the Constitution, and is to undertake to "legislate," as the Southerners characterize it, then no decision can be regarded as final. It means that what has been decided is effective only till a new judge or set of judges overturns it. This is not a system of law according to a written constitution but law according to public sentiment as the judges interpret it. Precedents and long-cherished principles of jurisprudence thus can be ignored and politics can rule the day. Minority rights would go by the boards and the country would be at the mercy of intolerant majorities.

THE SUPREME COURT in 1896 decided the question of segregation on the basis of "equal but separate" facilities. Education has always been regarded as a state problem, and the Constitution's mandate that citizens be given equal protection of the law has been construed to mean that educational facilities could be separate but must be equal. The high court upheld this view consistently until 1954. Then the supreme court broke down the precedents which said education was a state affair and claimed the right to order segregation abolished even though separate schools had previously been held to be equal in quality of education given.

Now the way is opened to federal control of parochial and private schools and hence federal control of all systems of education. This is not what the proponents of integration have advocated, but this may turn out to be one of the results of the supreme court action in years to come.

(©, 1956, N. Y. Herald Tribune Synd.)

Manifesto Bloc Assailed by Case

Herald Tribune P. 3

Fri. 3-16-56 New York, N.Y.

Senator Says It Inflames Situation; Powell Warns Democrats on Votes

By Rowland Evans Jr.

WASHINGTON, Mar. 15.—Sen. Clifford Case, R., N. J., said in the Senate today that the "effect" of the manifesto issued by 100 Southern members of Congress against the Supreme Court's school integration decree "can only be to incite further resistance and inflame a situation already difficult."

Sen. Case, a Republican liberal, was the first member of his party in the Senate to raise a voice against the Southern declaration. Issued Monday, the declaration pledged "all legal means to bring about a reversal" of the 1954 desegregation decision.

No Debate on Issue

When he finished his speech, Sen. Case was congratulated by Sen. Prescott Bush, R. Conn. There was no debate on the inflammatory issue which has brought the North-South split in the Democratic party to its sharpest focus since 1948.

Speaking one day after President Eisenhower's appeal for moderation and patience in solving the perplexing and emotional issue of school integration, Sen. Case said he had no doubt that the manifesto "is responsive to the present feelings of many people in the Southern states."

But the Supreme Court is and must remain the final "determination" of any question involving an interpretation of the Constitution, he said, thus contradicting the Southerners' charge that the integration decision was "contrary to the Constitution."

Calls for Patience

The Senator called for the "fullest measure of patience and understanding" in "this trying period." He said both sides are guilty of "intemperate statements . . . and extremist actions."

Across the Capitol, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell jr., D., N. Y., posed a clear challenge that the Democratic party faces a mass defection of Negro voters next November if the Northern wing of the party fails to assert its leadership.

Rep. Powell, a Negro, said that if President Eisenhower "resumes his leadership" on civil rights issues and if the national Democratic party fails to renew the principles of former Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman, he himself will vote Republican this year.

He predicted many other Negro Democrats would do the same. In 1952, an estimated 20 to 30 per cent of the 4,000,000 registered Negroes voted Republican, the balance Democratic.

Rep. Powell called a news conference to announce his third appeal to the President to take personal action in the school case. He said:

"In an hour such as this, only the Chief Executive can speak and bring the leaders of these tension areas together."

The President has repeatedly declined to call any sort of White House or other conference to deal with Southern resistance to school de-segregation. He has asked Congress to set up a bipartisan commission with power to subpoena witnesses and compel testimony. The commission, he said, should keep a close eye on integration developments.

There was little prospect the President would see any reason to change his mind, despite Rep. Powell's newest appeal.

Rep. Powell said that if the President refuses to call a race conference, and if leading Democratic Presidential candidates stick to the moderation theme on the segregation issue, he will discuss with other Negro leaders the possibility of forming a third party.

Lehman Criticizes President

Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, D., N. Y., today criticized the President, contending that he implied yesterday that those urging compliance with the high court integration ruling were "extremists."

"The whole issue is whether all the people of the United States are going to accept the ruling . . . or are going to defy the Constitution. . . ." we have no Lincoln, Democratic or Republican.

THOMAS E. HARRIS.

Southern Power In Capitol Cited On Race Issue

Star P. 2-A

Sun. 4-1-56

Washington, D.C.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Mar. 31 (AP). — Representative Roberts, Democrat of Alabama said 20 important chairmanships rest with Southern congressmen who signed the segregation manifesto, and "we can do something about it."

Mr. Roberts and several other members of Alabamba's congessional delegation had expressed their determination to maintain racial segregation by all lawful means.

The group was in Birmingham for a congressional subcommittee hearing of housing needs.

"We are going to support the Constitution but we won't be the victims of a court decision changing customs older than the republic itself," Mr. Roberts said.

He charged that the United States Supreme Court decision that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional "set race relations back more than anything that has happened in the past 50 years."

"Segregation is a matter of choice," said Senator Sparkman, Democrat of Alabama. "It's choice and not court edict. Look at Harlem in New York. They are solidly segregated and by choice alone.

"If a white man tried to move into Harlem he would be just as bitterly opposed as a Negro moving into a white section in Alabama."

The manifesto, said Senator Sparkman, "sets forth our feeling as to the unjustifiable nature of the Supreme Court ruling."

"It is an appeal to our people to be orderly and lawful, and an appeal to the people away from here to understand the situation," he added.

COLORED ELECTORATE AND GOP—Despite Rep. Adam C. Powell's demand for federal intervention on the school segregation issue, Hals expects to corral the majority of the important colored electorate, both in the North and South. After all, as Vice President Nixon noted, it was a Republican Chief Justice" who delivered the controversial decision. And no Republican signed the Capitol Hill manifesto that refused to recognize that ruling as the law of the land.

Dixie Issues Manifesto

Herald Mon. 3-12-56 P.1
Miami, Fla.

Against Desegregation

'Lawful' Opposition Pledged

Text on Page 26-A

WASHINGTON —(AP)— Nine senators and 77 representatives, all from the South, today pledged to exercise every "lawful means" to reverse the Supreme Court ruling against school segregation.

They issued a manifesto calling the court's 1954 decision an unconstitutional, chaos-creating usurpation of judicial power."

In the "Declaration of Constitutional Principles," they promised to employ whatever legal means are available "to preclude the use of force" in carrying out the antisegregation ruling.

The Southern lawmakers also said:

"In this trying period, as we seek to right this wrong, we appeal to our people not to be provoked by the agitators and troublemakers invading our states and to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts."

The manifesto, which was first started in the making by The Citadel last week, recommended the specific "lawful means" of opposing the decision and maintaining segregation in Southern schools.

Signers of the manifesto represented 11 states and nearly 20 per cent of the total membership of Congress.

Among the signers were Florida's Sens. Spessard L. Holland and George A. Smathers, and Reps. Charles E. Bennett, Robert L. F. Sikes, A. S. Herlong Jr., Paul Rogers, James A. Haley and D. R. Matthews. Florida congressmen not among the signers were Reps. Dante B. Fascell, Democrat, and William C. Cramer, Republican.

Sen. J. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina Democrat, said the Southerners had conferred privately for several weeks to work out the policy statement on desegregation and the problems they contend it would precipitate.

Sen. Walter George, Georgia Democrat, and Rep. Howard Smith, Virginia Democrat, plan to present the manifesto to both houses of Congress at noon Monday.

Thurmond said the committee that prepared the final statement included Democratic Sens. Richard Russell of Georgia, J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, Price Daniel of Texas, John Stennis of Mississippi and himself.

The only three senators from states represented who did not sign the statement were Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas and Democratic Sens. Albert Gore and Estes Kefauver, both of Tennessee.

Johnson said he did not believe action by the federal government would solve "this great problem." He expressed hope "wise leaders on the local levels will work to resolve these differences."

Kefauver, who is seeking the Democratic presidential nomination, said he did not sign the manifesto because "I just don't agree with it." For that reason, he said, he did not take part in meetings of the Southern group. Gore declined to comment.

Text of Declaration By 96 Legislators On Segregation

Herald
P. 26-a Mon. 3-12-56
Miami, Fla

See Story on Page 1-A

WASHINGTON —(AP)— Here is the text of the "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" made public Sunday by 19 senators and 77 representatives from 11 Southern states:

The unwarranted decision of the Supreme Court in the public school cases is now bearing the fruit always produced when men substitute naked power for established law.

The founding fathers gave us a Constitution of checks and balances because they realized the inescapable lesson of history that no man or group of men can be safely entrusted with unlimited power. They framed this Constitution with its provisions for change by amendment in order to secure the fundamentals of government against the dangers of temporary popular passion or the personal predilections of public office holders.

We regard the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the federal judiciary undertaking to legislate, in derogation of the authority of Congress, and to encroach upon the reserved rights of the states and the people.

The original Constitution does not mention education. Neither does the 14th Amendment nor any other amendment. The debates preceding the submission of the 14th Amendment clearly show that there was no intent that it should affect the systems of education maintained by the states.

The very Congress which proposed the amendment subsequently provided for segregated schools in the District of Columbia.

★ ★ ★

WHEN the amendment was adopted in 1868, there were 37 states of the Union. Every one of the 26 states that had any substantial racial differences among its people either approved the operation of segregated schools already in existence or subsequently established such schools by action of the same law-making body which considered the 14th Amendment.

As admitted by the Supreme Court in the public school case (Brown v. Board of Education), the doctrine of separate but equal schools "apparently originated in Roberts v. City of Boston . . . (1849), upholding school segregation against attack as being violative of a state constitutional guarantee of equality."

This constitutional doctrine began in the North—not in the South, and it was followed not only in Massachusetts, but in Connecticut, New York, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and other Northern states until they, exercising their rights as states through the constitutional processes of local self-government, changed their school systems.

In the case of Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896 the Supreme Court expressly declared that under the 14th Amendment no person was denied any of his rights if the states provided separate but equal public facilities. This decision has been followed in many other cases.

It is notable that the Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Taft, a former President of the United States, unanimously declared in 1927 in Lum v. Rice that the "separate but equal" principle is ". . . within the discretion of the state in regulating its public schools and does not conflict with the 14th Amendment."

★ ★ ★

THIS interpretation, restated time and again, became a part of the life of the people of many of the states and confirmed their habits, customs, traditions and way of life. It is founded on elemental humanity and common sense, for parents should not be deprived by government of the right to direct the lives and education of their own children.

Though there has been no constitutional amendment or act of Congress changing this established legal principle almost a century old, the Supreme Court of the United States, with no legal basis for such action, undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land.

This unwarranted exercise of power by the court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the states principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding.

★ ★ ★

WITHOUT regard to the consent of the governed, outside agitators are threatening immediate and revolutinary changes in our public school systems. If done, this is certain to destroy the system of public education in some of the states.

With the gravest concern for the explosive and dagerous condition created by this decision and inflamed by outside meddlers:

We reaffirm our reliance on the Constitution as the fundamental law of the land.

We decry the Supreme Court's encroachments on rights reserved to the states and to the people, contrary to established law and to the Constitution.

We commend the motives of those states which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means.

We appeal to the states and people who are not directly affected by these decisions to consider the constituional principles involved against the time when they too, on issues vital to them, may be the victims of judicial encroachment.

Even though we constitute a minority in the present Congress, we have full faith that a majority of the American people believe in the dual system of government which has enabled us to achieve our greatness and will in time demand that the reserved rights of the states and of the people be made secure against judicial usurpation.

We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation.

In this trying period, as we all seek to right this wrong, we appeal to our people not to be provoked by the agitators and troublemakers invading our states and to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts.

SOUTH'S MANIFESTO CAUSING PROBLEMS FOR ADMINISTRATION

Commercial Appeal

Pro-Civil Rights Leaders Reportedly Told To 'Take It Easy'

P. 1

Wed. 3-14-56

MEETING IS POSTPONED

Memphis, Tenn.

Declaration Of Principles Also Poses Difficulty For Democrats — Liberals Privately Anxious

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, March 13.—A "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" by 101 Southern congressmen attacking the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision was reported Tuesday to be concerning Administration officials.

Administration leaders were reported to be urging professional civil rights groups to take it easy to avoid further agitation of the explosive racial situation.

A meeting of pro-civil rights congressmen with Deputy Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers was "indefinitely postponed." The congressmen had sought the meeting to press for civil rights legislation.

Problems For Both

The newly reiterated solidarity of Southern congressmen posed problems on both sides of the aisle in Congress, as well as to the Administration.

With both the Democratic majority and the Republican minority split on a number of issues, most legislation in this session is expected to be passed by a coalition of Eisenhower Republicans and Southern conservatives.

Thus the position of the Southerners, though restricted at the moment to civil rights, was a matter of general concern.

Liberal Democrats, while persisting publicly in their insistance upon speedy racial integration in public schools, were privately anxious over the growing threat of a third party movement in the South that could throw the November presidential election to the Republicans.

Most Southern congressmen publicly discounted the possibility of a third party but, meanwhile, there were two additional endorsements of Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas as a Democratic presidential possibility.

Bible, Long Join

Senators Alan Bible (D., Nev.) and Russell B. Long (D., La.) joined other Southerners who have pledged their support to the Senate Democratic leader if he wants it.

Senator Johnson stuck to his statement that "I am not running for any office." And, following an afternoon session of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee, he told newsmen he "doesn't at all" anticipate a third party movement in the South this year.

The majority leader said the Dixie Manifesto was not discussed at the Senate Policy Committee meeting.

Meanwhile, signs increased that both wings of the Democratic Party are bracing themselves for a civil rights showdown at the Chicago National Convention next August.

P. 5

Touching indirectly upon the Democratic schism in a statement, pro-civil rigsts Senator Paul Douglas (D., Ill.) said:

"I hope we can find a way, through the deep emotions and long-held traditions, to the mood of friendly and understanding and reasonable discussion, in which peopleof differing views work out the essential adjustments of life without breaking the fabric of law and order.

'By Lawful Means'

"And I hope that those who urge resistance to the court's order will recognize that others of us with equal conviction and sincerity believe that the law of the land and the basic principles of our religion and our democracy, as well as the clear needs of our foreign policy, require strong support of the court's ruling."

Memphis, Tenn.

The 101 Southerners who signed the "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" commending resistence to desegregation "by lawful means" included 19 senators and 82 representatives.

Representative J. Percy Priest of Nashville continued to be the only holdout among Tennessee House Democrats. He reiterated Tuesday he will not sign the statement, though he disclosed he has received a number of protests from his constituents.

Other Tennesseans who also refused to sign are Senators Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore and the state's two Republican representatives, B. Carroll Reece and Howard Baker.

Those who have signed are Representatives Clifford Davis, Jere Cooper, Tom Murray, Ross Bass and Joe Evins.

Senator Gore, in a further elaboration on his position, reiterated his agreement with "some portions" of the statement but his disagreement with all of it, and added:

"Furthermore, and more importantly, I seriously questioned the advisability, the purpose, and the effect of its issuance.

"I see no particular good that may come of it. But, on the other hand, its immediate effect was bound to be, and already is, an insistent demand for civil rights legislation in this session of Congress."

He did not specify the legislation nor what his position will be on it.

Senator Kefauver, who declined comment Saturday on his refusal to sign, has subsequently told newsmen he does not agree with the declaration. He was in Minnesota Tuesday running for President.

Representative Bass, a belated signer, said, "I didn't sign it at first because it didn't mean anything." He said he believes in segregation but he said, "This business of making the public think this manifesto is going to keep segregation is one of the worst things I've ever heard of."

He said "the whole thing was designed to help some politicians," and repeated his charge that a principal purpose was to help re-elect Senator Walter George (D., Ga.).

TWO FROM DIXIE RAP MANIFESTO

James Pleasure

P. 15

'Dangerous Document' Is Rep. Cooley's Opinion

Wed. 3-14-56

By WILLIAM KERWIN

WASHINGTON, March 13 (INS) —Two Southern congressmen—one of them an influential House committee chairman—disavowed Tuesday the manifesto against racial integration in the public schools issued by 101 of their Dixie colleagues.

Reps. Harold D. Cooley (D-NC) and Thurmond Chatham (D-NC) both sharply questioned the wisdom of the declaration by the Southerners that they would employ all "lawful methods" to upset the supreme court school ruling.

New Orleans, La.

Cooley, who heads the powerful House agriculture committee, termed the manifesto "a dangerous document" and said it will "greatly hinder" those seeking a solution to problems created by the court order that racial segregation is unconstitutional.

Chatham said he considers the supreme court decision the law of the land, and therefore could not oppose it.

Calls Manifesto 'Dangerous'

Cooley affirmed his advocacy of segregated schools but said that some of "the rather extreme statements" contained in the manifesto will hurt the South's position.

He said: "I did not sign the manifesto or declaration of constitutional principles for the very good reason that I believe it to be a dangerous document, calculated to aggravate the situation and inflame the minds and intensify the feelings of many people in many parts of our country."

The chairman stated also that the manifesto is "calculated to bring all the courts of our country into disrepute."

In another development, Senate majority leader Lyndon B. Johnson said he is "hopeful" the Senate will vote to kill poll taxes this session despite furor over public school segregation.

Bars Taxes on Voting

The Texas Democrat indicated he would back a move to urge the Senate judiciary committee to report out a pending constitutional amendment barring taxes on voting. These levies are prevalent in some Southern states.

Meanwhile, Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.), said he believes that Senate judiciary chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) will not try to block action on four civil rights bills also pending before the committee.

The four measures, which include anti-lynching and right to vote legislation, were favorably reported by Hennings' constitutional rights subcommittee earlier this month.

Hennings said he has asked for immediate consideration of the bills despite Eastland's support of the Southern bloc's manifesto.

Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) warned the manifesto will encourage "resistance" to the supreme court ruling, possibly by violence.

READERS' POINT OF VIEW: *What Woodrow Wilson Said About Segregation*

Courier-Journal P. 4

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal:

Why didn't the Courier-Journal publish the text of the Southern Manifesto? A radio news commentator said the manifesto was so sound and reasonable that the Communist publications, at home and abroad, had to dig up falsehoods in order to get any dirt for propaganda. Is that why The Courier-Journal sidestepped giving its readers a chance to see what was in it? Fri. 3-30-56

Let me quote a portion of Woodrow Wilson's statement of reconstruction in his History of the American People. Louisville, Ky.

"But, though they thus cleared away the more normal obstructions to the return of settled peace and a natural order of life at the South, the congressional leaders could not keep their hands off the race question. Mr. Sumner, in particular, was insistent that the Negroes should be given immediate federal law for their support in their assertion of their social no less than their political rights; and in February, 1875, at last had his way, which he did not live to see it. A bill passed which gave the federal courts authority, by appropriate process and penalty, to enforce the right of Negroes to accommodation in public inns, theaters, railway carriages, and schools, and to service upon juries, upon the same footing as white persons. The Act became law on the 1st of March. . . . It was the older leaders' last act for creating friction in the South. For eight years it was to fail utterly of accomplishing its object and yet to work its work of irritation, to be set aside at last by the Supreme Court (1883) as an invasion of the legal rights of the states which no portion of the Constitution, new or old, could be made to sustain."

As late as 1927, in Lum vs. Rice, a unanimous decision of the Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Taft, declared that the "separate but equal" principle as regards public schools does not conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment. Did these two Presidents, one a very able Chief Justice of the Twentieth Century, indulge in "proclaiming ancient attitudes"? I am of the opinion that The Courier-Journal did its readers a dirty trick by indulging editorially in such an abuse of some of the best minds of the nation without publishing the text of the manifesto. CARLTON COUNTS.

Fullerton, Ky.

The Courier-Journal printed the full text of the Southern Manifesto on Monday, March 12. It was part of the day's main Page 1 news story of the manifesto and its sponsors, and took up almost two additional columns on Page 12.—(Editor.

Southern Declaration Sets Off Sectional Fireworks In Senate

News + Observer P. 1 Sun. 3-13-56

Raleigh, N.C.

WASHINGTON, March 12 (AP) — The racial integration issue set off an oratorical North-South conflict in Congress today, with the submission of the new Southern manifesto.

Most of the fireworks was in the Senate; the House met only briefly.

The debate began when Sen. George (D-Ga) formally presented the manifesto signed by 19 senators and 81 House members from 11 states.

Four more House members signed the manifesto today. They are Reps. Jonas (R-NC), Cramer (R-Fla), Dies (D-Tex) and Bass (D-Tenn).

Judicial Power Abuse.

It says the Supreme Court decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in public schools was "a clear abuse of judicial power" and pledges the signers to do everything legally possible to overthrow it.

Sen. Morse (D-Ore) dared the Southerners to submit a constitutional amendment allowing race segregation practices, and predicted there would be few votes for it.

Morse also declared:

"A historic debate is going to have to take place in the not too distant future because this Con-lawful means to protect the rights of the people," he said.

"We are free morally and legally to oppose the decision. We must fight it to the end."

Morse, and Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn), said leaders on both sides should sit down and work out the problem in a calm way.

Humphrey said he was displeased to see the Supreme Court become "the subject of passion, antagonism and bitterness."

He asked that Congress back up the court's segregation decision as "the law of the land," and said that "by holding back, you impede what is inevitable."

"This is a perplexing, confusing and bewildering day in the Senate," he said.

Sen. Neuberger (D-Ore) said President Eisenhower should immediately call a White House conference of governors, senators and representatives from states "where the Supreme Court decision is being defied."

The White House said there would be no presidential comment on the manifesto.

Not Hasty Action.

George, in presenting it to the Senate, said it was not the product of hasty action, "it has been carefully considered by its signers for four or five weeks."

It was presented in the House by Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va). Smith said the court decision assumed powers the justices do not have under the Constitution.

Smith spoke of the nine justices as "temporary occupants of high office in the judicial branch."

While the debate was going on, the court handed down another unanimous order in the segregation field. This held that state universities may not delay the admission of Negro graduate students for the time it uses to make an investigation of whether the admission should be granted.

In another action, the court put off indefinitely any decision as to whether states may ban interracial marriages. This involved a Virginia white woman and a Chinese seaman, but the state law primarily sets up a bar against Negro-white marriages. The court said the case before it was "devoid of a properly presented federal question."

Sen. Thurmond (D-SC), who led the states rights movement in 1948, told the Senate the South will "fight to the end" to reverse the court ruling.

"It would be submission to cowardice if we failed to use every gress is going to have to determine whether it is going to back up the Supreme Court."

Morse said some forces were trying to put themselves "above the Supreme Court of the United States and the Constitution."

PETER EDSON

Post-Herald

More About Southern Manifesto

Thurs. 3-22-56

WASHINGTON — Political effects of the manifesto by a hundred Southern senators and congressmen, calling for "reversal by legal means" of the Supreme Court's public school desegregation decision, are not being taken too seriously in Washington.

Close study of the manifesto has shown that it contains not even a veiled threat of defiance of the Supreme Court. It outlines no program of political action to nullify the court's decision. It does not mention "states' rights" nor "interposition." P. 12

Calmer spirits among the signers toned down the more violent language contained in an original draft. Birm., Ala.

It was prepared by a small committee of Southern senators, headed by Strom Thurmond (D., S. C.) states rights presidential candidate in '48.

What emerged, therefore, is now taken as a political campaign document issued largely for home consumption in the South.

* * *

AS A MATTER of practical politics, it is recognized all over the country that no Southern candidate for office can hope to win nomination or election if he publicly favors even gradual integration.

This is being cited as an explanation of why such liberals—on other issues—as Sen. Lister Hill (Ala.) and Reps. Brooks Hays (Ark.) and Wright Patman (Tex.) signed the manifesto.

Northern Democratic political leaders recognize that if such men were defeated they would be replaced by extreme reactionaries on the integration and almost every other issue.

This is one reason which such liberal senators as Lehman (N. Y.) and Douglas (Ill.)—to whom the Negro vote is important—have been so restrained in their comments on the manifesto.

* * *

A GRAND ROW over the civil rights issue at the Chicago Democratic national convention in August is still not ruled out. But since this convention comes only 12 weeks before the November election, it does not give much time for organizing a third party.

There is a general feeling among political leaders in Washington that the States Righters were not too happy over the results of their 1948 campaign. They are not anxious to go through another third party ordeal.

This is given as one reason why Democratic Presidential Candidate Adlai Stevenson dared to issue his statement that the Supreme Court was right and the Southern manifesto wrong on the issue of racial segregation in public schools.

This may be a direct challenge to the Southerners to put up a presidential candidate of their own, in opposition to Stevenson at the Chicago convention.

* * *

NORTHERN AND WESTERN state delegations greatly outnumber the South for a simple majority convention vote, however. And responsible spokesmen for the Democratic party organization say it is inconceivable that their 1956 convention will reject their party which must now face past platform declarations on a split over this issue. civil rights.

Northern Democratic leaders like to boast that the greatest progress toward eliminating segregation has been made during their past administrations.

They find it ironic that it is

Why Relations In South Are 'Amicable'

Call 3-4878

The manifesto issued by southern congressmen a few weeks ago accuses the U. S. Supreme Court of destroying the "amicable relations between the white and Negro races."

Kansas City, Mo.

The race relations which the Dixie solons call "amicable" are nothing less than white supremacy. There was peace, quiet and harmony so long as Negroes "kept their places" and remained meek and subservient to their "masters." There was peace and harmony so long as the Negro remained docile and did not attempt to vote. There was no friction so long as the Negro accepted without complaint the run-down two-room school building while whites had a modern, up-to-date educational plant. The relationship between white and Negro was "amicable" so long as Negroes were content to sit in the jim crow side of the railroad station, to ride in jim crow cars and to occupy the back seats of street cars.

Star 3-31-54

But as soon as the Negro grew tired of such oppression and rose up to demand his rights as a full-fledged citizen of the democracy in which they lived, the relationship was no longer "amicable."

The white southern gentleman, like the plantation master of old, was perfectly satisfied as long as the freed Negro, like the slave, kept his distance from the white man and stayed on his side of the track, unless, of course, he was cooking for his family, caring for his children or performing the duties of chauffeur and yard man.

The southern white man is rebelling against change from the southern tradition of "white man up, Negro down." His rebellion, however, is bound to be short-lived. Even some of those who signed the document admit that the South will have an "uphill" fight to reverse the U. S. Supreme Court.

The manifesto could be dismissed as "trivia" were it not for the fact that some of the most powerful men in Congress signed it. This shows how deep-rooted are the traditions of white supremacy.

Southern Manifesto Presented in Senate

World Telegram p. 3

By The United Press.

WASHINGTON, March 12.—Southerners formally laid before Congress today their pledge to use "all lawful means" to upset the Supreme Court's ban on school segregation.

New York

Sen. Walter F. George (D., Ga.) presented the "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" to the Senate on behalf of the 19 Democratic senators who signed it.

N.Y. Times 3-12-56

Rep. Howard W. Smith (D., Va.) was to read it in the House as spokesman for the 77 Dixie House members who also affixed their signatures.

Open for More

Rep. William M. Colmer (D., Miss.), a key figure in the group, said the declaration would be left open for additional signatures until tonight's deadline. He pointed out quite a few Southerners in the House still had not signed. Some, he said, simply were not reached.

Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D., N. Y.), was the first Senator to speak out against the manifest.

"I want it to be known,' 'he said, "that I am wholly in disagreement with the position taken in the proclamation against the Supreme Court decision. . . . I will have more to say on this subject at an early date."

Sen. George, reading the declaration in the Senate, prefaced it with a remark that Senators felt it was imperative because of "the increasing gravity of the situation. . . . and the peculiar stress" the Supreme Court decision produced in the South.

He said the decision "has created many difficulties unknown and unappreciated, perhaps, by many people in other sections."

'Clear Abuse.'

Signers of the manifesto, which was published last night, denounced the high court's anti-segregation ruling as a "clear abuse of judicial power" that has sown "hared and suspicion" throughout the South.

They commended states for lawful attempts to resist integration but called for all citizens to 'scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts."

The statement was considerably milder than an original draft which some refused to sign. But it was one of the strongest criticisms of the high court by a group of Congressmen in recent years.

Only Sens. Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.) and Albert Gore (D., Tenn.) and Senate Democratic Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (Texas), failed to sign in the upper chamber. Sen. Johnson said he was not consulted because he is the party's floor leader.

THOMAS L. STOKES

Evening Star Washington, D.C.

'Manifesto' Rocks the Democrats

Johnson, Kefauver, Rayburn Praised For Refusing to Sign South's Plea

Aug. 3-20-56

Like "the fire bell in the night" came the depressing word into the snowy wastes of Minnesota where we were following the caravans of two well-known public figures who are seeking the Democratic presidential nomination.

The word was about the "manifesto" signed by 19 Senators and 77 House members from the South attacking the Supreme Court school integration decision, backing up Southern States which have openly defied it, and pledging themselves to use "all lawful means" to reverse the decision.

Suddenly a contest for the Democratic presidential nomination seemed a somewhat futile activity. For what can that nomination be worth with the party more hopelessly split asunder than in nearly 100 years, and a substantial part of that party in defiance of the law? The schism was dramatized by the two candidates campaigning in Minnesota. Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee had refused to sign. Adlai Stevenson had condemned the manifesto.

From Democratic dissension Republicans can gain without lifting a hand — politically, that is. Are they willing to let events take their course with that political benefit inuring to them, or do they mean to seize the opportunity also to do something for the Nation in a perilous hour?

For this they would look to their President. It would help indeed if he would take the leadership, rise to the occasion and try to lift the curtain of night which is descending upon the South as the lights go out and the doors are locked. It has been suggested—among others by Adlai Stevenson—that President Eisenhower call a conference of men of goodwill from both races, from North and South, from both parties, to counsel together about means to carry out the Supreme Court decision so as to avoid violence. The conference naturally would have to accept that it must start with the assumption that the law must be carried out, but recognizing that there is latitude in the decree of the court permitting gradual processes.

The South's political leaders have failed it and the Nation miserably with a few exceptions. They wilted in the crisis. Here one must recall with high praise the three Senators who refused to sign—Lyndon Johnson of Texas, the party leader, and Senator Kefauver and his Tennessee colleague, Senator Albert Gore, as well as the party's House leader, Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas, and 26 other House members who refused to buckle to political expediency.

Outside of them, the South's political leadership has abdicated, and in two respects. First, State leaders effected the passage in several States of "interposition" resolutions saying that the State will not obey the court, which means that men of goodwill are locked out at the very outset from any attempt to make a beginning even in a small way to comply with the court's decree. In the second place, there is the manifesto by members of Congress representing the national party which declares "we commend the motives of those States which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means."

How inspiring it would have been if just one political leader from the Old South—where the interposition movement has gained foothold — had stood up and condemned it and announced that his reelection was not important, but fulfilling the promise of democracy for equal treatment to all our citizens under the law was the only thing that is important! But none dared.

The Southerners who are groping for fair play and justice must go outside of their political leaders for guidance. There, among men of goodwill who have been working devotedly in the field of race relations, we are hearing fugitive voices raised on behalf of the law, but not enough.

What it takes, and it is not easy, is decision by an act of will that the individual is going to readjust his whole attitude that came to him by inheritance, that is literally in his blood.

We cannot look to our timorous Southern political leaders. They have failed us in our greatest crisis since 1860. We can only rely in the end on ourselves. We can no longer hide behind legal subterfuges and dodges and excuses about "going slow," that is, in changing our own attitude. For it was truly said by a great Supreme Court justice sixty years ago that "the Constitution is color blind."

Says Democratic Party May Be Doomed By Southern Manifesto

World P.1 Tues. 3-20-56

B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — The Democratic Party this week stood on the brink of total disaster as 96 southern congressmen issued a proclamation denouncing the Supreme Court for its rulings against segregation in public institutions.

Only two Republicans were among the 10 senators and 77 representatives who have formed the largest congressional protest group since before the Civil War.

HOUSE RULES

The manifesto, which accuses the Supreme Court of "abuse of power," was read in the Senate by Sen. Walter F. George, D-. Ga.) president pro tempore and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Rep. Howard W. Smith, (D-Va.) chairman of the House Rules Committee, read the document in the House.

Immediately, there was talk of a third party and the name of Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, majority leader, was heard as a possible candidate.

Here (in part) is what the Congressmen said:

"The unwarranted decision of the Supreme Court in the public school cases is now bearing the fruit always produced when men substitute naked power for established law.

Johnson was one of the few southern lawmakers who did not sign the mainfesto. Other non-signers included:

Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.), Albert ore (D-Tenn.) Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.) and Harold Cooley (D-N. C.) chairman of the House Agriculture Committee.

Every senator and representative from the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Missisippi, South Carolina and Virginia signed the manifesto.

THE DECREE

Only four of 22 representatives from Texas were signers, while six of Florida's eight-men put their names to the decree. Five representatives from Tennessee and four from North Carolina refused to join the move.

"We regard the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the federal judiciary—to encroach upon the reserve rights of the states and the people.

SOCIAL IDEAS

"Though there has been no constitutional amendment or act of Congress changing this established legal principle (of segregated schools,) almost a century old, the Supreme Court of the United States with no legal basis for such action undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land."

Alabama Editors Are Saying

Advertiser P. 2-B Sun. 3-18-56

Theoretical

The Brewton Standard

Other sections of the country, legally and in theory, have provided all these public rights to their citizens, but more often the provision has been a paper guarantee of no practical value. Sooner or later, the entire nation will be called on to redeem these paper guarantees under the Supreme Court ruling.

The South has its faults and failings, and it must rectify them as best it can. Yet, there is a grim sort of satisfaction in anticipating the anguish to come outside the South when other areas are forced to live up to the spirit, as well as the letter, of the integration laws.

Montgomery, Ala

On Newspaper

The Colbert County Reporter

After all the revolutionary changes which have taken place in the advertising world in the last ten years, the newspaper—it is now proven—remains the best medium of advertising.

The newspapers are the only advertising medium which can guarantee their circulation figure. Newspapers have submitted to various auditing bureau methods, which can easily be checked by any prospective advertiser, and their circulation is well known.

Moreover, each newspaper printed is bought by someone, and something that is bought is wanted, and therefore, read. This is true of the newspaper, but is not true of many other major advertising mediums.

The newspaper, today then, represents an even better buy, for the few cents one pays for it, than it ever has before, since the time of the invention of the printing press. The newspaper is still champion.

The Other

The Mobile Press

Many Northern white people — not necessarily those connected with NAACP —have seemed to enjoy immensely the spectacle of NAACP and its associate pressure groups ruthlessly striving to impose their will upon the South.

Perhaps word from Gloster B. Current, director of NAACP's organizational activity, that things are not as he thinks they should be in the North will cause these people to look at the racial picture in their own back yards.

It is easy for one to look across the fence into someone else's backyard and suggest changes. So often in such cases, we lose sight of what's going on in our own domains.

Manifesto

The Tuscaloosa News

Action of nearly 100 Southern members of Congress in signing a formal statement of principles on the segregation issue should remove all doubts as to the seriousness of our problems.

Many outside of the South have realized that the issue was not a simple question of legality and morality.

So, for the time it may gain to help us adjust to the inevitable changes and adjustments that will come, the action of the Southern lawmakers was excellent. But let's not misjudge it as a remedy that will completely remove this problem, and make it unnecessary for us to face up to it and all its painful adjustments.

Timely

The LaFayette Sun

This newspaper, like most of the other Southern newspapers, believes that the Supreme Court overstepped its authority in its recent ruling outlawing segregation. We further believe that the NAACP and the pious Yankees ,who practice segregation in reality while propounding integration in theory, are stirring up trouble here in the South that can never benefit the Negro.

We would, however, issue a timely warning to our readers. Watch out for the demagogue. He will probably come in the form of a politician who wants to use the issue to promote his candidacy for office, and he may come in the form of an unknown who loves to see his name in print one way or another.

Wilson's

The Monroe Journal

The University had no other alternative than to expel Student Leonard R. Wilson who apparently was expecting and welcoming his dismissal.

His recent actions show not only an absence of good manners but a complete lack of common intelligence as well.

Conduct from people with the caliber of Wilson's apparent attitudes and ideas have and will continue to add more friction and stress to the increasingly alarming segregation issue.

Senators Answer Dixie's Rebels

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Feb. 3-24-56

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D.C. (NNPA) —Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat, of Oregon, Monday challenged Southern Senators to offer a constitutional amendment to deny equal constitutional rights to colored people and see how far they will get.

It was hurled by Morse during debate on the "Declaration of Constitutional Principles," presented to the Senate by Senator Walter F. George, Democrat of Georgia. It denounced the Supreme Court for its decision outlawing racial segregation in the public schools.

The "manifesto," signed by 19 Senators and 78 Representatives from the 11 deep-South states, called the decision in the school segregation cases "a clear abuse of judicial power."

* * *

THE SAME declaration of principles was presented in the House by Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia.

All of the signers were Democrats, except three — Representatives Richard M. Poff and Ted T. Broyhill, of Virginia, and Charles R. Jonas of North Carolina, Republicans.

Three Southern Senators, however, did not sign the declaration. They were Lyndon B. Johnson, of Texas Senate majority leader, and Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore of Tennessee. Twenty-eight Representatives from the South also did not sign it.

Among the thirty-one nonsigners were the South's other two Republican Representatives.

AT THE outset of his speech, Morse pointed out that in the case of Marbury vs. Madison, decided in 1803, there was established the authority and jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to define for all Americans, regardless of color race or creed, the equality of rights under the Constitution.

"The supremacy of the Supreme Court in passing on constitutional questions was determined by that decision," said Morse, adding:

"A unanimous Supreme Court has handed down a decision that makes it perfectly clear that under the Constitution of the United States there cannot be discrimination between white men and black men, so far as the Constitution is concerned."

* * *

MORSE SAID he wanted to say again that "the doctrine of interposition means nothing but nullification, and it really means a determination on the part of certain forces in this country to put themselves above the Supreme Court and above the Constitution.

"If the gentlemen from the South really want to take such action, let them propose a constitutional amendment that will deny to the colored people of the country equality of rights under the Constitution, and see how far they will get with the American people."

Morse said the United States has reached a point in history "where the South once again will have to determine whether we are going to be governed by law or whether we are going to be governed or subverted by the interposition doctrine which is a doctrine of nullification."

* * *

ON THE BASIS of the arguments of the "declaration of principles," submitted by a group of Southern Senators, Morse said, "you would think that (John) Calhoun was walking and speaking on the floor of the Senate."

"As patriots," Morse suggested that Senators representing states outside of the South "need to sit down with our brethren representing the South, and see what we can do to solve, by reasoned discussion, the great problem which the Supreme Court decision has created.

"But I first want to say I think it is a correct decision, a sound decision, and a decision that was long overdue."

* * *

MORSE SAID the South has had all the time since the Civil War to make the adjustment.

"That is why I am not greatly moved by these last-hour pleas of the South," Morse said. " 'We need more time, more time, more time.' How much time is needed in order that equality of justice may apply to the blacks as well as to the whites in America?"

* * *

MORSE SAID he regretted that the declaration was filed because "such a declaration will not bring about the unanimity of action we will need in order to help solve the school problem in the South."

He added that "a unanimous Supreme Court, which includes in its membership men with the tradition of the South in their veins, has at long last declared all Americans are equal, and that the failure of justice in America must burn as brightly in the homes of blacks as in the homes of whites."

* * *

SENATOR RICHARD NEUBERGER, Democrat, of Oregon, suggested that President Eisenhower call a White House conference of governors, Senators and Representatives of the states in which the Supreme Court ruling is being defied.

The President should confront them "firmly but considerately," he said, "with the fact that the nation now is faced with a choice between anarchy and the rule of law.

"If the Constitution can be flouted in one realm," he said, "it can be in all other realms."

* * *

SENATOR STROM THURMOND, Dixiecrat, of South Carolina, is credited with pressing harder for issuance of the "manifesto" than any other member of Congress.

Groundwork for the "manifesto" was laid at a meeting in the office of Senator George on Feb. 8. He was chosen as spokesman because of his national prestige.

The 78 - year - old Senator is seeking reelection this year. His opponent may be former Gov. Herman Talmadge, a champion of white supremacy, who has been charging in Georgia rural areas that George had been soft on the segregation issue.

Southern congressional leaders said among purposes of their declaration were a demonstration of southern unity on the desegregation issue, notice to the Supreme Court that it must "tread more carefully on the Constitution," a notice to Congress that southern legislators will more carefully weigh all legislation and insist on "getting for the South as much as we give to other sections," and a warning to Presidential candidates that the South has a "firm position and intends to stick by it."

Thurmond said the final statement was put together by Senators Richard B. Russell, Georgia; J. William Fulbright, Arkansas; John C. Stennis, Mississippi, and himself.

* * *

SENATOR HERBERT H LEHMAN, Democrat, of New York, said:

"I, of course, recognize and respect the right of any member of Congress, as any other citizen of our country, to hold and express such views as he may approve.

"However, I wish no one to think that failure to make immediate reply to the proclamation issued by certain Senators and Representatives, assailing the decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in public schools, indicates acceptance of the views expressed therein.

"I therefore want it known that I am wholly in disagreement with the position taken in the proclamation against the Supreme Court decision by these members of Congress who are signatories to it. I expect to have more to say on this subject at an early date."

* * *

SENATOR JOHNSON, who did not sign the document, said he had not been shown the document because the majority of the group did not want to appear to be trying to "formulate Democratic or Senate policy."

Johnson said he did not believe the solution could be found on the Federal level. He said he hoped that "wise leaders on the local level will work to resolve differences."

Senator Kefauver, a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President, said: "I just don't agree with it." He added that he had not taken part in any of the meetings of the Southern group.

"I told these fellows long ago I can't see how you can secede from the Supreme Court." He added: "My position is well known. The Supreme Court had decided and that decision is the law of the land."

SEN. DOUGLAS, a former University of Chicago professor, said the Supreme Court was "established to settle disagreements over the interpretation of the basic law and the Constitution."

In the school segregation cases, he said, "the court properly recognized that when school children are segregated on the basis of race, a deep stigma is imposed" upon colored children and children of Mexican descent.

He added that "such segregation is a violation of the basic principles of Christianity, which teaches fellowship and brotherhood and which emphasizes that God hath made of one blood all the races of the earth."

* * *

SEN. DOUGLAS also declared that segregation "violates the historic American principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence that 'all men are created equal" and 'are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' "

Pointing out that the court "recognized that the law must be applied with the consideration for the changes it will bring in the educational procedures in the various states and with a reasonable time therefore allowed for this adjustment," he said:

"I had hoped that this decision would be accepted by all of our people, and that every effort would be made in all sections of the country to apply this law constructively and in good temper.

* * *

"I AM GLAD that in most areas of the country, including many where the decision has meant major changes, the adjustment to the law has gone forward cooperatively, with good

"No doubt it is the legal right of those who disapprove the law as thus interpreted to seek by lawful means, such as a constitutional amendment, to change it.

"This stated objective of those southern representatives who have joined in the Declaration of Constitutional Principles, therefore, is wholly within their rights, and I do not criticize them for this portion of their action, although I disagree with their objective.

* * *

"BUT I DEEPLY regret the action—which will have the effect of encouraging resistance to the court's orders—to which their convictions have impelled them.

"I welcome their repeated insistence that such resistance be carried on within the framework of the law.

"But I fear its effect will be to encourage those who will not be so meticulous about law and order, to discourage those who were willing to cooperate in making the adjustments to the law in reason and friendliness, and to turn the attention of many persons backwards to the old debate before the court, rather than forward to the complex but essential job of learning to live with the law so interpreted.

* * *

"CRITICISM of the court and its decision is of course both legal and proper, although in this instance I do not agree with the criticism and instead believe that the decision was correct. But as long as the decisions of the court represent the law of the land, they should be obeyed.

"The rigid inherence to earlier legal positions does not seem to me to contribute much to the solving of this problem. I hope that we can find a way, through the deep emotions and long-held traditions, to the mood of friend-

ly and understanding and reasonable discussion, in which people of differing views work out the essential adjustments of life without breaking the fabric of law and order.

* * *

"AND I HOPE that those who urge resistance to the court's order will recognize that others of us with equal conviction and sincerity believe that the law of the land and the basic principles of our religion and democracy, as well as the clear needs of our foreign policy, require strong support of the court's rulings.

"I hope Ameria will never go backward in its march towards equality of opportunity."

REPUBLICANS, THURSDAY joined in the fight provoked by southern Democrats in Congress.

In a speech on the Senate floor, Sen. Clifford P. Case of New Jersey said:

"It is inconceivable at this point in our history that the American people should refuse to accept the determination of our Supreme Court on a question involving the interpretation of the Constitution."

He added that it was "inconceivable also that the American people can fail to recognize the essential rightness of these decisions from the standpoint of simple justice."

* * *

ON THE HOUSE side, Rep. Kenneth B. Keating of New York gave a legal and scholarly analysis of the Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases.

The debate arising from the formal reading of the manifseto in the Senate and House on March 12 had been between northern and southern Democrats, except for an acceptance of the challenge of the southerners by Sen. William Langer (Rep., N.D.) on March 13.

"On behalf of the Abraham Lincoln-Theodore Roosevelt - Robert La Follette Sr.-George Norris faction of the Republican Party," Langer told the Senate, "I am authorized to say that we accept that challege issued yesterday by 19 Senators and 77 members of the House who issued a manifesto on the subject of the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the segregation-in-public - education cases."

Senator Case called for "men of good will and moderate temper" to work out the problems involved in complying with the law.

"Despite its expressed appeal for moderation," said Case, "the effect of the manifesto can only be to incite further resistance and inflame a situation already difficult."

* * *

REP. STEWART L. UDALL (Dem., Ariz.) reminded the southerners who signed the manifesto that "moderation is a two way street, and a temperate course assumes acceptance of change and adjustments which will permit headway to be made toward our ultimate goal.

The manifesto, he said, cannot be classified as a moderate statement. "It makes no mention of change or of a transition period," he said.

"In essence, it is a call to resistance which can only harm the cause of moderation and lend new and powerful support to the die-hards and bitter-enders who oppose any change, gradual or otherwise."

* * *

SENATOR PAT McNAMARA (Dem., Mich.) said the manifesto was "so shameful that it will forever be a dark page in American history."

The use of the Senate "to proclaim and urge defiance of the dedision of the Supreme Court in the public school cases is an act that cries out for condemnation," McNamara told the Senate, adding:

"This declaration may not be outright sedition, but it certainly is subversive in its intent to undermine the integrity of the judicial system of this nation."

* * *

WHILE FAVORING the "present system of segregated schools," Rep. Harold D. Cooley of North Carolina, said he did not sign the manifesto because "I believe it to be a dangerous document, calculated to aggravate the situation and our country.

"The document is also calculated to bring all the courts of our country into disrepute."

Another reason Cooley gave for not signing the manifesto was that he did not approve either the form or substance of the document.

"I fervently hope," he said, "that in an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding, and with patience and becoming dignity, our people will meet and solve the problems which now disturb the hearts and minds of citizens everywhere."

Another North Carolinian who did not sign the document, Rep. Charles B. Deane, Democrat, said he had tried to reach "a God-guided decision."

Deane said:

"There is a solution to all of our problems. It is not who is right but ultimately what is right. It is my opinion that one group opposing another will not bring the answer.

"Instead our religious, educational, political and lay leaders should sit down together and in absolute honesty approach the question with understanding minds, seeking what is right. We must approach this question in the remembrance that the hope of humanity may rest in how we decide.

"We must also remember our country's position in world affairs involving this global struggle with Communism for the minds and wills of men."

Washington Merry-Go-Round

Advertiser P.3-b
Sun. 3-18-56
Montgomery, Ala.

By Drew Pearson

WASHINGTON

UNTOLD STORY behind the southern manifesto attacking the Supreme Court is that most southern senators signed it reluctantly. Virginia's Sen. Harry Byrd, whose cherubic face belies his political prowess, mainly inspired the document and wangled his Dixie colleagues into signing it.

BYRD

Chief resistance, surprisingly, came from two outspoken conservatives — Sens. Spessard Holland of Florida and Price Daniel of Texas. They succeeded in toning down the original inflammatory language. The first draft scathingly denouncing the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling as an "illegal and unconstitutional seizure of power by the nine men composing the court."

This was reduced to the simple charge that the verdict was a 'clear abuse of judicial power." Other smouldering passages that were removed included such words as "flagrant and unjustified" and "invasion of (state) sovereignty."

Holland and Daniel warned that the first draft was a declaration of anarchy. They also managed at the last minute to insert a calm paragraph acknowledging majority rule.

The manifesto idea was concocted by Byrd, who had already gone out on a limb urging "passive resistance" to the Supreme Court decree. He wanted more company on the limb, so he got busy behind the scenes.

THURMOND

Byrd easily recruited South Carolina's unrepentant Dixiecrat, Sen. Thurmond, to be his front man. Surprisingly, two southern moderates, John Stennis of Mississippi and Sam Ervin of North Carolina, eagerly joined Thurmond in drafting the first angry manifesto.

They quietly lined up what support they could, then presented the document as an accomplished fact to the rest of the Dixie senators. Southerners were faced with a tacit ultimatum that they must sign it or be branded as pro-National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. With the temper of the South what it is today, the NAACP label is political poison below the Mason-Dixie line.

Hill Signed In A Hurry

Alabama's Sen. Lister Hill, whose state is torn by racial strife, almost tripped over himself in his hurry to sign the manifesto. Another who wasted no time was Louisiana's Sen. Russell Long. Though both moderates, they are running for re-election this year.

John Sparkman of Alabama hung back. So did Smathers of Florida.

Holland and Daniel, however, led the backstage fight against the manifesto, but signed it along with the rest after watering down the language. They warned that the document, at least in its original form, challenged the constitution, itself. They also pointed out that the signers could do nothing about the Supreme Court decree, short of declaring civil war again.

Pressured by Byrd, the remaining southerners reluctantly affixed their signatures. Georgia's solemn Senator George, as dean of the Dixie bloc, unhappily acted as spokesman for the signers, though he, too, privately disapproved of such action.

HILL

Most southerners who signed the manifesto admitted privately that they were only adding fuel to an explosive situation.

Note—Only southerners who flatly refused to sign were Kefauver and Gore of Tennessee. Lyndon Johnson of Texas also did not sign. He stated that he was not asked to do so.

Adlai for Desegregation, But 'Proceed Gradually'

Herald Miami Fla.

Cannot Upset Old Traditions Overnight, He Says; Predicts Full Equality in U.S. by 1963

Wed. 2-8-56

LOS ANGELES —(AP)— Adlai Stevenson told southern California Negro leaders Tuesday that he favors desegregation, but added:

"We have to proceed gradually in these matters. You do not upset the tradition of generations overnight."

The Democratic candidate for the presidential nomination said whatever racial progress is made depends on the spirit of men, "not troops or bayonets."

In fact, he predicted that the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation — Jan. 1, 1963 — could be the date of the full flowering of the spirit of equality in the United States.

His references to "troops and bayonets" came in response to a question from a Negro clergyman, the Rev. George Cofield, as to whether Stevenson would use federal might to enforce desegregation in schools and travel.

"That would be a great mistake. It would be a revival of civil war," Stevenson said. "We must go about these things gradually. It's the spirit of men that will change things for the better; it will not be troops or bayonets."

He added:

"I hope very much the North and South can live together. That's the kind of America I believe in. I don't believe in a Balkanized America. I'll do everything to bring about unity."

He was asked "what appeasement are you making to the South without hurting the Negro people?" Stevenson replied:

"I have never found it necessary to appease anyone. I'm not running for office for the honor of it . . . I'm running because I believe I can serve the Democratic Party, the party that serves all races and creeds and segments of our people."

Asked to state his views on interposition—the policy of state intervention to circumvent the Supreme Court's school desegregation order, the candidate said:

"I don't understand interposition. It sounds like nullification to me. I cannot express an opinion of what the Supreme Court might do to test interposition . . .

"But I doubt whether interposition laws can ever work. If schools are made private schools (as some Southern states are suggesting), and the government gives them money, aren't they by their very nature then public?"

Education, Stevenson repeated, is the main instrument for improving race relations.

"It's not just a matter of enforcement," he said, stressing, "we have to be very cautious that we don't provoke ugly reactions."

Stevenson said his main concern at present in the racial field is to see that the Negro is enfranchised throughout the nation.

"The basic assumption of democracy," he said, "is that you have not only the right, but the duty to vote."

Asked whether he would recommend a committee to investigate infringement on Negroes' right to vote, he remarked: "You don't need a committee to investigate whether there's been a deprivation of the right to vote in Mississippi."

Winding up his week of California campaigning, Stevenson told 150 labor leaders at a breakfast meeting that the Taft-Hartley Act needs "substantial" revision and that "right to work" laws do not meet his test of fairness.

"Laws must be fair to all — organized labor, all workers, employers and consumers," he said.

STEVENSON FAVORS SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Commercial Appeal

'Law Of The Land,' He Says —Also Hits At Nixon

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 6.—(UP) —Democratic presidential aspirant Adlai Stevenson said Monday desegregation of public schools was "the law of the land" under the Supreme Court's ruling and had to be obeyed.

Mr. Stevenson also termed efforts attributed by Democrats to Vice President Richard M. Nixon to identify the Democratic Party with communism as "one of the most shameful episodes in American history."

Memphis

Meeting the press early on a day filled with public appearances, Mr. Stevenson declared he favored integration in public schools both because it was the law and because he had been opposed to school segregation for many years.

Jerry

Mr. Stevenson made public a telegram he had sent last week end to Franklin H. Williams, San Francisco representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Williams had asked Mr. Stevenson for a positive statement on non-discrimination.

"As governor of Illinois, I twice recommended and vigorously supported fair employment practices legislation, reorganized and strengthened the Commission on Human Relations and ordered desegregation in the Illinois National Guard," the telegram read. "Schools in East St. Louis and Alton, Ill., were desegregated during my term."

Mr. Stevenson said he did not know the constitutionality of moves to bring about more vigorous action by the Department of Justice in cases such as that of Emmett Till.

STEVENSON URGES CANDIDATES BAN INTEGRATION ISSUE

Times Mon. 2-13-56

New York,

Sees No Greater Disservice Than Exploiting Tension on Mixed Schools

N.Y.

ASKS UNITY AS AN AIM

P.1

Is Against Federal Coercion as Possibly Delaying Gains by Negroes

Text of Stevenson statement is printed on Page 14.

By LAWRENCE E. DAVIES

Special to The New York Times.

PORTLAND, Ore., Feb. 12—Adlai E. Stevenson called today for removal of the desegregation issue from the Presidential campaign.

The candidate for the Democratic nomination said he could think of no greater disservice to the country than to "exploit for political ends the tensions that have followed in the wake of the Supreme Court decision" outlawing segregation in public schools.

In a statement issued here he proposed the objective of "unity, harmony and civilized relations," not the setting of "section against section or race against race."

Mr. Stevenson asserted that punitive action by the Federal Government "may actually delay the process of integration in education."

Neither the present situation nor future prospects of Negroes would be improved, he contended, "by coercive Federal action that will arm the extremists and disarm the men of goodwill in the South who, with courage and patience, have already accomplished so much."

Progress Tied to Reason

"We must proceed, as the court has said, with all reasonable speed," he went on. "But we must recognize that it is reason alone that will determine our rate of continued progress and guard against a reversal of a trend that has made the last three decades the period of greatest advancement for our Negro citizens on all fronts."

The candidate warned that in the "five or six" states where the court decision still lacked popular support "we are faced with one of the ultimate tests of democracy and of our Federal system."

"There," he said, "we are attempting to secure and protect the declared rights of local minorities in the face of the adverse views of controlling local majorities. This condition imposes special burdens on all of us—and even heavier burdens on public officials."

Mr. Stevenson's statement followed emergence of a controversy in California a week ago while he and Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee were campaigning. They are rivals for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Some Negro leaders in that state had expressed disappointment over Mr. Stevenson's views on methods of accomplishing the Supreme Court's objectives.

The issue had followed the former Illinois Governor to Portland, where he spoke to 700 Democrats last night. When the subject of desegregation arose at a news conference yesterday he promised a formal statement today to clear up any doubt about his stand.

Times

Mr. Stevenson noted "heartening results in the short period since the court's decision." He said that in more than half of the seventeen states that had required or permitted segregation, the process of integrating the public schools had been "completed or well begun."

P. 15-C

"True integration," Mr. Stevenson asserted, "requires more than the mere presence of children of two races in the same classroom; it requires a change in the hearts and minds of men. No child can be properly educated in a hostile atmosphere."

The 1952 Democratic standard-bearer was sounded out on other civil rights problems at the news conference at which he issued his statement on desegregation. A reporter for a Negro newspaper asked:

"Governor, the opinion prevails that you are committed to gradualism on civil rights and civil rights type of issues. Since it is the consensus that even after 100 years in Mississippi any gains have been slow or maybe minute, I was wondering—I seem to have recollections that during your 1952 campaign you had to stop in the middle of the campaign to straighten out the situation with regard to the prisons there. I am wondering if you have any idea in mind of stopping this wholesale * * *."

Here Mr. Stevenson interrupted to say several questions were involved.

He listed them as desegregation of schools; the miscarriage of justice, as for example, the failure to obtain convictions in the slaying of Emmett Till, a Chicago Negro boy, in Mississippi, and the "definite violation of civil liberties—the right to vote—by economic pressures, or duress, or violence or whatever."

Then he went on to reply:

"I don't believe you can answer all of them in the same language," Mr. Stevenson said, "and that is one of the troubles —that we try to emotionalize all of them and talk in packages. They are all entirely different subjects."

He skipped over desegregation because he was handling it in a formal statement. Then he said:

"On the subject of interference with the right to vote in the South or wherever it may be, I think it is very sad that people, whoever they are, by intimidation or violence should be deprived of what not only is the

right of every American citizen but is the duty of every American citizen—the duty to vote.

"I said this in very emphatic terms in New York early in December in a speech before the merger convention of the C. I. O. and the A. F. L. [Congress of Industrial Organizations and American Federation of Labor], with special reference to the South and the interference with this franchise.

"On the third subject, the violence and the miscarriage of justice in the South: nobody can view with anything except alarm and dismay and distress any miscariage of justice anywhere. The trouble is we have a Federal system—division of jurisdiction, both criminal and civil, between the states and the Federal Government.

"In cases that relate to the states only, as, for example, the Till case—the boy who was murdered in Mississippi—we have to look to the states to enforce the law. So if you ask me do I have a program as to that, I can only say to the extent that the Federal laws should be enforced; but in the case of the murder and kidnapping, it was committed wholly within the State of Mississipi."

Mr. Stevenson left for Timberline Lodge, on the slope of Mount Hood, east of Portland, to spend

ADLAI CAUTIONS ON RACE ACTION

Times-Picayune

Opposes 'Disarming Men of Good Will in South'

Mon. 2-13-56

PORTLAND, Ore., Feb. 12 (AP) — Adlai Stevenson called today for removal of the segregation issue from the "emotional coloration of a presidential contest."

P. 1

"I can think of no greater disservice to our country," he said, "than to exploit for political ends the tensions that have followed in the wake of the Supreme Court decision."

New Orleans, La.

Stevenson, campaigning to head the Democratic ticket again, urged "all reasonable speed," as the court did, in carrying out its order against segregation in the public schools.

But, on the race prejudice problem in general, he cautioned:

"Certainly we will not improve the present condition or future prospects of any Negro citizen by coercive federal action that will arm the extremists and disarm the men of good will in the South who, with courage and patience, have already accomplished so much."

It was the third—and fullest—statement by the former Illinois governor on the touchy racial issue during his current western tour.

Deplores Alabama Action

His declarations followed complaints of some California Negro leaders a week ago that they had been unable to get even "a mild public statement" from Stevenson on civil rights. Two Negro spokesmen said Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee was winning Negro voters away from the 1952 Democratic candidate in California.

Stevenson responded in Los Angeles by emphasizing his support of desegration in Southern schools. In Portland yesterday, he deplored mob violence at the University of Alabama against the first Negro student ever admitted.

Stevenson, who spoke at a Democratic fund-raising dinner here last night, issued his latest statement before leaving for two days of rest and speech-writing at a lodge on Mt. Hood, east of Portland. He plans to fly to Seattle Tuesday to resume his campaign swing.

"Recent newspaper reports about my views on civil rights," he said, "cause me to say, first of all, that I am surprised that anything I could say on that subject would still be news.

Recalls Integration Stand

"My attitude has not changed since I first had a part in integrating Negroes in the naval service 15 years ago, and my views have been reflected in my subsequent public record.

"I believe deeply that it is the first obligation of every citizen of this republic to work for the full realization of the goals stated in our original charter—freedom and equality for all Americans."

Stevenson saw heartening results in the short time since the Supreme Court's decision. He said integration has been completed or well begun in 17 states which required or permitted separate schools for white and Negro students.

'Faced with Ultimate Test'

"In the five or six states where public opinion does not yet sustain the court's decision," he said, "we are faced with one of the ultimate tests of democracy, and of our federal system."

Stevenson said it won't help reduce race prejudice "by denying to areas afflicted with it the means of improving the educational standards of all their people." He previously objected to the Powell amendment which would make desegration a condition for federal school aid.

'No Slowing Down'

Coupling this view with his warning against "coercive federal action," he said:

"I suggest no slowing down of the effort to bring to reality the American concept of full equality for all our citizens. We must proceed, as the court has said, with all reasonable speed.

"But we must recognize that it is reason alone that will determine our rate of continued progress, and guard against a reversal of the trend that has made the last three decades the period of greatest advancement for our Negro citizens on all fronts.

"I had hoped the action of the court, and the notable record of compliance that still far outweighs the instances of overt resistance, would remove this issue from the political arena and make possible its orderly resolution without the emotional coloration of a presidential contest.

"I still consider this not only possible, but essential."

Pulse of the Public

Constitution

Adlai Spoke Sensibly and Clearly in Advising Against Use of Force on Segregation Issue

Sat. 2-11-56 P. 4

Atlanta, Ga.

Fitzgerald—I see where Adlai Stevenson is again talking sense to the American people. It's very fortunate for us all that we have a man of his caliber in days like this when most anybody will sell his soul for a dollar or a vote on election day.

In a speech in California, he told the nation that the colored people should depend less on laws and legalisms and more on the spirit with which laws are accepted and put into force. I reckon that means that they should work for what they believe they're entitled to instead of being given everything. Stevenson also says he would not attempt to cut off federal aid for schools just because they did not accept integration, and wouldn't try to use federal troops to carry out the Supreme Court's edict.

How right he is! He has a clear-thinking head on his shoulders and what makes it so out of the ordinary, he has courage to tell the people where he stands. He has not taken a stand against Negroes, but is merely stating facts and good sense. What a pity that more of our Northern states friends can't understand that our problem is not one to be dealt with and settled overnight.

Three cheers for Adlai Stevenson.

KENNETH ENGLISH.

* * *

Do Women Actually Dominate All Men?

Atlanta—Since you have been deluged with anti-libel-bill letters I feel it incumbent to send one in to "take you fellows down a peg." You had a very sweet eulogy to Henry Mencken a few days ago and was really quite paradoxical. It was that gentleman who said (American credo) that if a newspaper was honest it would go out of business within a month. And Henry should know, because he was a newspaperman.

Let's face it . . . newspapers and congressmen are both dominated by businessmen . . . And the women in turn dominate them; so there you have it.

JOE GUEST.

THOUGHTFUL.

* * *

Will Liberals Stand With Supreme Court?

Atlanta—The correspondent who termed the defiance of the Supreme Court a ridiculous arrogance is absolutely right and I wish more of our liberal citizens would take a stand against the strident voices of hysteria.

INDIGNANT.

FATHER OF MILLS BROTHERS RETIRES

Courier

P. 25

HOLLYWOOD (ANP) — John (Skipper) Mills, whose bass voice added harmony to famous Mills Brothers singing unit for twenty years, has retired at 74.

Pittsburgh Pa.

Skipper joined the quartet in 1936, following the death of his oldest son, John Mills Jr. He made five European tours since then with his sons.

Post 2-18-56

According to reports, a leg ailment is the reason Skipper decided to retire. He is reportedly under doctor's orders to rest.

La Prensa Editorial Struck Near Home

Atlanta—You have performed a public service by reprinting the "La Prensa" editorial. What it says strikes very close to home. Let us pray that the recent newspaper libel law will not initiate the destruction of freedom of the press such as took place in Argentina.

JOSEPH GOLDEN.

* * *

Sen. George's Stature As Thinker Is Cited

Louisville — The past few days has seen former Gov. Talmadge roaming over the state.

That he is eyeing the Senate seat now held by Walter E. George is no secret. What is a deep and dark mystery is what has Herman got to offer the state when it comes to the broader, more complex situations that evolve themselves on the national and international scene.

As for Sen. George, age notwithstanding, his reputation as a thinker in the field of foreign policy far outshines Dulles and the State Department.

Race Issue Out, Adlai Asserts

Daily World

Tues. 2-14-56

Atlanta, Ga.

PORTLAND, Ore. — (INS) — Adlai E. Stevenson declared Monday that he could think of "no greater disservice to our country" than to exploit for political purposes Southern racial tensions which have followed the Supreme Court de-segregation ruling.

P. 1

PUNITIVE ACTION

The Democratic presidential contender added: "and as a practical matter we must recognize that punitive action by the federal government may actually delay the process of integration in education."

Stevenson issued a formal statement which said in part:

"In the five or six states where public opinion does not yet sustain the court's decision, we are faced of the adverse views of controlling local majorities.

POLITICAL ENDS

"This condition imposes special burdens on all of us—and even heavier burdens on public officials. I can think of no greater disservice to our country than to exploit for political ends the tensions that have followed in the wake of the Supreme Court decision.

"Our purpose must be to attain unity, harmony and civilized relations, not to set section against section or race against race. And as a practical matter we must recognize that punitive action by the Federal government may actually delay the process of integration in education.

Adlai Favors Going Slow

Post-Herald

Birmingham, Ala.

3 Demo Candidates Take Stand On Barring Of Negro At U. Of A.

Mon. 2-13-56

FROM PRESS REPORTS

The young Birmingham Negro woman who was enrolled at the University of Alabama and then "excluded" from the campus is fast becoming a national issue.

The three principal candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination this year are taking stands—and not similar ones—concerning the woman, Autherine Lucy, and the University's action in barring her from classes.

P. 1

Adlai Stevenson, chief contender for the Democratic Party's nomination, Sunday reiterated his desire to have the federal government go slow on the racial integration issue in the South, but one of his probable adversaries at the party's national convention indicated he would like to throw the book at states refusing to desegregate their schools.

Averell Harriman, governor of New York, took issue with Stevenson and came out for cutting off Federal funds to all public schools that refuse to integrate.

The nub of that argument is legislation now before Congress to provide Federal money for public school construction. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell of New York City, Negro Democrat, has promised he'll try to amend the legislation to deny money to schools that do not allow mixed attendance.

Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, also out for the Democratic nomination, has refused to say how he would vote on such an amendment. He has said that if President Eisenhower and the courts "do their duty," the amendment isn't necessary.

In Portland, Ore., Sunday, Stevenson called for removal of the segregation issue from "the emotional coloration of a presidential contest."

"I can think of no greater disservice to our country," he said, "than to exploit for political ends the tensions that have followed in the wake of the Supreme Court decision (that segregation is unconstitutional)."

He said he favored "all reasonable speed" in carrying out the court's order against segregation, and pointed out that some progress has been made toward integration in many of the 17 states which recently required or permitted schools for white and Negro students.

"In the five states where public opinion not yet sustain the court's order," Stevenson said, "we are faced with one of the ultimates of democracy, and of democratic system."

Harriman, on the other hand, declared for immediate enforcement of the desegregation order, and for prosecution by federal authorities of those who have "violated the law" by keeping Autherine Lucy from her classes at the University of Alabama.

Post-Herald

The 26-year-old Birmingham Negro was enrolled as a student at Alabama on Jan. 31, in compliance with a federal judge's order. She attended classes three days, and finally was "excluded" from the campus by order of the University trustees after demonstrations against her mounted to riot fury.

P. 13

The board of trustees' action was taken, it said, for the woman's protection and that of other students and faculty members.

Miss Lucy still is enrolled at Alabama, but is excluded from the campus.

Harriman declared he is "unhappy" that President Eisenhower took the Alabama controversy so lightly in his last press conference.

Mon. 2-13-56

"Those people ought to be brought to justice and the attorney general should be active in this case—and I haven't seen the activity which I think the situation demands," the New Yorker said.

Stevenson has mentioned 1965 as a possible target date for a gradual settlement of the school racial crisis.

Harriman thinks that is too slow: "I think the executive branch of the government should see to it that the orders and decisions of the Supreme Court are enforced.

". . . I don't think it's up to the federal government to talk about 10 years on that sort of thing."

He was asked if "we ought to wait until '65?"

"No," Harriman replied, "I do not think so at all."

Stevenson also said this weekend that he was confident the situation at Alabama will be patched up and that Autherine Lucy will be allowed to return to class.

On the quickening political scene, Alabama's Sen. John Sparkman, declared he thinks Stevenson is the strongest Democratic presidential hopeful in the South, and that he doesn't think Eisenhower will run again. He predicted a "merry fight" for the GOP nomination.

Sparkman was Stevenson's running mate in 1952.

In Washington, GOP Chairman Leonard Hall Sunday offered to give $1000 to charity if it could be proved that Vice President Richard Nixon ever called former President Harry Truman a traitor. Truman said recently Nixon called him a "traitor" in 1952 campaign speeches.

Nixon himself apparently is staying aloof from any efforts to build him up for the presidency while Eisenhower's 1956 intentions are unknown.

Although he's in a strong position to bid for the nomination if Eisenhower doesn't run, friends of Nixon say he has neither encouraged nor authorized any moves in his behalf.

Nixon will receive an award for "outstanding service to the nation" at a Republican Lincoln Day dinner in New York tonight.

Supreme Court ruling correct, Adlai says

News P. 4-9 Wed. 3-14-56

CHICAGO, March 14—(AP)—Adlai E. Stevenson says the nation must follow the course "so clearly marked out" by the Supreme Court to eliminate racial segregation in the schools.

B'ham, Ala.

"I do not agree that the Supreme Court exceeded its proper authority in its rulings on school segregation," Stevenson said yesterday. "I think rather that these rulings are correct interpretations of the constitution and the conscience of the nation."

Stevenson commented on the pledge of 97 Southern senators and representatives to press all legal means to reverse the court's order in a statement on the eve of his return today to Minnesota, where he is battling Sen. Estes Kefauver in the Democratic presidential primary.

"The fact that the list of signers of the 'declaration of constitutional principles' includes distinguished, responsible leaders of a great region of our country is a reflection of the gravity of the racial tensions that have arisen in the South," Stevenson said.

"IT IS VERY important to recognize that these Southern leaders urge that violence and extreme measures be avoided.

"It remains my own firm belief that the differences which now divide us can be resolved through legal processes, and in accord with the essential principles recognized by the Supreme Court.

"We must proceed along the course that has been so clearly marked out.

"The immediate task is to reduce the tensions that have already produced such shameful consequences. That burden rests on all of us, North and South, white and Negro, Republican and Democrat."

Estes, Adlai And The Race Issue In California

Advertiser Wed. 2-8-56

CALIFORNIA'S June 5 winner-take-all primary is beginning to shape up as a contest between Kefauver and Stevenson for the Negro vote. They can count on the South's amiability. They know it and so does the GOP.

P. 4 A

There are many thousands of Negro voters in California. Until the last few days, it seemed that Stevenson had the situation well in hand, with 80% of the California Democratic party's leaders pledged to him. Then on Feb. 5, Kefauver allowed that he was more liberal than Stevenson on the race question. His statement left the im-

The Kefauver move was generally regarded as a setback for Stevenson. And, with 68 Democratic convention votes at the California Democratic council convention with a declaration for equal rights for a federal stake, Stevenson was getting worried. economic and poltical citizens and his support of mob violence. He statute to deal with mob violence. He What had particularly nettled the spoke out against the slaying of Emmett Till in Mississippi as a "horrible murder," a truism he threw in to add to the total impression of himself as a champion of minority rights.

★

KEFAUVER won loud applause from assemblyman from the 17th District of San Francisco. Rumford said he was unhappy with Stevenson's stand on the civil rights issue. Unless Adlai strengthened his stand, Rumford said, "I'll have no alternative but to switch to Senator Kefauver."

swer to a Lincoln Day speech yesterday at Springfield, Ill., by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Assn. for The Advancement of Colored People.

Tues. 2-14-56

"I agree with Mr. Wilkins," Stevenson continued in a statement made at this mountain lodge where he is speech writing, "that this problem can be solved by good will, good deeds and with understanding and forbearance. That is exactly what I have been saying." Wilkins used those words in his comment and called too for "determination to obey the law . . ."

Stevenson Denies Advising Negroes To Forego Rights

Advertiser P. 1-8

TIMBERLINE LODGE, Ore., Feb. 13 (AP)—Adlai Stevenson said today he was "surprised" that a Negro leader had charged him with advising Negroes not to claim their rights or to do so gradually.

Montgomery, Ala.

This, he said, "I have never suggested." But, he added, "claiming rights does not necessarily secure them. That is our problem."

Stevenson's comment was in answer to a Lincoln Day speech yesterday at Springfield, Ill., by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Assn. for The Advancement of Colored People.

"I agree with Mr. Wilkins," Stevenson continued in a statement made at this mountain lodge where he is speech writing, "that this problem can be solved by good will, good deeds and with understanding and forbearance. That is exactly what I have been saying." Wilkins used those words in his comment and called too for "determination to obey the law . . ."

Evidence of Kefauver's appeal to Negro voters was the turnabout of the Rev. L. Sylvester Odom, pastor of an Oakland church and president of the Oakland NAACP. The Rev. Odom was seen wearing a Stevenson button when he went into a private conference with Kefauver. When he came out, he was wearing a Kefauver button. Rev. Odom said Kefauver's "basic appeal" met the NAACP's goals and objectives and he had thus switched allegiance.

Ala.

Another warning to Stevenson was sounded by William B. Rumford, Negro

pression with Negro leaders that he was in favor of a stronger position in favor of federal intervention in the South than Stevenson.

aspirations of a few. Both have opposed any integration clause in the bill which, they rightly conclude, would be fatal to the bill's chances of passage.

★

IN REPLY to an NAACP questionnaire asking assurances that "civil rights issues will not be sacrificed or compromised, by you for the sake of Democratic Party unity during or after the campaign," Stevenson pointed to his record as governor of Illinois. During his term, he said, he vigorously supported FEPC (fair employment practices legislation) and had worked to end segregation in Illinois.

However, he again said that he was unwilling to go as far as many Northern politicians on statutory measures to punish Southern states who have not conformed to the Supreme Court segregation decision.

★

A COUPLE of days after Kefauver's bid for the Negro vote, Stevenson assured a Democratic Party group: "There are no half-caste Americans in my lexicon." Later, he said he supports desegregation in Southern schools because "it is the law of the land—so enunciated by the Supreme Court."

But again he opposed any integration proviso to federal aid to education:

"The important thing is education. Obsolete heritages like discrimination and segregation will yield quickest of all to the spread of education."

All of which, relatively speaking, puts Adlai alongside Ike as a moderate on the race issue; Kefauver, senator from a Confederate state, somewhere near the ADA and NAACP position.

★

WHAT we see here once again is that all the presidential candidates of both parties will compete as champions of race mixing.

They compete for the Negro vote but not the vote of the white South. Why? Because the Negro is an independent, whereas the South is going to vote Democratic because grandpap did.

STEVENSON DEPLORES SEGREGATION ISSUE

Commercial Appeal

Calls For Its Removal In Presidential Contest

PORTLAND, Ore., Feb. 12.—(AP) —Adlai Stevenson called Sunday for removal of the segregation issue from the "emotional coloration of a presidential contest." Mon. 2-13-56

"I can think of no greater disservice to our country," he said, "than to exploit for political ends the tensions that have followed in the wake of the Supreme Court decision." P. 1

Mr. Stevenson, campaigning to head the Democratic ticket again, urged "all reasonable speed," as the court did, in carrying out its order against segregation in the public schools.

But, on the race prejudice problem in general, he cautioned: Memphis

"Certainly we will not improve the present condition or future prospects of any Negro citizen by coercive Federal action that will arm the extremists and disarm the men of good will in the South who, with courage and patience, have already accomplished so much." Sun.

It was the third and fullest—statement by the former Illinois governor on the touchy racial issue during his current Western tour in quest of the Democratic presidential nomination.

His declarations followed complaints of some California Negro leaders a week ago that they had been unable to get even "a mild public statement" from Mr. Stevenson on civil rights. Two Negro spokesmen said Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee was winning Negro voters away from the 1952 Democratic candidate in California.

Griffin Hits Rights Plan; Ike Delays

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 3-29-56

The Eisenhower administration Wednesday delayed presentation to Congress of a civil rights program already meeting Southern opposition.

Sen. George in Washington branded such a program as dangerous while in Atlanta it was denounced by Gov. Griffin as a brazen attack on liberties and freedoms.

MEETINGS CANCELED

The administration canceled, without explanation, two meetings at which the proposed program was to have been explained to newsmen and a group of House members.

Justice Department officials reportedly were making changes in the language of the program which Congress had expected to receive about March 1. The delay apparently means the lawmakers won't receive the proposals until they return April 9 from their Easter recess.

Gov. Griffin said Wednesday that the people of the South are shocked at the "so-called 'civil rights' program prepared by U.S. Atty. Gen. Brownell.

"They constitute the most brazen attack on the liberties and freedoms of the people of this country ever attempted in three generations, he declared.

SEES INQUISITION

Griffin said the Brownell proposals would:

"1. Create a special antisegregation inquisition with unlimited subpoena powers to harass and intimidate American citizens everywhere.

"2. Create a special 'civil rights' Gestapo . . . with hordes of storm troopers and secret police . . . with the sinister purpose of regulating every business and every action by every individual.

"3. Authorize the NAACP to bring civil actions in federal court for money damages against anyone whom it has a fancied grievance."

The governor said that "this is the same old Fair Employment Practices Commission with all its vicious aspects concealed in modern dress."

Sen. George said it would be a "dangerous thing" for the Justice Department or the Eisenhower administration to present a civil rights program to Congress at this time and expressed hope that no action of the kind will be taken.

He withheld further comment until the program actually is submitted.

Although the senator did not elaborate on his statement, he evidently was referring to turmoil that has been raised in some Southern states over the school segregation question.

Sen. Russell was enroute from Washington to his home at Winder and could not be reached for comment.

On the House side, where a bill on the subject has been approved by a Judiciary subcommittee, Rep. E. L. (Tic) Forrester of Leesburg has been successful in blocking action. Tuesday he forced the committee to delay a report on a bill sponsored by Rep. Celler (D-NY), until the Department of Justice has presented its views.

Racial Tensions Held No Barrier

Times-Picayune Sat. 3-31-56

ATLANTA, March 30 (AP) — Reports that racial tension is making industry wary of moving South were called "preposterous" and "hogwash" here by persons who make it their business to encourage such moves.

E. A. Yates Jr., manager of the Georgia Power Co. Industrial Development Division, declared "this is just propaganda — a bunch of hogwash."

Walter Cates, executive vice president of the Georgia Chamber of Commerce, termed the reports "preposterous." Cates said he had been in the business of attracting new industry to Georgia for 14 years "and I've never heard the segregation issue used as an objection to locating a plant in the South."

Ex-Georgia chief urges united front for states' rights

News P.16 Fri. 3-30-56

BUENA VISTA, Ga., March 30 — (AP) — Herman Talmadge has called for Georgians to organize and present a united front on segregation and states rights.

The former governor, referring to the U. S. Supreme Court decision on racial segregation in public schools, told an audience of about 500 at a Marion County States Rights Council meeting yesterday that "no authority can force people to do something against their will."

Talmadge said, "Georgia people will continue to run Georgia regardless of what the Supreme Court does and says."

Speaking at the same meeting, Leonard Wilson, who was expelled recently from the University of Alabama, said politicians in Alabama who have not taken a positive stand on segregation "won't be in office much longer."

Negro Scouts To Get Pool

Constitution Sun. 5-13-56

Work will begin May 21 on the first Boy Scout swimming pool for Negroes in the Atlanta Area Council.

Thomas T. Flagler Jr., chairman of the council's camping committee, said the contract for the 30-by-70-foot pool was let Friday. The pool will be installed at Camp J. K. Orr, located about three miles north of Lovejoy.

It is to be completed in time for use on the opening day of camp, July 8.

Funds to build the pool were donated by organizations and businessmen.

O. B. Gorman, Atlanta area Scout executive, said the pool is the first one built by the Boy Scouts since the one at Camp Bert Adams in 1926.

Gift of Georgia Flags for Senators Sets Off Subversive Scare Up East

Constitution Wed. 3-21-56 P.1 Atlanta, Ga.

Two of Georgia's new state flags—intended for Georgia's two U.S. senators—gave Massachusetts state troopers a scare last week, it was disclosed here Tuesday by Frank Etheridge, Atlanta real estate man.

The flags, gifts for Senators George and Russell, were in a brief case left behind in a Springfield hotel by Etheridge, his partner, Donald K. Vanneman, and an associate. Finding the flags, which resembled Confederate banners, hotel officials called police. The officials apparently suspected the flags were associated with some subversive plot.

The Atlantans were halted on a highway and questioned 45 minutes by troopers. Explanations followed and the men were released. Etheridge said he had the flags mailed from the Springfield hotel to a hotel in Washington, D.C., where he will get them in a few days and present them to the senators.

Spencers, of Georgia, moving here

Tribune P.13 Fri. 5-4-56 Los Angeles

Los Angeles will soon be enriched by the residence of frequent Summer visitors the Spencers of Columbus, Ga., who have elected to move here this Summer.

Miss Ethel Spencer, who has long favored Los Angeles, will retire from her duties as an algebra teacher at Spencer senior high school, Coumbus, which was named for her family, and move to Los Angeles where she has already purchased a home.

She will be accompanied by her sister, Miss Annie Mae Spencer, and her brother, Dr. William H. Spencer, Jr., who will reside here permanently, too.

The Misses Spencer have spent Summers here where they have found many friends. Their decision to make Los Angeles their home, long the wish of Miss Ethel Spencer, was, the Tribune was told,, occasioned by the current racial strife in the South, which has cut across socalled 'class lines' and made it impossible to live in security and dignity in that part of the country.

The recent fatal shooting of Dr. Thomas Brewer, of Columbus, by a white merchant, in a dispute which had civil rights and Dr. Brewer's long militancy as its basis, was cited to the Tribune by informed circles as at the basis of the decision of many well-placed southerners to pull up roots and settle elsewhere.

Dr. Spencer, Jr. is a dentist by profession although in his career he has favored his avocation, journalism, writing on the staff of the Columbus World.

Decision Dodgers Hit Anti-Segregationists

Daily Herald Thurs. 5-15-56 P. 1

Georgia Educator To Be Stripped Of Title, Pension

Atlanta, Ga.

A prominent Georgia educator was stripped of an honorary title Wednesday and was threatened with losing his pension for his stand on segregation matters.

The University system board of Regents voted unanimously to take away Dr. Guy H. Wells' title of President emeritus of the Georgia State College for women.

Dr. Wells had been president of the institution for 19 years and the honorary title was bestowed on him shortly after he resigned in 1954. The Regents offered no explanation for its action.

At the same time, the state board of Education adopted a resolution calling for the discontinuation of the Educator's pension "if legally possible." Pensions are disbursed by the state teachers retirement system an organization independent of the Education Board.

Dr. Wells, executive secretary of the Georgia Council on interracial cooperation, has been engaged in a speaking tour in which he has criticized racial segregation.

In voting to cut off Dr. Wells' pension, James E. Peters, Vice chairman of the Board asked:

"Do you think it's right to pay a man a pension to go around the State lambasting State Government and our way of life?"

Of his dismissal Dr. Wells had this to say:

"I regret that my former employers and friends have taken this action against me without giving me an opportunity to be heard. The account of the Augusta meeting allegedly prepared by one Mr. C. C. Prescott and published in the Augusta Courier is completely inaccurate and distorted. Any responsible inquiry among other persons present will bear this out.

"I have made many speeches upon invitation to civic clubs over the state to discuss our racial problems. In every case I have been well received and have had expressions of appreciation from the Rotary Club and others addressed. I have advocated Negro and white leaders in local communities coming together in goodwill to resolve differences and work for agreement.

"I have nothing to retract or apologize for and I am confident that the good people of Georgia will sustain my position."

No Stand On Integration Says Group

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 5-18-56

The president of the Georgia League of Women Voters said Thursday the organization has taken no position on racial integration.

Mrs. Walter Paschall, state president, told the League Council meeting in Atlanta that "the only stand the League has taken is one in favor of preserving the public schools."

She said that taking a stand on segregation is not within the province of the League Council, adding:

"Our only reasons for studying it are in terms of whether segregation is a school problem such as finances, school transportation or other matters."

Top officers of the Atlanta branch of the women voters recently resigned when the chapter failed to approve a resolution opposing admission of Negroes to membership

Racial Curb Plan Outlined By Talmadge

Constitution P. 1 Mon. 5-21-56 Atlanta, Ga.

Herman Talmadge Sunday outlined a plan for congressional action to maintain segregation.

He said he would offer a measure to limit the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court if he is elected to the U.S. Senate.

Talmadge was the guest of WSB-TV Press Gallery, sponsored by The Atlanta Journal.

The former governor said the Constitution explicitly gives to Congress the power to regulate the jurisdiction of the Court.

"The Supreme Court recently knocked out the sedition laws of 42 states," Talmadge said. "This is entirely contrary of the law as I understand it, and I think there are millions of people throughout the nation who agree."

The plan to curb the court's power has a good chance for passage, Talmadge asserted.

Talmadge said he was "delighted" Sen. George decided not not to run for reelection to the Senate. He said he felt it important for a politician not to stay out of politics for long, indicating he probably intended to run against the senior Senator regardless of his plan regarding retirement.

Talmadge said, however, that he did not anticipate the senator's withdrawal from the race.

He also declared that his appointment of former State Highway Chairman Jim Gillis as his campaign chairman did not indicate a split with Gov. Marvin Griffin. Gillis resigned under pressure when Griffin became governor.

Talmadge denied that he made any effort to get Griffin elected. "If anyone asked me who I was going to vote for, I just told him Marvin Griffin," he said. He said he did not call supporters in the state on the night before the election, asking them to support Griffin.

Unanimity in support of the States Rights Councils was called a sure way for the people to avert integration in Georgia. "If we stand firm and organize militantly, it (desegregation) won't happen here," Talmadge said.

He reiterated his opposition to technical and economic foreign aid and support of military aid.

Journal City Editor Don Carter and Editorial Associate Luke Green questioned Talmadge. Editor James Saxon Childers was moderator.

To Balk Integration Ruling

Herald Tribune P. 10

Georgia Leases 9 Parks To Private Citizens

New York Thurs. 4-19-56

ATLANTA, Apr. 17 (AP)—State Parks Director Roy Chalker said today he has leased nine Georgia state parks to private citizens in a move to safeguard segregation. The leases were negotiated for twelve months under recent "private park" legislation which eliminated necessity for advertising for bids.

Mr. Chalker explained that he and Gov. Marvin Griffin signed the leases for the parks at an average price of $2,000 a year. He said he planned to lease two or three more parks.

While the transfer from public to private operations was designed primarily to try to preserve segregation, Mr. Chalker said, the move also is expected to prove economical. He predicted Georgia would save 33 to 50 per cent of its operational costs.

The Georgia Legislature recently passed a law authorizing short-term leasing of the parks as a method of avoiding Federal court integration decisions aimed at public parks. However, a Federal court in Virginia recently held that Negroes should be admitted to state-owned parks, regardless of whether the parks were operated by the state itself or by citizens leasing the parks.

George Act Laid to Segregation

Jewish Chronicle Thurs. 5-24-56

BOSTON, May 23 (AP)—The Washington representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said in a talk here prosegregation groups in Southern states have control not only of their state's representative in Congress, but also over many of the bills and treaties passed by the federal government.

Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP Washington bureau, said a recent example of his point was the decision of Georgia's Sen. George not to run for re-election against ex-Gov. Herman Talmadge.

Mitchell said George does not "dare" to run because to win he "would have been required to prove that he is just as much in favor of racial segregation as the meanest backwoods politician in his state." He suggested the senator was "too old and perhaps too dignified to do that kind of job."

Mitchell's remarks were in an address prepared for the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association. He spoke under sponsorship of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice.

Talmadge would limit high court on racial decrees

Atlanta Ga. Journal Mon. 5-21-56

ATLANTA, May 21—(AP)—Herman Talmadge says he feels there is a good chance that Congress may pass his plan to maintain segregation by limiting the jurisdiction of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The former Georgia governor, who is campaigning for the Senate seat Sen. George (D., Ga.) is relinquishing in January, said yesterday the Constitution explicitly gives to Congress the power to regulate the jurisdiction of the court.

"The Supreme Court recently knocked out the sedition laws of 42 states. This is entirely contrary to the law as I understand it, and I think there are millions of people throughout the nation who agree."

Talmadge also said that unanimity in support of the states' rights councils was a sure way for the people of Georgia to avert integration. "If we stand firm and organize militantly, it (desegregation) won't happen here," he said.

SPEAKING BRIEFLY on other subjects he made these points:

1. He is "delighted" that Sen. George is not running for re-election.

2 He is opposed to technical and economic foreign aid but favors support of military aid.

3 He is "not completely happy" with Stevenson, Harriman or Kefauver, "but Gov. Stevenson is definitely my choice of the three."

Pro-Segregationist Pastor Draws Sparks From Johnson

Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Sat. 9-8-56

ATLANTA, Ga.—The Rev. B. Joseph Johnson, pastor, Greater Mount Calvary Baptist Church, has charged the position of a local white Methodist minister on segregation as "shocking and distressing."

He was highly critical of the recent sermon of Dr. Charles L. Allen, pastor of Grace Methodist Church.

Sec. 2

Pointing out that Dr. Allen's "mind has been disciplined in theology, sociology and philosophy," the Rev. Mr. Johnson expressed shock that he could endorse segregation in any form.

Expressing as unbelievable the position taken, the Rev. Mr. Johnson said: "I expect almost anything from a politician, but when a minister, who is supposed to be God's apostle of truth and light justifies segregation in a sermon to his people, it's time for the nation to bow its head in shame and repentance.

■

ANY ATTEMPT to justify segregation of race is a repudiation of the Christian faith," he said.

In a discussion on brotherhood the Rev. Mr. Johnson questioned how "any feeling of brotherhood can exist between races when one race is segregated, exploited, treated unfairly, and denied its full constitutional rights."

Further it was emphasized that "a church that excludes any race from its worship, excludes Christ," declared the Rev. Mr. Johnson. A church that isn't big enough for all of God's children isn't big enough for God, he said.

■

"**THE SUN** is too high and our people are too intelligent, for any one to try to impress them that God is partial, that Christianity is racial, and that the Bible is prejudiced," the Rev. Mr. Johnson said.

He pointed out that "every conscientious Christian and every sincere minister knows that segregation in any form is unconstitutional, undemocratic, un-Christian, unholy and ungodly—it cannot stand."

Responsibility for Negro text distribution is denied

News Birmingham Ala. Wed. 9-5-56

ATLANTA, Sept. 5—(AP)—Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook of Georgia says his office mailed out abstracts of an alleged speech concerning intimate interracial relations "without my knowledge."

Cook said yesterday he had stopped distribution "as soon as I discovered it was being sent out."

EUGENE COOK

The attorney general made the statement in a letter to the editor of The Columbus Ledger-Enquirer after the newspaper charged in an editorial Sunday that the report was "spurious" and "trashy, inflammatory" propaganda.

Cook said he "doubted its (the text's authenticity" and filed it away. "Without my knowledge one of my staff members assumed it was authentic and proceeded to distribute some of the copies along with a compilation of our state segregation laws," he said. He declined to identify the staff member.

THE MIMEOGRAPHED sheet mailed by the law department was headed: "The Ultimate Aim of The NAACP—below is an extract from a taped speech by Roosevelt Williams, a professor at Howard University (for Negroes) in Washington, D. C., delivered at a meeting of the NAACP in Jackson, Miss."

The purported extract dealt with personal relations between white persons and Negroes. The Ledger-Enquirer said it had made inquiries at Howard University and found that there is not now nor has there ever been a "Prof. Roosevelt Williams" there.

Cook said he telephoned Robert P. Patterson, executive director of the Mississippi Citizens' Council at Greenwood, Miss., and quoted Patterson as saying "we never claimed it (the speech) to be authentic" and that he got a tape recording of it "third or fourth" hand.

The attorney general said Patterson told him the speech allegedly was made at a small Negro church somewhere in South Mississippi shortly before the Arkansas election two years ago.

All Men Compromise, But in Different Ways

Constitution p. 4 Thurs. 8-30-56 Atlanta Ga.

Atlanta—It appears that letters have been pouring into The Constitution with all intent of whacking violently the two ears of Dr. Charles Allen.

From the names of the letters, I gather that most of the scribes are members of a minority race. These people are naturally upset when they see something by a writing minister that subscribes to the doctrine of segregation.

However, if these folks are realists, they should know by now that all men compromise.

Let's not jump upon Dr. Allen. If he had championed the entrance of Negroes into the Grace Methodist Church, his congregation would have tossed him out into the snowy street.

ROBERT RYAN.

Gwinnett Teacher Says Job Hinges on Segregation Vow

Constitution Sat. 9-8-56 Atlanta Ga.

A Georgia schoolteacher reported Friday that she faces loss of her job for refusing to sign a statement that she does not believe in racial integration.

She is Mrs. Colleen Marie Wiggins, 26, former Methodist missionary to Hawaii and now a seventh grade teacher at Bethesda School, near Lawrenceville in Gwinnett County. Her husband, James, is a divinity student at Emory University and is pastor of the Bethesda Methodist Church.

She said the move against her goes back to last May when she told her history class that she would not object to teaching white and Negro pupils together "if I were in a situation where there was integration."

MADE RECORDING

It was only after she had made a tape recording for the trustees of what she said to the class that her contract was renewed for this year, she related.

Then, last week, she added, County Supt. R. S. Wilbanks presented the statement for her to sign. She was told, she said, that the statement was suggested by James S. Peters of Manchester, vice chairman of the State Board of Education.

Neither Peters nor Wilbanks would comment. However, a Board of Education source said he expects the board to be petitioned at its Sept. 17 meeting to fire the teacher.

MAKES STAND

Mrs. Wiggins said she considered resigning but upon consideration decided to fight for her job.

She added that she respects the laws of the state and has not taught integration but feels that no person has a right to question her beliefs.

She said that during the discussion last May she told her pupils that in her opinion the South is not ready for integration. She also said that in answer to a question whether she would object to her little girl marrying a Negro she replied that if "she married someone she loved and respected and who was a good and honest citizen and all the other things that go along with marriage, the race would not matter, Negro or otherwise."

"But," she emphasized, "as far as saying I want my little girl to marry a Negro, I do not."

She also stressed that she was giving her personal opinions only before the class.

At that time, she said, she was teaching in the high school instead of the grammar school as at present.

BAN FOOTBALL BY NEGROES ON WHITE FIELD

Dallas Times Herald

Summerville, Ga., Nov. 29 (AP)—The football field of the white high school was ordered padlocked tonight against use by two Negro high school teams following a protest by a purported Ku Kluz Klan leader.

Phil. 11-30-56

The game, between teams from Lafayette and Summerville Negro high schools, had been arranged for tonight by the Summerville Junior Chamber of Commerce to raise funds for the white high school band.

Chicago Ills.

Charles Farrar, junior chamber president, said his group voted last night to go ahead with the game despite the protest. However, the county board of education today declined to permit use of the field. Farrar said his organization would protest action of the board and the Klan spokesman.

Talmadge Asks Tidal Wave Vote

Constitution
Aug. 9-4-56
Atlanta Ga.

Former Gov. Herman Talmadge coasted into the last fortnight of his U.S. senatorial campaign Monday night with a statewide television pledge to fight for the consitutional rights of the people.

As a senator, Talmadge said, he would work for legislation curbing the jurisidiction of the U. S. Supreme Court and establishing minimum qualifications for its justices.

He declared he would resist all attempts to destroy state sovereignty, would support free interterprise and would oppose federal interference with state and local officers.

PROBLEMS DIFFER

Talmadge spoke over the first statewide television network in Georgia history.

"I will fight to put the Supreme Court back to ruling on the law instead of trying to legislate or to amend the Constitution," he said.

Talmadge said the problems of Georgia are different from those of Pennsylvania, Hawaii and Puerto Rico— "and people on a local level are better qualified to run their own government."

FIRST OF 3 TALKS

In this first of a series of three 30-minute network telecasts between now and the Sept. 12 primary Talmadge again called for "a mighty tidal wave of ballots" to send him to the Senate.

He had made such a request in opening his campaign on July 4 at Rome. And again Monday night he said that as nearly as unanimous victory as possible is needed so "the whole nation will know that Herman Talmadge is waging Georgia's fight for constitutional government."

A vigorous crusade is necessary on the national level, he declared, "if we are to save our form of government for ourselves and for future generations."

"If you send me to Washington I will fight your battles night and day against all of the insidious efforts to impair or abrogate the constitutional rights of our people, no matter from what quarter these attacks may come."

But warning his listeners against complacency, Talmadge said, "if I am to carry your flag, I must go to the Senate with the backing and support of all the people of Georgia."

Constitution

Talmadge opened his address on a Labor Day theme, praising the "constructive attitude" of Georgia labor and declaring that labor's right to organize and bargain collectively is fundamental to the free enterprise system.

P. 6

"Hard-won but deserved gains of the working men and women must be guarded jealously and made an enduring part of the national conscience," he asserted.

In a panel discussion prior to the candidate's speech, five Georgians gave their reasons for supporting Talmadge. Hamilton Holt, Macon business executive and past president of Kiwanis International, praised Talmadge for a "sound, businesslike administration as governor."

Georgians, Sheppard said, are looking to Talmadge "to restore some good common horse sense in our dealings with other countries . . . and to represent Georgia in Washington, not Washington in Georgia."

Mrs. Fred L. Hayes, Toccoa civic leader, and Charles Cobb Jr., Atlanta engineer and president of the 1956 senior class at Georgia Tech, also spoke in Talmadge's behalf. And former State Highway Chairman Jim L. Gillis Sr., predicted Talmadge "will carry every county in the state and virtually all of the 1,700-odd militia districts."

The program originated from Station WSB-TV, Atlanta, and was carried also by WAGA-TV and WLW-A, Atlanta; WALB-TV, Albany; WRDW-TV and WJBF-TV, Augusta; WRBL-TV and WDAK-TV, Columbus; WMAZ-TV, Macon; WROM-TV, Rome; WTOC-TV and WSAV-TV, Savannah; and WCBC-TV, Charleston, S.C.

Manifesto Issued By 96 Solons

Call Ref
Srln 3-16-56

Seek 'Lawful' Means To Reverse Segregation Ruling

By JAMES LEE
Jackson City, Ms.

WASHINGTON. (INS) — Bitter debate crackled in the senate Monday over a manifesto issued by 19 southern senators and 77 representatives pledging a "lawful" battle to upset the Supreme Court ruling against racial segregation in public schools.

Veteran Sen. Walter F. George (D) Ga., touched off the verbal fireworks by reading the manifesto which blasted the 1954 high court decision as an unconstitutional "abuse of judicial power."

The manifesto was drawn up by a powerful bloc of southern senators and House members.

George said that the "increasing gravity of the situation" following the high court's ruling and the "peculiar stress in sections of the country where this decision has created many difficulties" led the lawmakers to prepare their statement.

The Georgia senator's statement brought an immediate response from several senators favoring integration and a new attack on the Supreme Court from another southerner.

Sen. Richard Neuberger (D) Ore., declared that President Eisenhower should call a White House conference of governors and members of Congress to attack the critical situation raised by opposition to the Supreme Court decision.

He said: "The nation is presented with a choice between anarchy and the rule of law . . . the President must intrude his great influence and authority."

After George read the document, Sen. Strom Thurmond (D) S. C., launched a new attack on what he termed "the dangerous" decision of the Supreme Court. He declared "we must oppose to the end every attempt to encroach on the rights of the people."

Thurmond said he rejected the theory that the Supreme Court "has control over local public schools" and said the southern manifesto marked an "historic" and "most significant" event.

Sen. Wayne Morse (D) Ore., who favors school integration, asserted that southern reaction to the court's ruling means that "an historic debate must take place" on the senate floor on the segregation issue.

Morse said that those who favor the doctrine of interposition want to put themselves "above the constitution." He declared: "If they want to do it, let them sponsor a constitutional amendment to deny rights to colored people and see how far they would get with the American people."

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D) Minn., said he hopes Congress will let the courts handle the segregation issue. He urged tolerance at this time and said that nothing would be worse than trouble between the races or for the "North and South to become divided."

He called on governors and others in public life to stand for equal treatment under the law for all and said: "If we persist in the cause of denying people equal rights, we will bring down the wrath of the world upon us."

The 19 senators and 77 House members who joined in the declaration blasted the court's ruling for planting "hatred and suspicion" in the field of racial relations.

Terming the decision ordering an end to segregated schools a "clear abuse of judicial power," the congressmen asserted it "is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races . . ."

The statement accused members of the court of having exercised "naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land."

The lawmakers appealed to southerners "not to be provoked by the agitators and troublemakers invading our states" and "to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts."

The 11 states represented by the signers are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, George, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Only three senators from the 11 states did not sign the statement —Lyndon B. Johnson (D) Texas, Albert Gore (D) Tenn., and Estes Kefauver (D) Tenn.

Johnson, senate majority leader, told newsmen he had not seen the statement and had not been asked to sign it, apparently because the group did not want the matter to become a subject of official party policy.

Kefauver said on the ABC-TV program, "College Press Conference," that he still supports the

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GEORGIA

MR. ROY V. HARRIS
MEMBER OF THE GEORGIA STATE BOARD OF REGENTS

Carpetbaggers Are Back in South, Integration Foe Warns Negroes

Times p. 50-2

Jun. 2-19-56

SAVANNAH, Ga., Feb. 18 (UP) —One of the South's leading segregationists told Negro college students today that Northern carpetbaggers had come back to try to divide the South again with a return to the old days of bitterness.

Roy V. Harris, a member of the Georgia State Board of Regents, spoke at ceremonies dedicating two buildings at Savannah State College for Negroes.

Mr. Harris, who helped sponsor one of the buildings, was invited by the school's principal over the protests of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He said in advance he would give a pro-segregationist speech and offered to withdraw. The college president, W. K. Payne, urged him to speak anyway.

A plea by the N. A. A. C. P. for picketing of the address apparently was ignored. There was no demonstration of any kind, either outside or inside the hall, which had a capacity audience of 900. The college has a student body of 1,000.

Mr. Harris was one of the organizers of the pro-segregation States Rights Council and has led many segregation campaigns in Georgia. He was one of the council leaders who opposed Georgia Tech's Sugar Bowl football game with Pittsburgh because the Northern team included a Negro player.

In his speech today, Mr. Harris said Negroes should be "proud" of their race because they had made more progress in ninety years since the Civil War than in all the centuries before.

"We can live together as two great races, each maintaining its own pride and each its own integrity," Mr. Harris said. "So long as we do, the hope of the future will be bright. But with strife, turmoil and bloodshed, the hope of the future is dismal."

He said that attempts to lift racial barriers would lead to "bitterness, hatred and bloodshed and that the state is working hard to make education facilities equal for all, regardless of race."

Negroes freed by Union troops after the Civil War received promises that were not kept, Mr. Harris said, thus leaving the white and Negro races in the South to build their own future out of the ruins of war.

"The Yankees freed the slaves but they didn't feed them," he said. "They left them to go hungry along with the white people of the South.

"There came into the South an adventuresome people we have come to know as carpetbaggers. They came for the sole purpose of enriching themselves and taking advantage of the members of your race. * * *"

Now, he said, modern-day carpetbaggers were back "with the same old promises."

"They come seeking your aid to return to the old days of bitterness," he said. "The white people of this state will not voluntarily surrender their way of life. They will fight for its continuance and preservation."

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GEORGIA

An Englishman In Montgomery

Advertiser P. 4-A Fri. 3-23-56

Discourses On Race Relations In Africa, Remarking How They Differ From Those In The U.S.

Montgomery, Ala.

38a

By Joe Azbell
City Editor, The Advertiser

"SOME provinces under the Union Jack have segregation as acute—if not more so—than the South's, but it is of a different nature because the white population is in such a tiny minority," Keith Kyle, British magazine correspondent, says.

AZBELL

"The reporter, who is staffing the boycott trials for *The London Economist*, one of the most influential journals in the world, was speaking of the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya, conflicts between African whites and blacks, and the anti-native campaigns in the formerly British [now independent] Union of South Africa. Kyle looks like a young (he's 31) Sherlock Holmes, enunciates in a melodious tone with distinctive y'all qualities, and emits a genial radiance. He has been sitting on the front row of the circuit court for three days, bending and snapping his 6 ft. 4 frame as best he can to adjust it to the theater type seats designed for shorter men, scribbling on scraps of paper and watching attentively as a scientist would observe an inoculated guinea pig. After a fashion, Kyle is scouting about the South on a "guinea pig" errand, attempting to discover for himself the mind of the South.

SOUTH AFRICA HOPELESS

SANDY haired with big hazel eyes and a sallow complexion, Kyle patters none of the dogmas about racial mistreatment so common among visiting reporters. Probably the reason derives from many years of contact with racial turmoil over the globe. He has traveled widely, served a hitch as a captain in the private army of the Maharapjah Scindia of Gwalior in India and another hitch in the Indian Army. He has an intellectual background of a Commonwealth Fellow (Oxford graduate). Kyle came to the U.S. in 1953 as chief correspondent for *The London Economist*. He has been hankering for a Dixie tour ever since. Only last week he found time. Montgomery was a first stop. It is expected he will produce keen, perceptive articles on the boycott situation.

Kyle, as a Britisher, is no race relations novice. "In the British provinces is Africa, we have a tremendous racial problem which has all of the complex features of the South's problem. But the African problem is much more complex and different because in the Central African Federation (the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland) the whites are in a small minority and the natives are in an overwhelming majority," he says.

"There has been a racist conflict in the African provinces and in the Union of South Africa for a long time, three or four years. Experiments are being tried to give the natives representation in the legislature. I believe they have six members out of the 40 seats, and at least one minister in the government. This is in the Central African Federation. But in South Africa, which is not under the British, it's a hopeless case. There is a complete retreat to a paternalistic attitude and a campaign to take away all rights of the natives. It is a completely hopeless case destined to doom."

MAU MAUS

THE Englishman discussed at length the Mau Mau rebellion. It was in late 1952 and 1953 that racial tension in Kenya erupted in outbursts of violence. The main cause of discontent was the land hunger of the Kikuyu, largest tribe in Kenya.

(A portion of the American Negroes is descended from the blood stream of the Kikuyu tribe. The Kikuyu was one of the tribes raided by slavers in the 18th century for the American slave market.)

"The Mau Mau uprising was only of one tribe," Kyle says. "It was aimed more at natives than the whites in its activities. There were many, many more native victims than white victims. It was a campaign against the white minority which was in control of the government."

'BURNING SPEAR'

HERE is the background on Mau Mau: The Kikuyu had increased from 50,000 to 1,000,000 in 50 years and during this same period white settlers had taken up most of the best Kenyan farm land. The natives organized themselves into a society to fight the white rule. The secret order, Mau Mau, was voodoo in ritual, (the initiates were sworn to kill whites when commanded and were bathed in fresh goat's blood moved about their head seven times) strong in numbers with its membership of 100,000, and prepared for bloody revolution with a large stock of panga (long sugar cane knives). In 12 months, the Mau Mau killed 1,000 whites and pro-white natives, slashing their heads off or burning them alive. They swept down from bushes and hills (much like American Indians) and slaughtered their victims quickly before escaping.

Research also shows British reprisals were as violent as the native assaults.

KEITH KYLE

"Burning Spear" (Jomo Kenyatta), the leader, was sentenced to seven years at hard labor; native organizations were banned and scores of executions were ordered. The British whites broke the hump of the native secret society. But the Kikuyu were still land hungry, poor and resentful. The problem has not been settled. While the Mau Mau has been checked, the population of the Kikuyu is still large and outnumbers whites vastly.

MORE LIKE THE SOUTH

IN THE Central African Federation proper, racial segregation is the main political issue. As Kyle says, it has a strong resemblance to the South's political atmosphere. In the 1954 elections, there were two political parties that smacked of the old South. The federal party favored racial partnership though not assimilation. The confederate party wanted territorial segregation of whites and black races. "The federal party won a smashing victory," Kyle says.

The South African situation, says Kyle, is unlike anything else in the social eruptions of the world. The prime minister of South Africa uses "KKK type of talks" to advocate segregation, he says. He is named Strijdom. Government officials have fought to remove natives (half caste) voters from the poll lists and introduced bills to establish all white ballots. The mingling of white and Negro students at universities has been outlawed. There is no Autherine Lucy incident in these colleges because whites have control of the government and while there is defiance, it is met with government reprisal. [Negroes have been arrested and jailed for defying segregation laws by riding buses and trains and refusing to sit in special sections. Banners of protesting Negroes marching on government houses have proclaimed, "We want to defend democracy" and "equal rights for all." There is even a policy in South Africa that a native can not strike for higher wages or better working conditions.]

MINORITY REVERSED

THROUGHOUT his interview, Kyle stressed that the African problem is much different from the Southern problem because of the small minority of whites and the issues involved.

In the Gold Coast, for instance, he says, the government has become independent with African native leadership throughout. "This was accomplished because there were no white planters or population there," he says, "but even after becoming independent with a native government, the Gold Coast asked for British white advisers."

In all of the African provinces, a study shows there exists a peculiarly related problem to that of the South's. The Negroes have migrated to metropolitan areas in large numbers and created slums, criminal waves, and health problems of magnitude. In Africa, the segregation campaign has a strange name, "Apartheid." Church missionaries have stepped up campaigns to ease tension and to fight the racists.

The natives segregated by the white government in Africa are blood relations to most of the Negroes of this county. The Negro slaves who came in chains to this country from the west coast of Africa were from the Negritans,

Fellatahs, Bantus and Gallas races. There were other tribesmen made slaves from the Makalolu, Bassutas, Kaffir, Koramantis, Senegalese, Mandingoes, Ibos, Ibondi, Ibani, Efik, Fulahs, Wysyah and Zandes tribes. The natives who escaped the slavers' chains have left descendants in Africa who have peculiarly similar problems to those who became the descendants of those who became the slaves.

AFRICAN BOSWELL AMENDMENT

KYLE said those who are receiving voting rights in Africa must qualify under a sort of Boswell Amendment plan that requires military training, education, good health and a cultural background.

What the British reporter thinks of the South's treatment of Negroes in comparison with the African treatment won't be known for some time. "I am no three-day wonder," he says, "I have not had time to study the South enough to form any opinions. I have a completely open mind and I intend to keep an open mind until the Southern tour is ended. I recognize there is a problem here much as we have and that only a complete study of its overall features could leave a person with an honest, clear view of what causes it." However, he did say he sensed uneasiness, rather than tension, here and has been pleasantly surprised by the good relationships that exist despite the boycott.

Kyle plans to spend the remainder of this week in Montgomery before going to his next Dixie destination. "There is one thing I would like to do," he tittered. "I would like to stay on a Southern plantation for a day or night. Are there any? Or is that just story book lore?".

GEORGIA LEASES NINE PARKS IN PRO-SEGREGATION ACTION

Daily Herald P. 1 Wed. 4-18-56 Atlanta, Ga.

Georgia has leased nine state parks to private individuals in a move to maintain racial segregation, parks director Roy Chalker said Tuesday.

Chalker said the leases, for periods of one year, would also affect economies in the department's operation.

Leasing of state parks was authorized by the last session of the Georgia Legislature to give them a "private" status as a possible safeguard against court suits seeking an end to segregation

Looking At The Park Leases

Daily Herald P. 6 Sat. 4-21-56 Atlanta, Ga.

Admittedly on its face a measure meant for forestalling desegregation and the getting ahead of any possible move to bring about opening up the state parks for all citizen taxpayers, a move to lease the state parks out to private interest just does not click.

The contention on the part of those sponsoring the measure and getting such a commitment through the legislature that such is an economy measure, would not be consistent with another stated motive to maintain segregation.

Surely such contenders, when they claim that more economy is impending by private operations, do not wish to leave the impression of their own inefficiency in the administration of the people's affairs.

Again, it should be remembered that the saving of a few dollars at the expense of the public weal is not the answer to efficiency in our public recreation centers in their services to the whole people. Like the police, the fire department and hospitals, no strait-jacket pattern was intended to hamper their reach into an indispensible service to the citizen taxpayers.

The parks belong to all the taxpayers. It is unfair and illogical to tamper with the people's interests without their direct consent and on the other hand such a move tends to actually invite action to recover back to public control over what the people have consigned to public operations.

A move on the part of certain interest to seek the transfer of something in which no suits is pending, just doesn't look right. That's all. Several court precedents exist to prove the futility of the leasing action.

"Private"-Public Park Rates Boosted In Ga.

Daily World Fri. 4-27-56 Atlanta, Ga. P. 1

BY INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

The leasee of a Georgia state park turned over to private operation as an economy measure, reported Thursday that weekly cabin rates at the park have been increased $25 a week.

Bonnel Aiken, of Blairsville, leasee of Vogel State Park, one of 12 state reaction areas turned over to private citizens, said that the rates were boosted from $35 to $60 a week.

Aiken said the higher rentals were put into effect of increased services and new equipment in the cabins such as new refrigerators and stoves.

He said only two reservations for the cabins have been cancelled because of the rate increase and added:

"We are already filled up for July and August."

Roy Chalker, state park director, expressed surprise when informed of the rate increase. He said he expected the rate to go up but not as much as $25 a week.

The officials said that there were no provisions in the lease contracts for such rate increases and added:

"It's generally understood that they (the leasees) are to maintain rates at approximately what they were."

The park was leased to Aikin for $5,000 a year.

Racial Problem in Georgia Held No Bar to Industry

Constitution Mon. 6-11-56 Atlanta, Ga. P. 10

Racial tensions have not hampered industrial growth in Georgia, two chamber of commerce officials said here Sunday.

Frank K. Shaw, industrial manager of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, and Walter T. Cates, executive vice president of the Georgia Chamber of Commerce, agreed that publicity regarding Georgia's race problems has not caused Northern manufacturers to be reluctant about setting up plants here.

TELEVISION FORUM

Speaking over the television forum, Press Gallery, Shaw said that during his work with the chamber he has been "unable to find any specific case" in which racial tension led to rejection of Georgia as an industrial site.

When manufacturers consider plant locations, their worries are primarily economic and "not social," he said.

Agreeing with Shaw, Cates said that in 14 years in his position he had "never heard racial tension used as an objection."

But he warned that "if we keep stirring it, it could become a problem." He said at present "there is not so much tension as there is conversation" over racial troubles.

INDUSTRIAL STRIDES

The racial topic arose during discussion of the great strides in Atlanta's industrialization. Firing the questions were Constitution political writer Albert Riley and business editor Jim Montgomery. The panel was moderated by managing editor William H. Fields.

Swinging the talk to recent expansion in Atlanta, the panel brought out that over 250 announcements have been made in the last year of proposed or already constructed plants in Georgia, and 32 have been built in Atlanta in the first months of 1956.

Although textile expansion has predominated in Atlanta, there now is a trend toward more development in heavy industry. Cates said last year was "probably the best year in Georgia's history."

WATER SHORTAGE

Most important problem facing Georgia in its quest for new industry is a shortage of water, the panelists said. They said the problem is country-wide, Cates adding, "I doubt if there's a paper industry in the country thats' not considering the South. . . ." Paper mills are one of the largest users of water. Cates said the only answer to the water problem "is a more intelligent use of available water resources."

The two painted an optimistic picture of labor in Georgia, stating that the lowest cost of living gives Georgia an advantage over northern states. Goods can be produced in Georgia for less than elsewhere, they said. "The essence of the difference between the north and the south is that labor here is more productive."

They also pointed out that Atlanta's big advantage to industry is as a distributive center. They said certain industries can take advantage of this factor, while smaller Georgia towns are more suitable to others. For this reason, Shaw said, Atlanta is not much a competitor with the smaller towns as is sometime believed.

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GEORGIA

Money, Segregation and Sand Loom Big on Legislative Slate

Journal + Constitution

Sun. 1-7-56

p. 6-A

Election of Roads Chairman, Financing to Get Early Attention

Atlanta, Ga.

By the Associated Press

Appropriations, segregation and sand likely will be the liveliest topics of conversation in the 1956 Legislature which begins a 40-day session on Jan. 9.

They are the issues that could put Gov. Marvin Griffin's administration strength to its sternest tests.

But just as likely to touch off spirited debate are a number of other proposals which probably will be submitted to the lawmakers. These include recommendations of the Legislative Economy Committee, which may or may not bear an administration label.

The Legislature this year must elect two members of the State Highway Board and thus the sand issue will get an early airing.

* * *

STATE HIGHWAY Board Chairman Walter A. Blasingame of Moultrie is a candidate for re-election. He is serving the final year of the unexpired term of former Chairman Jim L. Gillis who was forced out by Griffin last January.

The Moultrie druggist, Methodist leader and former Colquitt County commissioner, has been charged in an official audit with "illegal" acts in connection with sale of sand to the Highway Department.

The audit said Mr. Blasingame took an option to buy and paid earnest money on a 332-acre tract of Colquitt County land. He transferred his interest to T. E. Rich Jr., of Moultrie, who bought the land and borrowed money from the Moultrie Banking Co., in which Mr. Blasingame is a stockholder and director, to pay for it.

After he became highway board chariman, the audit said, Mr. Blasingame signed a contract for purchase of sand from the land both as owner and as board chairman and had two checks for $10,250, payable to the Moultrie Banking Co., issued by the Highway Department as advance payment for the sand to pay off Rich's note.

* * *

BOTH GOV. GRIFFIN and Mr. Blasingame reacted angrily to release of the audit and bitterly criticized State Auditor B. E. Thrasher Jr.

Mr. Blasingame earlier had announced for re-election and claimed to have enough pledges to assure his election. Gov. Griffin said he would support him for re-election.

Also up for election is board member Roger Lawson of Hawkinsville, now serving by appointment of Gov. Griffin. Mr. Lawson succeeded Dixon Oxford of Dawson, who resigned last summer.

The Legislature is required by law to hold the election of Highway Board members in the first 10 days of the session.

Appropriation bills normally are enacted in the first year of each biennial legislative term and thus would have been the problem of the 1955 session.

* * *

BUT TAKING office in the face of financial difficulties, Gov. Griffin, who campaigned on a promise of "no new taxes of any kind whatsoever," sidestepped the money issue and continued operating under the 1953 appropriation bill.

At the same time, he had a Legislative Study Committee created to recommend tax increases, and he called a June special session to enact them.

So the 1956 session must pass the first appropriation act of Griffin's administration.

Its problem will be to carve up the approximately 272 million dollars of current annual state revenue. The governor has said he will "implore" the Legislature "not to appropriate a nickel more than revenue from current sources."

The major money demands will come from the Education and Highway departments.

The education budget now is something more than 117 millions. Under the Minimum Foundation Program for Education, an increase of at least $8,450,000 will be needed, for a total of around 126 millions.

State School Supt. M. D. Collins will ask for a hike of more than 30 millions with admittedly little hope of getting it all.

* * *

THE LEGISLATURE could actually slightly reduce the Highway Department budget. The constitution requires a highway appropriation equal to net revnue from the gasoline tax and motor vehicle tag sales in the previous fiscal year.

For the year ended last June 30, that figure was $63,174,408. But with money made available out of surplus funds by the governor, the Highway Department budget for the current year is $64,986,073.

Gov. Griffin has said he will ask the Legislature to make the minimum highway appropriation required by law.

However, higher taxes slapped on highway users by the June special session will bring in an additional $9,248,000 in this fiscal year, State Revenue Commissioner T. V. Williams has estimated.

With a minimum highway appropriation, Gov. Griffin, as budget director, could give that extra money to the Highway Department or put it to other uses as he sees fit.

* * *

THE THIRD largest item of the state budget; welfare, now gets $32,141,000 a year and is requesting at least a $1,900,000 increase. Also, Welfare Director Alan Kemper has asked, and Gov. Griffin has virtually promised, a million dollars for new buildings at the Gracewood Home for Mentally Defective Children, near Augusta.

Next in line are the University System with a current 15 millions budget and the Health Department which gets $14,297,000. The University System regents have asked the governor for an additional nine millions.

The current highway death rate almost certainly will bring demands for additional State Patrol strength. Gov. Griffin is "trying to work out" some means of providing more troopers. The State Safety Department budget currently is $2,648,000.

* * *

ALSO LIKELY to be in line for an increase is the Department of Corrections, now getting something over a million dollars. Increasing prison population is creating serious overcrowding at the Reidsville prison and Gov. Griffin has been trying to ease the situation by establishing convict highway maintenance camps.

The governor has hinted broadly that other state agencies can expect little if any increases.

With racial integration already a fact on Atlanta golf courses, the Griffin administration is preparing to go to private schools if necessary to maintain segregation on that front.

The Education Commission, created to find means of circumventing the Supreme Court decision outlawing public school segregation, has ready for submission a series of bills. The key measure would authorize the governor to close any schools, in his discretion, and pay direct state grants to students.

* * *

IN VIEW of the fact that educators give lip service to segregation but generally abhor the idea of abolishing the public school system, the segregation bills possibly could run into some opposition.

And two Economy Committee recommendations are almost certain to stir up a storm—as they have in the past. One is for the state to carry its own insurance and the other is for investment of idle state money now on deposit in various banks and drawing no interest.

Some of the Economy Committee's suggestions on education likewise face possibly rough going. The Georgia Education Association, which wrecked a bold taxation and reorganization proposal of the State Programs Study Committee, has by resolution gone on record as flatly opposing creation of a comptroller for the Education Department as recommended by the Economy Committee.

The bill drafting unit of the Law Department reports it has been working overtime preparing proposed bills, both local and general, for members of the Legislature.

And in addition, the 1955 Legislature by resolution, cleared the way for all bills pending at the end of that session, to be revived when the 1956 session convenes.

Negro GI Fined $200 In Cafe Row

Constitution

Sat. 1-7-56

p. 5

A Negro soldier arrested, police said, after he demanded to be served in a restaurant licensed for white patrons only was fined $200 Friday in Municipal Court.

Judge James Webb stipulated that the soldier, Jesse J. Green, 23, of 147 Elm St., SW, pay a $50 fine on charges of cursing. The judge suspended payment of $50 fines on charges of drunk and disorderly conduct, assault on an officer and resisting arrest.

Atlanta, Ga.

CALLED AWOL

Green, said by military police to be absent without leave from Ft. Riley, Kan., appeared in court with a badly swollen left eye. Lt. A. C. Roberts told the court he and three other officers experienced difficulty in getting Green into a patrol wagon after taking him into custody on Butler street, SE.

Donald L. Hollowell, attorney for Green, asked how the eye was injured.

HOLDS HANDS

"I don't know," Roberts replied. "We were holding his hands. He was kicking and butting with his head like a wild bull. I guess he hit his head on the patrol wagon door."

Roberts said Green entered the restaurant at 13 Butler St., SE, and ordered food. He said the proprietor, George Evagros, told Green that he could serve white persons only and that Green demanded service and began cursing.

Green left when Evagros went to call police, Roberts said. He said the Negro was arrested a half block from the restaurant.

GI Fined After Arrest For Disturbance In Restaurant

Daily World
Sat. 1-7-56

BY GEORGE M. COLEMAN

The "unfortunate" incident, in which a 23-year-old soldier suffered an injured eye during a scuffle with white police and a civilian was deplored here yesterday as the man was fined $200 on four counts.

Attorney Donald Hollowell, who questioned officers' lack of knowledge of how the soldier suffered the injury, declared the defendant's "ire was raised" by a "provoked incident," and lamented the fact that "a man who is willing to go out and fight for the lives of all of us cant even get a sandwich."

"The pity of it," Mr. Hollowell said, "is that he asked civilly if he might be served."

He pointed out that he man was in the armed forces which do not have "the unfortunate laws we have in this state."

The soldier, Jesse J. Green, of 147 Elm St. S. W., was fined $50 per count on the following: cursing, resisting arrest, assault and battery on an officer and disturbance.

TURNED OVER TO MP'S

However, Municipal Court Judge James E. Webb suspended payment of three of the counts. Green, who was due back at his station Jan. 4, will, upon payment of his fine be turned over to military police. He was stationed at Ft. Riley, Kan.

Greene was arrested Thursday about 8 p. m. just after he rang a door bell at the colored nurses home of Grady Hospital. His arrest followed an incident at the Tern-Inn Cafeteria, 13 Butler St. N. E., next door to a Negro owned barber shop, and two doors from the Negro-attended Butler Street CME Church.

All witnesses agreed Greene had walked in and asked for a sandwich, but the white operator, who spoke with a noticeably foreign accent said: "I tell him would you please come to the nig colored entrance."

"I talk nice to him," he insisted, "like I talk to you."

Lt. A. C. Roberts, who made initial arrest said he first saw Greene about a block from the tavern and called to him, but the soldier refused to acknowledge his conversation.

The officer said Gerene refused to wait for military police or submit to questioning, and "finally I had to detain him with force."

Greene told him he didn't have time to wait," Lt. Roberts said.

The lieutenant told the court he didn't know just how Greene suffered injury to his eye, but theorized it was from the steel doors of a patrol wagon because of the way "he beat his head against the door like a mad bull."

Roberts denied he called the soldier "boy," but Mr. Hollowell told the court that "You and I know that when an officer calls a Negro on the street, nine hundred and ninety-nine times out of a thousand it's, Hey, boy."

KNIFE NOT SEEN

None of the witnesses actually saw a knife it was revealed in court, although it was admitted the soldier put his hand in his pocket. One officer told the court the white waitress had declared he had a half open knife in his hand.

The defense admitted Greene had "had a few drinks," but pointed out there was no proof he was drunk. Officers told the court they forcefully searched for the knife, even to the extent of removing his socks.

Greene told the court he grew angry when an unidentified white civilian attempted to 'jump' him in the restaurant. He said he left after he was refused service, or given a reason why.

BEATEN, DENIED TREATMENT

The soldier contended Roberts hailed him as "boy" and he refused to answer "because my name is not 'boy.' "

He told the court he was placed in the patrol wagon and "four guys hit me at once." Greene said they refused to treat him at Grady, but added he requested and received aid about 2 a. m. the following day.

The question of whether or not he was called a "boy" was never settled, but immediately upon conviction the court baliff asked, "You want to pay your fine, boy?"

Charges Face Negro Here After Restaurant Invasion

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.
Mi. 1-6-56 p. 16

A Negro soldier absent without leave Thursday was arrested on a series of four charges after demanding that he be served in a white restaurant, police said.

Lt. A. C. Roberts said Jesse J. Green, 23, of 147 Elm St., SW, was booked on charges of drunk and disorderly conduct-cursing, resisting arrest, assault and battery on an officer and disorderly conduct-disturbance.

The charges were made after Green pulled a knife on the restaurant operator, who had asked him to leave, Roberts said. He added Green was apprehended in front of the Grady Hospital colored clinic after he had left the restaurant at 13 Butler St., SE, and three men were required to place him under arrest.

Roberts, and Patrolmen E. A. Samples and F. W. Johnson said Green entered the restaurant and the proprietor, George Evagors, explained that his business license entitled him to serve white customers only. Officers said Evagors suggested he could fix Green food to take out and eat.

Green demanded that he be served along with other customers, officers said they were told. Officers said Green began cursing when Evagors refused and Evagors asked him to leave the building. Then, witnesses were quoted, Green pulled a knife. Evagors called for police.

Green left the restaurant before police arrived, but was apprehended a half block away. He is scheduled for trial at 2 p.m. Friday in Municipal Court.

Segregation Termed the Leading Issue As Georgia Legislature Opens Session

Times Tues. 1-10-56 p. 25

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTA, Jan. 9—The Georgia Legislature convened for a forty-day session here today with House Speaker Marvin Moate declaring segregation was the top issue.

The Administration has prepared a number of segregation bills for introduction. Gov. Marvin Griffin is expected to outline them before a joint House-Senate session tomorrow.

Administration leaders, at a strategy meeting, decided to "go slow" on possible revival of a proposal that would declare the United States Supreme Court's segregation ruling "null and void."

Meanwhile, Attorney General Eugene Cook sent to the Assembly "for appropriate action" what he referred to as evidence compiled by his department "of the subversive influence on and in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and like organizations."

The photostatic copy amounting to some 400 pages was sent to Lielt. Gov. Ernest Vandiver, presiding officer of the Senate, and Speaker Moate.

Mr. Cook charged that the N.A.A.C.P. and the "like organizations" were "agitating for the abolition of Georgia's constitutional and statutory provisions requiring segregation of the races and in so doing are fomenting strife and discord between the white and Negro races in the state."

Speaker Moate, in his opening address, said:

"In the southern part of the United States, certain [segregation] problems exist that are peculiar to our section and with which the other parts of our country have little knowledge and a complete lack of understanding.

"The southland has become the whipping boy for other sections of the nation. Our every fault is being played up for all it is worth; our every virtue has been played down."

He added that "failure to solve these segregation problems is fraught with danger we dare not even contemplate."

Segregation Forces Lose

JONESBORO, Ark., Jan. 9 (AP)—Federal Judge Albert L. Reeves made permanent today a temporary injunction ordering three pro-segregation organizations not to interfere with racially integrated schools at Hoxie, Ark.

The temporary injunction—all of which was made permanent by Judge Reeves—prohibited the pro-segregation leaders specifically from boycotting or picket-

small part due to our failure to identify at a relatively young age those pupils who have more than the average talent for mathematics.

Fight Vowed By Georgians On Race Issue

Herald Montgomery, Ala.
Thurs. 1-12-56

AMERICUS, Ga., Jan. 11 (AP)—Georgia's political leaders said today they will never surrender to the U. S. Supreme Court decisions on segregation and called for a "great crusade" to let the world know that the state will run its own affairs.

Addressing the first grass roots meeting of the States Right Council of Georgia, Inc., Gov. Marvin Griffin said he "did not believe in the decisions of the Supreme Court and as long as I am governor of the state there will not be any mixing of the races in schools and colleges at any time or any place."

600 PRESENT

Former Gov. Herman Talmadge told the cheering overflow meeting of some 600 persons in this southwest Georgia city:

"The meeting here today is the beginning of a great crusade which will sweep the state and southern regions to let the world know regardless of what the Supreme Court says, does or thinks that by the grace of God Georgia will continue running its own affairs."

Referring to members of the high tribunal as "peanut politicians," Talmadge declared: "We fought overseas to keep our rights, why not at home?

Lt. Gov. S. Ernest Vandiver said "The South is the last bastion where no mixing of the races has occurred and we will keep it that way."

Vandiver said that in Chicago more police hours have been devoted to race riots than all combined in the South. The people of the North "can't live in harmony with other races and they can't tell us what to do," he said.

Georgia Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said it was time to put aside terms such as "circumvention" and use such terms as "openly defy the decisions of the Supreme Court."

The States Rights Council was organized in Atlanta Sept. 23 at the invitation of Griffin. At that time the council dedicated itself to "the preservation of constitutional government in this country" and "the maintenance of harmonious race relations in the state through preservation of the traditional establishment of segregation in both public and private areas."

38a 1956

GEORGIA EDITORS LOOK OVER THE STATE:

Journal & Constitution

Newspapers Raise Questions On Leasing of State's Parks

Sun. 4-29-56 Atlanta, Ga.

Waycross Journal-Herald

WHILE MOST GEORGIANS go along with the Griffin administration in its efforts to prevent racial integration in public parks and to effect economies in the operation of the State Parks Department, the protest of Rep. James Mackay of DeKalb County merits consideration.

Mackay said it appeared that the state was de-emphasizing its recreation program after spending considerable sums of money advertising parks and other attractions.

The DeKalb legislator pointed to the inconsistency of ballyhooing the state in national magazines, then reducing the parks and recreation program. . . .

In leasing 12 parks to private operators the state has in effect de-emphasized a program that Gov. Griffin and other candidates for governor in 1954 pledged to expand.

There are many citizens who take a dim view of the operation of public parks by individuals not beholden to the people. . . .

Columbus Ledger

WHETHER THE WELFARE of the public will suffer through leasing by the state administration of nine state parks to private operators is largely a matter of speculation at this time. . . .

Common sense tells us that a public recreation area operated for profit is not going to provide the level of service and comfort for the people that one operated by the state would. Public parks are not designed to make money. The very principles by which government assumes the responsibility for providing public recreation ignore, by necessity, the commercial motive. It's a service for which the people of America have demonstrated an enthusiastic willingness to pay. Rep. James Mackay of DeKalb County expressed the thought somewhat differently: "State parks are a public trust and it is very doubtful that this trust can be discharged by private citizens on a negotiated lease arrangement." . . .

But it is the people themselves who will finally decide on the wisdom of the action. Gov. Griffin is acting in conformity with the expressed wishes of the State Assembly and the people. The arrangement is a test of whether traditional public institutions can be competently and satisfactorily operated as private concerns. Georgia has an unusually strong interest in that question at this time.

TURNER ROCKWELL

Valdosta Daily Times

ALL GEORGIANS should be pleased at the announcement of plans to complete the Stone Mountain memorial to the Confederacy. This project has had a long and stormy career and many people had given up hope that it would ever be finished. . . .

The next step would seem to be to proceed with plans for the carvings on the face as a memorial to the Confederacy.

The new group is on record as determined that the memorial will be dignified and in keeping with the cause which it will memorialize. There must not be a cheapness or a gaudiness in any of the surroundings.

If completed properly Stone Mountan will attract visitors from all over the world and Georgians will have ample reason to be proud that such an awesome attraction is located within our borders.

Meanwhile thanks are due those who had a part in the reorganization and in the mapping out of plans for the development of the project.

Macon Telegraph

. . . GEORGIA NOW has three esteemed and highly capable members of Congress holding committee chairmanships.

Each of them upon becoming members of Congress years ago took their respective places at the foot of committees. Time and the people of Georgia, with their votes, made them chairmen.

We do not believe that the people of Georgia will wish to deprive themselves of the benefits which accrue to them through the committee chairmanship which Senator George has attained only by many years' service.

Moultrie Observer

HIGHWAY BOTTLENECKS in Georgia are disappearing. Some of the worst of them have been in the south Georgia territory, causing many motorists and truckers to skirt the fringes of Georgia in their travels to and from Florida.

South Georgia until recent years was honeycombed with narrow, rough roads and innumerable crossings which have claimed hundreds of lives. Travelers have been outspoken in their criticism of the roads, and the wonderful highways found in Florida have given accent to the condition of the south Georgia roads—both of the arterial and access varieties.

Roads recently completed, now under construction or planned for the current summer will go a long way toward eliminating the traffic bottlenecks which have existed since the motor vehicle came into its own. . . .

Thomaston Free Press

THIS NEWSPAPER, along with a couple of hundred more in Georgia, howled enough about the way Tom Linder ran the Market Bulletin, and now that it is being run more in the manner that it was intended we think something should be said about that.

Phil Campbell, the commissioner of agriculture who succeeded Tom Linder, is running the Market Bulletin for the farmers of Georgia.

It contains no editorials; no predictions that the world is coming to an end in 1975 and no writing to advance the political position of the commissioner of agriculture.

In addition, we understand that people no longer interested in receiving the Market Bulletin have been dropped from the mailing list and others may have it discontinued by writing the Department of Agriculture.

We commend Mr. Campbell on the changes made in the Market Bulletin.

GEORGIA

Cook Would Make Enforcing Integration a Capital Crime

Constitution Thurs. 4-26-56 Atlanta, Ga. p. 1

Georgia Atty. Gen. Cook said Wednesday that he will recommend enactment of a Georgia law to make it a capital offense for any public official to assist the federal judiciary in enforcing the U.S. Supreme Court's desegregation rulings.

In view of the high court's decision outlawing segregation on buses in a South Carolina case, Cook said the State of Georgia will be "defenseless" if a bus desegregation case is filed in this state.

However, Cook suggested that Gov. Griffin could maintain segregation on buses in Georgia by declaring limited martial law and calling out the state militia (National Guard) to seize and operate transit companies and bus lines.

The governor would have not only the right but the duty to take such action under the police powers vested in him to protect the public interest in the event of a threat of riot or mob violence, Cook said.

The attorney general warned that there could be violence and bloodshed in Georgia if attempts are made to enforce integration in schools or on buses.

"We have seen violence happen in Detroit and Chicago and in the State of Alabama in recent weeks," he said.

Meanwhile, Georgia's transportation segregation laws are still in effect and the Supreme Court ruling in the South Carolina case is not applicable to this state, Cook said.

But if a bus case is filed in Georgia, there is nothing the state could do in federal court but fight it by defensive pleadings and seeking delays by appeals, Cook said.

Constitution

BUS CASE

This, he said, is because in the South Carolina bus case the Supreme Court completely overturn the historic Plessy vs. Ferguson doctrine, enunciated in 1896 by the Supreme Court, that permitted separate but equal transportation facilities.

"If such action is brought in Georgia, we are defenseless," he said. "There are no factual or legal means we can take. We can't stop operation of the buses and the whole matter would depend on the operators themselves."

The state would have one recourse and that would be the governor's use of his powers to declare limited martial law and seize the buses and operate them, the attorney general said.

METTER TALK

Cook said he will outline in a speech at Metter Thursday night his proposal for a law to make it a capital offense (penalty of death or life imprisonment) for any Georgia public official or individual not in the federal employ to assist in enforcing the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings.

He said U. S. marshals now depend largely on services of county sheriffs to incarcerate persons charged with violating federal law. The federal government has only one penal institution in Georgia — the penitentiary in Atlanta.

If the Legislature were to enact the law Cook proposes, no sheriff or policeman could assist in arrest or jailing of any bus driver or any school trustee charged with contempt of a federal court in an integration case.

President Eisenhower and potential presidential candidates have said they are not in favor of using federal troops to enforce desegregation, Cook said. Enforcement would be up to the Department of Justice and the federal government would have to build jails in Georgia and hire an army of marshals, he said.

Pulse of the Public

Constitution

Why Don't Southern Journalists Find Out Real Segregation Story in North, Print It?

Wed. 3-28-56 P. 4

Atlanta Ga.

Washington, D.C.—Now that reporters of Northern papers, many of them directed by New York's west side cabal, have invaded the South and written all sorts of things about the colored people, why not send Southern journalists North to report on segregation there?

Will the Associated Press carry the many surprising stories they can have for the asking, with all the fervent relish it does those emanating from Alabama?

There are plenty of good stories to be had, too, north of the Mason-Dixon line such as:

What does the Northern citizen think of these efforts to force integration on the South? His views are apt to make Northern dailies red behind the ears.

Who is putting up the money the NAACP is spending?

Who started all this drive against Southern customs and for what reason?

Southern journalists should go North and get the real story.

CHARLES P. BEAZLEY.

* * *

Editor's Note: In justice to Southern newspapers, they have attempted to do an honest job in reporting the entire story of race relations throughout the nation.

* * *

Defense of Dr. Wells Wins Her Approval

Calvary—I would like to register approval of the way your newspaper has handled the Dr. Wells story. It is indeed a disgusting state of affairs when a noted educator cannot criticize the state administration without risking the loss of his income and well-earned honors.

I am an alumna of GSCW — I was there when Dr. Wells was president — and I am proud to have had my college education under the administration of a liberal and courageous man.

MRS. DOROTHY T. MAYFIELD.

* * *

Social Welfare Group Appreciates Publicity

Atlanta—The members of the Georgia Conference on Social Welfare at their annual business meeting on March 2 passed the following resolution:

"Be it resolved that the Georgia Conference on Social Welfare, at its 29th annual meeting, Feb. 28-March 2, 1956, in Atlanta, express appreciation to the newspapers, locally and throughout the State of Georgia, for the publicity they have given this conference."

There were over 500 who registered for the conference and many others who attended various meetings, and we feel that the excellent attendance was due, in large part, to the cooperation received from the newspapers in publicizing the meeting.

SARA R. BOYD,
Executive Secretary.

* * *

'Death Strikes Many Without Any Warning'

Atlanta—In your editorial tribute to Fred Allen, I disagree most heartily to your inappropriate political insinuation that the voter will be more dubious about the President's health in the coming election.

On the contrary, since Mr. Allen had just 24 hours earlier been given a clean bill-of-health, the voter should realize that Mr. Stevenson could just as easily drop dead in office.

Medical science has made marvelous advancement, but in the final analysis only God knows at which moment any one of us may be taken without warning.

INTERESTED.

2 Segregation Bills Defeated In Georgia

Courier-Journal Fri. 2-17-56

Atlanta, Feb. 16 (AP)—The Georgia Legislature, in a major departure from custom this session yesterday lost two bills which would have tightened the State's segregation laws. R 2

A bill to ban mixed athletic contests was killed by the House. It was tabled indefinitely.

A measure to prohibit use of State funds for mixed classes in nursing and hospital training was defeated in the Senate.

Cites Philadelphia as Example

Courier P. 2

'Negroes in North Not Really Free,' Editor Discovers

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 6-16-56

38a

NEW YORK—After a personal survey of Negro segregation in the North, a white Southern-born editor reported today that the Northern Negro "often lives a life that is, in fact, more segregated than that of the Negro in the South."

Look magazine editor George Leonard, a native of Atlanta, Ga., disclosed in an article published in the new issue of Look, that "there's a big gap between the law of the North, which grants the Negro equality; and reality, which confines him to "a Negro ghetto."

Citing Philadelphia, as a case in point, Mr. Leonard found that Negroes there attend all Negro schools, are taught by Negro teachers, play and associate exclusively with Negro neighbors and are refused housing in non-Negro sections of town.

All this occurs, Mr. Leonard found, in spite of a local "Commission on Human Relations," which fights discrimination, and a Fair Employment Practices Act, which makes discrimination in employment illegal.

■

MR. LEONARD quotes an unidentified Southerner in his Look article as saying, "too many Northerners talk integration and act segregation. What's needed up here is a mirror that shows bigots. A lot of Yankees couldn't look into that mirror without seeing themselves."

"In Philadelphia, as in any Northern city," Mr. Leonard said in Look, "life for a Negro is like walking through a mine field. He may get through unscathed, but when he least expects it, his world may explode."

"Whereas, in the South, a Negro's limitations are clearly defined by law and custom, in the North he lives with only a hazy idea of where the limitations lie.

"Segregation in the North does not stop in private housing, public housing projects often go all Negro simply because there are so many Negroes requiring shelter.

"The Negro citizen outside of the South, looks into the unmasked face of Jim Crow when he tries to find a place to live. Most suburbs are closed to him. When he succeeds in buying a house in a white urban neighborhood, the white residents generally move away in panic. He is left the colored district of the village, the great center of the city."

Mr. Leonard indicates that Negroes in the North are thankful for the laws and the commissions working against segregation and discrimination.

"But they know in their hearts that they are not yet really free, and will never be free until they can put their money on the line and buy or rent a house in the neighborhood of their choice."

"We can buy a Cadillac or a Brooks Brothers suit," Negroes say with regret, "but we can't buy a home. Our money's just no good."

Senate OK Seen For Segregation Bill

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

BY THOMAS B. ROSS
For International News Service

Senate approval was predicted Tuesday for eight bills introduced to prevent racial integration in Georgia's schools and parks.

The measures were introduced just before Gov. Marvin Griffin asked for their approval in his "State of the State" message in which he said the time had come for all persons to "stand up and be counted" on the segregation issue.

Wed. 1-11-56

Sen. Howard Overby, of Gainesville, administration floor leader, said he foresees no opposition to the measures designed to translate general prohibitions against integration into special action if the U. S. Supreme Court's decree is relayed by local Georgia school boards.

38a

Overby's proposals, recommended by the Georgia Commission on Education, were accorded resounding support from Gov. Griffin. To thunderous applause from the joint House and Senate session, Griffin said.

"NO MIXING"—GRIFFIN

"There will be no mixing of the races in the public schools and college classrooms of Georgia anywhere or at any time as long as I am governor."

The Senate segregation bills went to the rules committee after first reading. Overby said they would probably not be returned to the upper chamber for action until early next week.

The measures call for:

1. Granting the governor power to close schools at his discretion when threatened with integration and to grant state funds to individual children for education in "private schools."

2. Giving local school boards authority to lease buildings for private educational purposes.

3. Allowing private school teachers to join teacher retirement system.

4. Empowering the Attorney General to enjoin local systems from any moves toward desegregation of schools.

5. Authorizing sale of public parks to sublease facilities now rented from the school building authority.

7. Prohibiting use of any public funds for mixed schools.

8. Requiring all schools to comply with fire regulations.

Gov. Griffin refrained from endorsing "interposition." This theory holds a state can declare null the action of a federal agency, such as the Supreme Court, until such time as that action is approved by three-fourths of the states.

Fulton Bill Seeks Park Sales Okay

Constitution
Tues. 1-17-56
Atlanta, Ga.

An amendment to the Atlanta charter allowing the city to dispose of parks, playgrounds, golf courses and other recreational facilities was offered Monday by the Fulton County House delegation.

P. 7

Rep. Hamilton Lokey described the bill as legislation specifically designed to let the city sell the James L. Key golf course. The course lies on the right-of-way of the proposed East-West expressway, he added.

Mayor Hartsfield said that under the present regulations, there is no provision for disposing of public recreation facilities.

A similar bill of statewide application was approved Monday in the Senate, and was expected to pass the House with little opposition. Hartsfield said the local Fulton bill may duplicate the statewide bill but it would clear up any possible ambiguity.

The bill introduced Monday authorizes the mayor and Board of Aldermen to "sell, exchange, farm out, lease, rent or in any way alien property dedicated to the use" of public recreation and "all other property connected therewith."

Legislature Passes Four Bias Measures

Daily World
Tues. 1-17-56
Atlanta, Ga.

BY THOMAS B. ROSS
For International News Service

The Georgia General Assembly moved Monday to pass four of eight segregation bills in the Senate, and a state-wide probation system in the House—all without opposition.

P. 1

The four remaining segregation bills are expected to be acted upon finally and favorably by the upper house Tuesday. Three om them were reported out of the Rules Committee Monday and a fourth, recommitted for further study, is expected to face only token opposition

This measure would allow the Attorney General to block individuals and groups from "agitating" for integration.

Sen Lawson Neel, of Thomasville, said the bill must be further studied to insure that free speech is not impinged and, "we are on constitutional grounds."

OPPONENTS

Daily World

Sen. C. Ernest McDonald, of Dalton, insisted he would abstain from voting on all the measures, and Senators Howell Hollis, of Columbus, and Owen Pace, of Savannah, claimed the language of the bill was "too vague."

But Sen. Howard Overby, of Gainesville, Administration floor leader, said:

P. 3

"The bill was recommitted only to iron out some minor technicalities. They will all pass without opposition when they return."

The measures passed Monday allow transfer of public parks to private groups, prohibit trespassing on school property closed by the governor, and permit private school teachers to join the teacher retirement plan.

The probation bill adopted by the House would give the pardons and paroles board the power to appoint probation officers in each judicial district in an attempt to place less persons in jail and more on probation through more comprehensive investigation.

Soldier fined $200 in attempt to eat in Atlanta cafe

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 1-21-56

ATLANTA (ANP) — A soldier who tried to get service in a white restaurant here was fined $200 in Municipal Court last Friday.

P. 3

Jesse J. Green, said by military police to be absent without leave from Fort Riley, Kan., appeared in court with a badly swollen left eye which resulted, police claimed, when he "hit his head" on the patrol wagon door."

Judge James Webb stipulated that the soldier pay a $50 fine on charges of cursing. The judge suspended payment of $50 fines on charges of drunk and disorderly conduct, assault on an officer and resisting arrest.

Georgia Senate Votes For Segregation Plan

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Tues. 1-17-56

Atlanta, Jan. 16 — (UP) — The Georgia Senate passed and sent to the House this afternoon four of Gov. Marvin Griffin's eight bills setting up machinery for private schools to avoid racial integration and to ban integrated State recreation facilities.

Bill Would End Charters If Cities Integrate Parks

Constitution
Thurs. 1-19-56
Atlanta, Ga.

A bill requiring revocation of charters of cities which do not maintain segregated public facilities was offered in the House Wednesday.

P. 7

Apparently aimed at Atlanta's recent compliance with a Federal Court order to desegregate its golf courses, the measure was introduced by Rep. C. M. Jordan of Wheeler County.

Jordan's bill, if adopted, would not be retroactive. "I can't help where it has happened . . . but this should help cities work out problems like this," the Wheeler solon said. "They can work them out if they try," he declared.

Bishop Doubts Georgia's Racial Pattern Can Last

Constitution P. 3

SAVANNAH, Ga., Jan. 22 (AP)—The Most Rev. Francis E. Hyland, auxiliary bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Savannah-Atlanta, says he does not believe "the pattern of segregation can endure too long" in Georgia.

But, he said, the prospect of integration "is not too encouraging for the immediate future due primarily to the present political climate in Georgia."

In a written reply to a series of questions submitted to him by The Associated Press, the bishop continued:

"The trend, however, is definitely toward integration elsewhere, including some of the states of the South. Therefore, notwithstanding the activity in the State Legislature meeting in Atlanta these days, I do not believe that the pattern of segregation can endure too long in a state which is one of the most Christian and most American in the nation."

Atlanta Ga.

Mon. 1-23-56

RAPS RACISM

"The Catholic Church has always and will always condemn racism in all its varied shapes and forms, because it is utterly opposed to the Christian way of life; and the church sympathizes wholeheartedly with the Negro people of Georgia and elsewhere in their just aspirations to obtain those rights and that recognition to which they have every claim and title."

In reply to other questions the bishop said Catholic schools and orphanages in the diocese have not been integrated. "But," he said, "it is the considered judgment of the attorneys whom we have consulted that the laws of the State of Georgia requiring separate school facilities for white and Negro people do not apply to our parochial schools."

NEGRO FACILITIES

The bishop also said the four most recently established Catholic hospitals in Georgia all have facilities for Negro patients.

"Insofar as church seating is concerned, there has been no discrimination in this regard in the Catholic Churches in Georgia for some years," he said.

"We still have separate white and Negro parishes in Georgia, but they are no longer designated as such. I must resort to these designations, however, in order to answer fully your question. In my opinion we shall continue to have separate Negro parishes in Georgia for some years to come, but principally for the spiritual welfare of our Negro people.

WELCOME ALL

"I would like to add, however, that Negroes are welcome to attend our white parishes and whites are welcome to attend our Negro parishes. At the present time some Negroes attend mass and other devotions in practically all our white parishes. In some places in Georgia where there are Negro Catholics there are no separate parish or church facilities for them; the Negros not only attend but they are members of the established parishes in such places."

Asked if there have been any incidents, the bishop said, "To my knowledge there have been no incidents worthy of note."

GEORGIA EDITORS LOOK OVER THE STATE:

Journal & Constitution

Moderation Is Important In Segregation Controversy

Atlanta Ga.

Sun. 1-22-56

P. 9E

Augusta Chronicle

MANY PEOPLE in other sections who are far removed from the South, in point of distance and traditions, and whose mode of living is different, seem to have gotten the mistaken idea that Southerners are putting up a grand bluff about integration of the races, and that eventually we will accept it.

The New York Times, for instance, chides Virginians for voting to establish private schools if that becomes necessary to preserve segregation and the integrity of the races. The newspaper thinks the South is fighting a sort of rear-guard action, sniping at the "enemy," retreating slowly and grudgingly.

The Times and others can understand how Southerners' feelings are wrenched by the prospects of racial intermingling, but why can't the South accept the inevitable—integration—and make the best of it? Why try to hold back the dawn?

These people, who do not even plead ignorance, show a gross misunderstanding of the temper and the determination of the Southern people. They are accepting nothing. They have just begun to fight. . . .

Most Southerners do not feel that they are engaged in a delaying action. They are against integration. Period. Now and in the future. They are adamant and they are unyielding, and the sooner people in other sections of the country realize this the better it will be for everyone concerned. . . .

BERT STRUBY

Macon Telegraph and News

. . . THE STATES RIGHTS rally at Americus was pure, unadulterated political demagoguery of the basest sort—nothing more, nothing less.

It was calculated to whip up the emotions of the capacity crowd attending, and it did exactly that.

Not all of the speakers appearing on the program were guilty of seeking to deliberately lead those Georgia citizens into the pitfall of an inflamed attitude on the segregation issue. But some were.

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook, a state official sworn to uphold both State and U.S. Constitutions, vigorously advocated open defiance of the Supreme Court. ("It is time to lay aside such terms as circumvention and come out and say we are openly defying . . ." he asserted.)

Roy Harris, attempting to regain some niche in state political affairs, suggested that Georgia church members "quit paying dues in churches who call integration the Christian thing to do."

Former Gov. Herman Talmadge described members of the Supreme Court as "peanut politicians" who do not have "enough legal brains among them to make one fair lawyer in Americus today." . . .

There are those who will say that anyone who opposes the States Rights Council is in favor of integration. That, of course, is entirely false.

I sincerely believe that the pattern of segregation must be continued now in the South, and I also sincerely believe in the approach of wisdom, justice and moderation to the issue. . . .

Columbus Ledger

. . . AT LEAST in the talking stage as the Legislature met was something called "interposition." Simply, this would mean that Georgia officially would resolve to ignore the U.S. Supreme Court decision. Except as propaganda, it is hard to see just what this would accomplish. If there is to be open defiance of the laws of the land, will the legislators take up arms should the conflict stage in enforcement be reached? Put another way, interposition means nullification—which was tried by John C. Calhoun, and he almost got hanged for it. Would the legislators take up rifles against U.S. troops, or walk to the gallows? . . .

Bulloch Herald

. . . IT IS UNDERSTOOD that Gov. Griffin does not want to use the 'private school" legislation except as a last resort, knowing that if that comes it will have to be done with no reservations. There can be nothing which in any way would suggest that the schools were still public schools.

It is agreed that if the step has to be taken there will be confusion—how much confusion can only be guessed.

It is also agreed that the step will result in a great loss to the children of our state.

We hate to think upon this problem. But it is with us and must be thought out, and action taken. To think that "it will iron itself out" is to indulge in wishful thinking.

We are committed to the idea of segregated schools. Our life, our history, our traditions, all are based upon the idea and it comes hard to accept any other.

We can only hope that our leaders are right. . . .

Gainesville Morning News

WE BELIEVE that the segregation in education recommendations of Governor Griffin are, at least in their present form, ill-advised and dangerous.

They would give one man, the governor, authority to close any school or school system on his own say-so, and regardless of the feeling of local school boards and local citizens.

They would enable the governor to scrap our entire system of public schools without any guarantee that we could substitute for them segregated private schools or any form of workable, general education. . . .

Our public schools are the bulwark of democracy. They have been built up over a long period of time, with much money and hard work. They should not be sacrificed to the mercy of one man overnight.

Valdosta Daily Times

GEORGIA, along with other Southern states, is deeply concerned over the question of maintaining segregation in its public schools despite the ruling of the Supreme Court to the contrary.

A number of bills looking to this end have been introduced in the current session of the General Assembly and there is widespread belief that some way will be found to maintain segregation and at the same time give both white and Negro children the educational advantages to which they are entitled.

It is important that any program that may be worked out be carefully considered from all angles and that there be no hasty action. It is also important that the issue be approached calmly and without rancor or violence or ill will. . . .

SYLVAN MEYER

Gainesville Daily Times

. . . SINCE THE GEORGIA constitutional amendment permitting ravaging of the schools has passed, obviously its implementing legislation will pass. The amendment, as many of us pointed out at the time, was not intended to sit dormant in the books. In the same manner the laws, if passed, will be used sooner or later.

We are headed for a legal snarl of unenforceable court decisions, meaningless legislative acts and other outgrowths of reckless confusion. . . .

Pulse of the Public

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Mon. 2-13-56

The Average Negro Family Doesn't Want Integration, Extremists Are Pushing Issue

Atlanta.—In all this discussion of the segregation problem, the real "forgotten men and women" are in two categories:

The average Southern Negro constitutes one category. Those I know are most unhappy with the way things are shaping up. They do not want integration of schools because they do not think their children would be happy in such schools.

The average white citizen in the North and West and those of Northern extraction in the South are the other category. Here I do not know exactly what they want. Most of them I know did not like integration even where they had it for years. They will never get violent about it, but if given a chance to quietly vote on it, I would hesitate to forecast how they would vote.

I personally think the radicals are pushing us too hard and fast and the politicians are egging them on because in many Northern states, the Negroes come very close to holding the balance of political power and since FDR's time they have been voting solidly Democratic.

REALIST.

* * *

He Wants Full Time Crime Prevention

Atlanta—I see where Gov. Griffin has issued a proclamation setting aside Feb. 12-19 as Crime Prevention Week in Georgia. That isn't nearly long enough.

May one ask to whom it applies?

AUSTIN HERFORD.

* * *

Governor Is Accused Of Intimidating Press

Jasper—As a free thinking citizen I take this opportunity to thank you for your front page challenge to Griffin and his bunch of rubber-stamp senators and representatives. This man Griffin has succeeded so far in his effort to intimidate a free press and free speech.

Now he has pardoned his paper, the Bainbridge Post Searchlight, from the libel law.

I am sure the bill is unconstitutional and will not stand up under a court test. Griffin claims his bill is to protect the people which is absurd and untrue. The best protection for the people is a free press and free speech.

J. M. GARRETT.

* * *

Speak the Truth or Watch Nation Perish

Atlanta — Innumerable comments about the editorials "We Accept the Challenge" in both The Constitution and The Journal have been so enthusiastic that I am taking the liberty of sending a quotation from a great newspaper man to you.

William Allen White wrote: "The nation will survive, this state will prosper, the orderly business of life will go forward if only men can speak in whatever way given them to utter what their hearts hold—by voice, by posted card, by letter, or by press. Reason has never failed men, only force and oppression have made wrecks in the world."

MRS. MILDRED S. HITCH.

* * *

Attack of Politicians On FBI Is Deplored

Atlanta — Now that the United States Department of Justice has cleared the Cobb County jury selection system, it may be well to recall some of the unfair attacks that were made while the FBI was investigating the case.

I am sure many Atlantans felt the same shock and surprise I did when we read of the congressional attacks on the FBI for investigating the complaints. It is the sworn duty of the FBI to carry out all the laws entrusted to its care.

I will be proud of some of my Georgia representatives if instead of attacking the FBI for doing its duty they would try to change the laws whose enforcement they do not like.

FRANK WESTBROOK JR.

PRO-BIAS PRINCIPAL RESIGNS

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Wed 2-8-56

FT. GAINES, Ga.—(INS)— Harrison E. Lee submitted his resignation as principal of the Speight High School at Ft. Gaines because he said there was "pressure" from other Negroes in the community after he made a speech urging that they "forget integration."

The Clay County Board of Education said Mr. Lee's wife, who taught in another nearby school, also resigned and they reportedly left the community.

Mr. Lee had made a speech recently in which he urged local Negroes to "forget integration and remember we as yet have not learned how to pool our resources and build even a recreation hall for our children."

Sheriff Chester Weston said that he is investigating the report of "pressure." Lee was completing his third term as principal.

Parks Swap Bill Voted as No-Mix Aid

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 2-15-56

By CELESTINE SIBLEY

The Georgia House Tuesday passed a bill which Rep. James Mackay of DeKalb County said would allow the State Parks Department to "swap a state park for a cornfield without notice to anyone."

The bill, introduced by Floor Leader Denmark Groover, passed the House by a vote of 118 to 2. It was sent to the Senate and is expected to reach the floor Thursday.

Rep. David C. Stripling of Coweta County explained the measure as another piece of segregation legislation and a companion bill to Senate Bill 5 which authorizes the state and municipalities to lease recreation facilities to individuals. The Senate bill, however, carried an amendment requiring that such leases be advertised.

Rep. Bernard Nightingale of Glynn County pointed out that the House bill provided that the leasing of state parks need not be advertised "if the lease involved is for a period of one year or less," or if the property is exchanged.

Arising to question Stripling Nightingale said, "I'm not objecting to your bill but I think it has a provision which needs clearing up."

He quoted the section exempting from advertising "the exchange of state park property or interest therein on a dollar for dollar value basis."

Stripling said the intent of the bill was to allow the Parks Department to swap land "it might own somewhere else for an equal number of acres adjacent to the park."

"The bill repeals a safeguard signed into law a week ago," said Rep. Mackay, referring to Senate Bill 5. "It would permit a park to be swapped for a cornfield without notice to anyone."

In other actions the House passed:

1. A Uniform Support Law, which would allow solicitors general to collect fees of $50 for each petition handled in forcing parents to support minor children.

SEX OFFENDER LIST

2. A bill which would require superior court clerks to keep a separate list of sex offenders and transmit a copy to the State Crime Laboratory.

3. A lengthy measure advocated by the State Game and Fish Department to tighten and clarify game laws.

4. A one-sentence measure which provides for the "teaching of Southern history and traditions" in the public schools, subject matter to be approved by the State Board of Education.

5. A bill to study the possibility of increasing and developing prison industries.

A bill which created a State Division of Conservation, under which the Department of Mines, Mining and Geology would be combined with the Parks Department, also was passed.

WITHHOLDING TAX DIES

A Senate resolution by Sen. Everett Millican of Atlanta which included a study of the advisability of a state withholding tax was killed by the House State of Republic Committee.

The House then passed a House resolution calling for a similar study of state income tax laws. But bowing to opposition, sponsors had carefully amended out all reference to a withholding tax.

TEACHER FIRING

A bill offered by Rep. William Freeman of Monroe and Rep. William Bodenhamer of Tift to allow the State Board of Education to fire teachers and county school superintendents after a hearing failed after a lively crossfire of question-and-answer debate on the floor. Rep. Nightingale read the specific causes for which teachers and school superintendents might be discharged and raised objection to the final "and other good and sufficient causes," which he described as "a Mother Hubbard covering everything."

An amendment offered by Nightingale to cut out the ambiguous phrase failed and the bill seemed on the point of passage when Floor Leader Groover raised another question. "Is it not true," he asked, "that the State Board cannot in fact fire school superintendents now? And is it not true that this bill would allow elected county officials to be discharged by an appointed state board?"

The bill was promptly defeated but Rep. Bodenhamer served notice that he would ask that it be reconsidered Wednesday morning.

Georgia leader warns of hatred, bloodshed

News Sun. 2-19-56

SAVANNAH, Ga., Feb. 18—(AP)—A Georgia white supremacy leader today told a Negro college gathering that if integration is forced on the South, then "as surely as the sun rises and sets—there will be a long period of bitterness, hatred and bloodshed."

Birmingham,

Roy V. Harris, a member of the university system Board of Regents, compared current NAACP activities to post Civil War carpet-baggers. Continuation of such activities, he said, will not only impede educational progress but will "lead to bitterness, to hate, to strife, to turmoil and bloodshed."

Ala.

HARRIS REVIEWED the growth of Savannah State College in a speech prepared for dedication exercises at two new campus buildings. "So long as we continue to cooperate and to work together on a friendly basis," he said, "there is no limit to the things we can do in Georgia and to the educational opportunities which may be offered to our people."

The Augusta attorney, who was active last year in reorganizing and expanding the States Rights Council of Georgia, a white supremacy group, reviewed the economic and social change that evolved in the South during the post Civil War period.

CARPETBAGGERS "used the members of your race . . . as sacrificial goats," he stated, "to gain authority and ransack the South.

"As a result," he declared, "ill feeling developed between your race and mine. Bitterness, strife and the spilling of blood resulted." And when the carpetbaggers left, "they left our forefathers holding the bag."

"Finally we, by mutual consent, evolved a pattern of life in the South whereby the two races could live together in peace and harmony. . . ."

NOW "THERE COMES into our area a new group which would array race against race and section against section," . . . "They come seeking your aid to return to the old days of bitterness, strife and bloodshed," he continued. "For as surely as the sun rises and sets if the power of the federal courts is ever used to enforce the integration of the races in the South there will be a long period of bitterness, hatred and bloodshed."

SUCH A COURSE will disrupt "our future progress," he said. . . . "There can be no progress without good will . . . there can be no progress without cooperation and without peace.

". . . So, I submit to you that the way of life that has brought to us peace, understanding, progress, prosperity and happiness and which holds so many promises for the future is worthy of continuing."

"We believe in states rights. But along with rights go obligations and responsibility. We believe in the state's obligation for the proper education of our children and the state's responsibility for the peaceful and just resolution of our difficulties. We are deeply troubled by the tendency to inflamatory talk and action by men in responsible positions," he said.

Atlanta Bishop Sees Danger In Bid to Keep Segregation

Herald P. 13-A

Fri. 1-27-56

MACON, Ga.—(AP)—The bishop of the Atlanta diocese of the Episcopal Church says some of the attempts to preserve segregation in Georgia "have dangerous implications for the welfare of our people and the future of our state."

The Rt. Rev. Randolph B. Claiborne told the 49th annual meeting of members of the diocese:

Miami, Fla.

"As your bishop, noting reported suggestions by men in high political circles that members stop paying dues in churches whose ministers 'call integration the Christian thing to do,' I feel it is my duty to state plainly for all of you, first, that this church stands for separation of church and state, which means not only no control of the state by the church, but quite as surely no control of the church by the state or by politicians.

"As your bishop, noting this direct assault upon the free expression of sincere conviction by Christian leaders, I state for all of you that we, the descendants of those who came to this free land seeking freedom of religion, can do no less than point out the danger to our religious freedom of this dangerous method of procedure."

The bishop said it was up to the people of Georgia to decide whether to "put in the hands of one man the power to destroy the public school system of this state." He said he referred to the private school plan now before the Legislature.

9 Georgia Parks Are Leased To Citizens To Safeguard Segregation and Save Money

Constitution P. 1 Wed. 4-18-56

Atlanta, Ga.

Concessions At 5 Others Private, Too

By M. L. ST. JOHN

Georgia's system of state parks has become virtually a system of privately operated parks in a move to safeguard segregation.

State parks director Roy Chalker revealed Tuesday that he has leased most state parks to private citizens for a 12-month period. The leases were negotiated. Recent "private park" legislation eliminated necessity for advertising for bids.

PRESERVE SEGREGATION

While the transfer from public to private operation is designed primarily to try to preserve segregation, Chalker declared it also carries out plans for efficiency and economy. He predicted the state would save 33 to 50 per cent of its operational costs by leasing out the parks. Service to the public will not be harmed, he said.

Gov. Griffin and Chalker have signed leases with private citizens for private operation of nine state parks. They plan to lease two or three more parks, Chalker said. One park already was under lease.

Average price of the annual lease is $2,000, Chalker reported. He emphasized that the lease price is based upon earnings of each park, rather than upon the state's investments in the park. In cases in which parks have lost money for the state, the lease arrangements will provide the state with revenue, Chalker said.

CONCESSION PRIVILEGES

In addition to the leases for total operations, the state has leased to private individuals the concession rights alone in five other parks, the director stated.

Most of the lessees are former superintendents of the state parks, Chalker said. All are residents of the counties in which the parks are located.

Chalker said the public interest will be protected by the lease agreements. The leases, drawn by the attorney general's office, require the private operators to operate the parks in lawful manner, keep them clean and in good repair. (The state will continue to make major repairs.)

The private operators must keep financial records subject to state inspection. They must carry liability and workmen's compensation insurance. They cannot sublease the facilities without permission. The state can cancel the leases immediately for noncompliance.

Wed. 4-18-56

Chalker said the State Parks Department will increase its inspections of park facilities now that they are going under private operation.

The state also will maintain its fish and forestry conservation programs in each park, the director said.

Atlanta, Ga.

Chalker said the lessees are asked to maintain prices of cottages and concession sales at the level maintained by the state.

"We have told the lessees they should serve the citizens, regardless of whether the visitors spend any money," Chalker said. "A citizen should get courteous treatment at the parks even if he just wants a drink of water and a place to spread a picnic lunch."

PASS BILL

The Legislature recently passed a law authorizing short-term leasing of the parks as a method of avoiding federal court integration decisions aimed at public parks.

(However, a federal court in Virginia recently held that Negroes should be admitted to state-owned parks, regardless of whether the parks were operated by the state itself or by citizens leasing the parks.)

Earlier, the Legislative Economy Committee approved Chalker's plan to lease more facilities for the primary reason of economy and efficiency. One concession (Pine Mountain Inn) was losing money at the rate of $10,000 for the final year of its operation by the state, Chalker said. Now the state is receiving $500 a year in rental from a lease—making the state $10,500 better off financially, the director contended.

LEASE PARKS

By leasing the parks to private operators, Chalker said the parks department is cutting its own payrolls. The savings realized by lease agreements will be used to take care of long-neglected maintenance work in the parks, he said. The department will continue to use the total amount of its $375,000 annual legislative appropriation, the director stated.

While the state is leasing most of its parks in an effort to maintain segregation, it also is building and opening two new parks for Negroes. The Lincoln Park at Millen is opening for its first season. Construction is under way on the Yam Grandee park at Swainsboro.

Vogel State Park had been leased to Bonnell Aiken last year on a three-year contract. This was the only park whose total operations were under lease. Concessions only were leased in several other parks.

Childers Asks Editor Society To Delete Blast at Negroes

Constitution p. 2 Sat. 4-21-56
Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, April 20 (AP)—One Southern editor took issue today with remarks made by another concerning Negroes.

James Saxon Childers of The Atlanta Journal asked that the American Society of Newspaper Editors delete from its convention records remarks made yesterday by Harry M. Ayers of the Anniston (Ala.) Star during a discussion of the school segregation issue.

The Alabama editor had used strong and derogatory language about Negroes in arguing against integration.

His talk was cut off by the chairman, at request of an editor in the audience, after it had run far overtime. An earlier speaker also had been cut off.

Childers today told the meeting that Ayers' views do not represent the general feeling of Southern editors. He characterized the Alabama editors' remarks as "an echo of an imagined past and a distortion of present reality."

Childers said he considered the incident "most unfortunate" and he went on:

"I for one would ask that it—Ayers' speech—be obliterated from the record and all thought of it be ended."

The presiding officer, retiring ASNE President Kenneth MacDonald of the Des Moines Register and Tribune, said it would be contrary to ASNE proecedures to expunge any remarks.

Gen. Caffey Seems To Be Opposed To Desegregation

Post-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.

ATLANTA, Jan. 30 (U.P.)—Maj. Gen. Eugene Caffey, judge advocate general of the Army, appeared to put himself on the record today on the side of Southern racial segregation forces.

Tues. 1-31-56

The Army's top legal officer delivered a short address to the Georgia House of Representatives. He said he had dinner in Washington recently with Rep. John J. Flynt (D., Ga.) at which Flynt let him read a copy of speech he made to the Georgia Legislature last week.

Birmingham

"If I were going to make a speech I would hope to make one like that," Caffey said. The House applauded.

Ala.

Flynt's speech to the Legislature was a bitter attack on the federal government and the U. S. Supreme Court for recent racial integration orders. Flynt also denounced the FEPC policies.

Georgia Leases Nine State Parks No Negroes Allowed

Courier Sat. 4-28-56
Pittsburgh, Pa.
p. 13

ATLANTA — In the latest move designed to keep tax-paying Negroes out of state-owned parks, Georgia has leased nine of her parks to private individuals.

p. 3

The state claims that by leasing out its parks, segregation will be maintained and the state will save from 33 to 50 per cent of its operational costs. Despite the leasing of the parks to private persons, the state will make all major repairs and continue to maintain conservation and fishery activities.

Georgia's Negroes help to pay the freight for all of this through taxes. However, the state is building and opening two new parks for Negroes at Millen and Swainsboro.

FORCE OPPOSED IN INTEGRATION

Times Picayune
Tues. 6-26-56

Assault on Freedom of Action, Says Pastor

New Orleans, La.

ATLANTA, June 25 (AP)—Forced integration is as much an assault on freedom of action as forced silence is an assault on freedom of speech, an Atlanta Baptist pastor told his congregation Sunday.

In a sermon entitled "Is Racial Integration the Answer?" Dr. Roy D. McClain, pastor of the First Baptist church, one of the largest in the South, said "physical closeness without psychological and spiritual nearness means nothing."

He said prejudice is a two-way street and there are "sins on both sides." He listed "monopoly, self-interest and superiority" as sins of the white man. He mentioned as sins of the Negro "hatred engendered by years of travail; immorality — common-law marriage, sensuality, disease and sloth. (There is) no monopoly here by any race . . . But these are too much in evidence."

The 40-year-old pastor, a chaplain in the Pacific during World War II, said the solution of the race problem will not be found in "law or ethical presuppositions: these will not lessen the tension."

"Prohibition taught us that," he continued, "just to pass a law did not stop men from drinking. Peaceful and harmonious relations will come only when each member of each race becomes a reconciler in the spirit of Jesus.

"The new birth of real religion is the hope for whites and colored . . . It is too much to expect changed living from unchanged lives."

Discussing the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, McClain said many NAACP leaders are sincere "yet they have succeeded in tightening the tensions, deepening the rivers of racial distrust."

"If zeal is not tempered by judgment," he added, "this association will go down in history as the National Assn. for the Accursing the Colored People (SIC)."

The pastor said, "Integration when forced upon a society is not basically either democratic or Christian in concept."

A Regrettable Reprisal

Daily Mirror p. 4

Not only those in accord with the fundamentals he espouses, but every American believing in the cardinal principles upon which this government was founded, deplore the action taken by those who would strip Dr. G. H. Wells a worthy servant and administrator of a title he has ~~earned through~~ years of faithful service and a pension to which he contributed for this very time. This directly refers to the treatment accorded Dr. G. H. Wells by the State Board of Education.

Atlanta, Ga.

Hardly any one thought when the current controversy gained its spiral on this front that ony one would venture so far as to openly challenge the inherent right of a free speech in a free Republic, whose boast is the right of an individual to enjoy it.

Dr. Wells as is known is the executive secretary of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation whose work is well and widely known. He has been that faithful and fearless apostle of genuine sanity and sincerity who has the courage to stand up and be counted when the mandate of his country is challenged.

He has been making speeches over this area to various clubs, civic and business organizations, where he has been well received and heard.

Tpi. 3-16-56

It is generally felt that the thrust of such a reprisal at stripping him of an honor and pension earned, ventures the preposterous. Valor and courage exhibited on the field of battle can never be erased.

The State Board of Education requested the State Teachers Retirement Board to discontinue "if legally possible" the pension drawn by Dr. Wells as retired president of Georgia State College for Women. The State Board of Regents had already erased the title as "president emeritus" which it gave upon his retirement.

Dr. Wells lived up to courage and that estimation responsible for his being selected to his present position.

The educator is on firm ground; his record across the years would attest that forthrightness and grounded integrity upon which he stands in this one of the crucial periods in American history. One way to show support for Dr. Well's record would be to give more moral and financial support to the Interracial Committee.

An Educator's Pension

Newsweek p. 75

Three years ago Guy H. Wells resigned as president of Georgia State College for Women. Recently, as executive secretary of the Georgia Council on Interracial Cooperation, he has been urging whites and Negroes to sit down together to iron out desegregation problems. Last week, the 63-year-old educator drew a reaction of a sort.

Mar. 3-26-56

Georgia's University System Board of Regents stripped Wells of his title of president emeritus, thus canceling his life- and hospitalization-insurance policy. Then the State Board of Education asked the Teacher Retirement Board to discontinue Wells' monthly pension of $518.93 for the rest of his life.

Gov. Marvin D. Griffin commented: "I am sure the boards did what they felt to be right. To be drawing $518.93 a month pension, Dr. Wells has been acting a little ugly." Wells said that he would fight the board's action in court if necessary: "I have nothing to retract or apologize for."

Rights figure to sue for pension

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

ATLANTA, Ga.—Guy H. Wells, executive secretary of the Georgia Council on Interracial Cooperation, threatened this week to sue if his $518 monthly pension is cut off because of his segregation views.

3-24-56

The state board of education had earlier asked the teacher retirement board to see if the pension could be discontinued.

THE BOARD OF Regents, at the same time, took from him the title of president emeritus of the Georgia State College of Women.

The 63-year-old Mr. Wells said he would also ask the restoration of this title because its revocation caused the cancellation of a life insurance policy. Of the retirement pension, he said:

"That's my earned retirement that I'm going to live on. I don't think they can revoke it by law."

Forced Mixing Assault On Liberty, Pastor Says

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. Mon. 6-25-56

By LEE KUHRMAN

Forced integration is as much an assault on freedom of action as forced silence is an assault on freedom of speech, the Rev. Dr. Roy D. McClain, pastor of First Baptist Church of Atlanta, said here Sunday.

With his morning sermon topic "Is Racial Integration the Answer?" the 40-year-old pastor who served three years in the Pacific as a chaplain in World War II, added that "physical closeness without psychological and spiritual nearness means nothing."

Taking as his text: James 1:19-20, "Beloved brethren, be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath, for the wrath of man does not work the righteousness of God," Dr. McClain said he was not speaking on the issue to be sensational or to stir up strife or to please any one, but "because it is a major issue of our day."

"Because it is a major issue it is not too big for the church," he said. "The church must face forthrightly all that appears on the human scene.

"As a member of thsi church, you have a right to know what I, your pastor, think on the subject. I do not profess to know all the answers of this complex question. This sermon is no panacea for all the ills.

"But at least we can start out right basing our thoughts and deeds on two major premises: the spirit of Jesus and the Will of God."

He said further: "The solution is not in law or ethical presuppositions. These will not lessen the tension. Prohibition taught us that just to pass a law did not stop men from drinking.

RELIGION IS HOPE

"Peaceful and harmonious relations will come only when each member of each race becomes a reconcilor in the spirit of Jesus. The new birth of real religion is the hopes for whites and colored. It it too much to expect changed living from unchanged lives."

"Declaring there is "sin on both sides," he termed the white man's sin as monopoly, self-interest, superiority, etc, and the Negro's sin as hatred, engendered by years of travail; immorality common-law marriage, sensuality, disease and sloth.

"There is no monopoly here by any race," he continued, "but these are too much in evidence.

STATES REASONS

Dr. McClain, who said he had worked six months preparing the sermon, stated as additional reasons for speaking on the subject:

"Because some politicians have used the issue to traffic in human life, often using this as a smokescreen to cover up their own lack of qualifications for office.

"Because the last 24 months have engendered more strife and hatred than the last decade of normal progress.

"Because ignorance or silence is no defense against social evil. Our safety cannot be found in the dark. Sometimes silence is golden. Other times silence is yellow."

Mon. 6-25-56

OLD PROBLEM

Dr. McClain touched on the historical perspective of the issue, pointing out it was an old problem, and that the South is not the exclusive guardian of prejudice and race problem. In this connection he mentioned the apartheid policy in South Africa and the psychological ghettoes of Chicago and Harlem.

Commenting on "Evolution or Revolution," Dr. McClain drew an analogy from nature, saying, "Society cannot force her growth, righteousness cannot be legislated any more than education can be forced.

"The magnitude of the problem is such that it cannot be solved by those who step promptly, confidently, angrily forward with ruthless remedies. Overplaying your hand is bad judgment in anything. This induces the strongest kind of resistance."

Noting the Negro's progress in the South, he said, "Ninety years of freedom have meant more phenomenal growth than any other colored people anywhere on earth..

"His progress, instead of being retarded by whites, is explained by his proximity to whites. Conversely, his forefathers are still in the bush.

"Marian Anderson made the Metropolitan Opera not because she was a Negress, but because she had a voice. Merit will triumph usually and open the right doors."

POOR WOULD SUFFER

He said also that integration on a forced basis could eventuate in wealthy whites sending their children to private schools, wealthy Negroes sending their children to private schools, and poor whites and poor Negroes taking what they can with, in some cases, the possible rise of a cruel caste system which belongs to no real democracy.

Georgia Encounters Difficulty Leasing Parks To Individuals

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Thurs. 8-2-56

ATLANTA, Aug. 1 (AP)—Georgia is encountering difficulties in leasing state parks to individuals in a move to preserve segregation.

Ten parks were leased to their former superintendents under a 1956 legislative act aimed at preserving segregation. The state also expected to save money by the leasing since most of them operated at a loss.

P. 3-A

Gov. Marvin Griffin agreed to an arrangement whereby the former park superintendents were designated as state wildlife rangers and placed on the payroll of the game and fish department at salaries ranging from $185 to $395 a month. The salaries were to compensate the lessees for unprofitable park operations and promote conservation practices on park lands.

Criticism of the state subsidy to the lessees through the salaries promptly followed from officials of the Georgia Conservation League. Fred Sturges of Macon, league president, called the action "political manipulation." Gerald R. Hunter of Cordele, league vice president, said it was unfair to pay the special rangers more money than regular rangers receive.

Griffin today ordered the special rangers removed from the game and fish department payroll. He said it had been practically impossible to find suitable lessees and the wildlife ranger salaries were thrown in as an inducement.

With the cutting off of these salaries, Griffin said, the lessees will be given a choice of surrendering their leases and resuming employment as superintendents.

Griffin pledged he would do everything possible to preserve racial segregation at the parks and continue their operation.

Nullification Bill Vetoed

Times Tues. 2-28

ATLANTA, Feb. 8 (UP)—Georgia's House of Representatives gave overwhelming aproval to Gov. Marvin Griffin's resolution declaring the Supreme Court mixed-schools edict "null, void and of no effect."

Post 2-28

The nullification resolution won a 179 to 1 vote of approval after administration floor leader Denmark Groover called it "the most important piece of legislation of the session.

Good News From Georgia!

Courier Pitts.

Roy V. Harris, that indefatigable Negrophobe and perennial campaign manager for that high priest of segregation, Herman Talmadge, has come up with a plan to have Southern politicians utilize free TV time at the forthcoming Democratic National Convention to tell the nation why the South opposes civil rights and school integration.

Mr. Harris' plan is a truly inspired one which will commend itself to Republicans and Southern Democrats, although it will be painfully alarming to the rest of the nation's Democrats.

Pittsburgh Pa

American Negroes especially will delight in whatever the Dixiecrats may say on this stolen TV time because it will underscore the psychopathic preoccupation of the unreconstructed South with the so-called Negro problem and its determination to try to force the majority of the American people to go along.

Sat. 8-4-56

Surely, the Republican National Committee and the National Citizens for Eisenhower could not have thought up a more effective method of insuring Democratic defeat in November than that of Roy V. Harris.

With characteristic selfishness and irresponsibility, Mr. Harris and his cronies are not concerned with the great national and international issues confronting their party and the country, but only with "plugging" the anti-Negro line.

To the millions of wavering liberal Democrats thinking of shifting to Eisenhower, the plan of Harris and Company will provide the final push over into the GOP ranks, thus insuring a Republican victory.

Perhaps the Republicans should send some token of their appreciation to Messrs. Harris, Talmadge, et al!

Attorney Gets 4 Days in Jail

P. 8
Courier
Pitts. 5-17-56

ATLANTA, Ga. — Reuben A. Garland, a white attorney defending a Negro, served four days in jail after being sentenced for contempt of court.

The attorney was given a sentence by Judge E. E. Andrews after he said Garland made "disrespectful" remarks during the selection of a jury in Fulton Superior Court.

Pittsburgh Pa

Garland, representing John Browner Jr., in court on a $100 robbery charge, is said to have questioned jurors on the racial question. The judge ruled a mistrial in the case.

WELLS' PENSION TO BE CONTINUED

Times-Picayune

Not Affected by Racial Views, Is Ruling

Fri. 3-23-56

ATLANTA, March 22 (AP)—Trustees of the Georgia Teachers retirement system Wednesday refused to disturb the $518 monthly pension of Dr. Guy Wells whose racial views brought him under fire of two state education agencies.

The trustees said in a resolution adopted unanimously that they are without authority to discontinue or curtail benefits of any retired member of the fund.

P. 13

A retired member retains "the inalienable right to exercise his privileges as a citizen even though his views and activities may be repugnant" to others, the trustees declared.

Wells, 63, retired three years ago as president of the Georgia State College for Women. He now is executive secretary of the Georgia Council on Interracial Relations.

The State Board of Education, which administers the common school program, last week asked the trustees to discontinue Wells' pension "if legally possible."

Almost simultaneously, the Board of Regents of the university system stripped Wells of his title of president emeritus of the Georgia women's college.

The retired educator said he had advocated bringing Negro and white community leaders together in good will to resolve differences."

Griffin vs. Javits—

News

Uproar mars race debate at Harvard

Sat. 4-14-56 P. 1

By RICHARD J. SINNOTT

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., April 14—(AP)—Bitter remarks directed at Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia by a Negro student threw a Harvard Law School Forum debate on segregation into an uproar Friday night.

The incident occurred during a discussion period that followed a debate between Griffin and Atty. Gen. J. K. Javits of New York State under the auspices of the Harvard school.

JAVITS

The student, who identified himself as Seyoum Haregot, an Ethiopian, said to Griffin:

"The U. S. Information Service and you tell us that you are a peaceful nation. After hearing your speech tonight I can find nothing to justify that.

"Do you think, after listening to you, I should go back to my people and say that we should go along with your side . . . When down in your part (of the country) they call us 'niggers'?"

GRIFFIN

Griffin said only: "I think you've gone a little too far."

THE STUDENT then attempted to continue, but a rising murmur from the audince upset him and he fled up an aisle of the auditorium as some 1500 law school faculty members, students and their guests, many of them women, applauded or hissed.

Scores of police were detailed throughout the auditorium during the three-hour session, but the rebuke by the student was the only disturbance. The audience previously punctuated statements by Griffin and Javits with frequent applause.

Griffin, in his debate remarks, lashed the Supreme Court's segregation decisions as a "palpable and deliberate usurpation" of states' rights.

"No court," he said, "has authority to settle the controversy. This dispute is determinable only by the people themselves, speaking through their legislative bodies."

JAVITS SAID the Supreme Court's "historic decision" 23 months ago poses "the greatest challenge the American people have faced in the battle for civil rights since the Civil War."

Many Southerners, the New York Republican said, "are deeply and honestly" convinced "that segregation is vital to the maintenance of 'racial integrity,' meaning to many Southerners decent standards of social organization."

Javits, a former New York City congressman, said he would recommend to the Eisenhower administration that it call a White House conference of the governors and attorney generals of all 48 states to consider the problems of compliance with the court's decision.

"In that way," Javits said, "the whole body of law enforcement authority on the state level would find expression and the reasonableness of what may be asked the Southern states could be determined."

GOV. GRIFFIN called the high court's decision "baseless," seeking to "transmute socialistic theory into law" and founded on what he called a "ridiculous theory" that Negro children suffer a "sense of inferiority in segregated schools.

SEGREGATION DEBATE

Advertiser

Griffin Hits Court Ruling In Speech At New England

Montgomery, Ala.

Sat. 4-14-56

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., April 13 (AP)—Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia, attacking the Supreme Court's segregation decisions as a "palpable and deliberate usurpation" of States' Rights, said tonight no court has authority to settle the controversy.

"This dispute," he said, "is determinable only by the people themselves speaking through their legislative bodies."

Griffin's remarks were prepared for a debate on segregation with Atty. Gen. Jacob K. Javits of New York State, under the auspices of the Harvard Law School forum.

Javits, in his prepared remarks, said the Supreme Court's "Historic Decision" 23 months ago poses "The greatest challenge the American people have faced in the battle for civil rights since the Civil War."

DEEPLY CONVINCED

He conceded that many Southerners are deeply and honestly convinced "That segregation is vital to the maintenance of 'racial integrity,' meaning to many Southerners decent standards of social organization."

Both the Georgia Democrat and the New York State Republican, in their preliminary statements, discussed the issues dispassionately with only hints of the depth of feeling on either side.

The fourth scheduled a discussion period after the formal addresses, with questions from the audience in Rindge Tech High School Auditorium, seating 1,500.

Gov. Griffin, attacking the Supreme Court's decision as "baseless," seeking to "transmute socialistic theory into law" and founded on what he called a "ridiculous theory" that Negro children suffer a "sense of inferiority" in segregated schools, declared the court "usurped the reserved powers of the states."

STATE DUTY

In such a case, he said, "it is the duty of the state in flagrant cases to interpose its powers between its people and the effort of the court to assert an unlawful dominion over them." The right of interposition, he said, has been asserted many times over the years by both Northern and Southern states.

Among states that have employed the doctrine he named Kentucky, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachuetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, South Carolina, Wisconsin and Iowa.

The governor maintained that when the Supreme Court "oversteps its authority" its decisions "cannot bind the state from whose people all its powers are derived."

The Southern states' position, Griffin said, is "that no government, no governmental department, no court or other tribunal has the right to dispose of the fundamental liberties of man."

Among these God-given rights and freedoms "beyond the power of government or any court, no matter how supreme," he said, are "the rights possessed by every man to have a home and rear a family, to choose his own associates, to rear his children according to his belief. . . ."

Javits, a former congressman from New York City, said he would recommend to the Eisen-

Georgia Governor Claims No Court Has Power To Settle Segregation Issue

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Sat. 4-14-56

Hits 'Usurpation Of State's Rights'

Cambridge, Mass., April 13 (AP)—Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia, attacking the Supreme Court's segregation decision as a "palpable and deliberate usurpation" of state's rights, said tonight no court has authority to settle the controversy.

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He conceded that many Southerners are "deeply and honestly" convinced "that segregation is vital to the maintenance of 'racial integrity,' meaning to many Southerners decent standards of social organization."

Griffin, a Democrat, declared the Supreme Court's decision sought to "transmute socialistic theory into law" and is founded on a "ridiculous theory" that Negro children suffer a "sense of inferiority" in segregated schools.

hower Administration that it call a White House conference of the governors and attorneys general of all 48 states to consider the problems of compliance with the court's decision.

"In that way, the whole body of law-enforcement authority on the State level would find expression," he said, "and the reasonableness of what may be asked the Southern states could be determined."

It was expected that there would have been some sort of demonstration at the forum, but with the exception of the slight tension caused by the law student from Ethiopia, the meeting was very placid.

* * *

DURING THE question period, all questions but one were pointed at the governor; and the one that caused a slight tremor throughout the audience, asked by the Ethiopian was:

"The United States Information Service and you tell us that you are a peaceful nation," he said. "After hearing your speech, I can find nothing to justify that we should join your country (as opposed to the Communist bloc)."

Governor Griffin replied with a Georgian paraphrase of Voltaire: "Well, we've got a paper down in Georgia that has on the front page, 'We don't have to like what you say, but we'll fight for your right to say it.' "

* * *

HAREGOT CAME back with: "Do you think that I should go back to my people, after what you have said tonight, and say that we should go along on your side when down in your part (of the country) you call us 'black N----s?' "

A great hush fell on the crowd at that time, and it was only broken by the well known and familiar Bronx hisses. Mr. Haregot then left the microphone, as the governor commented: "I think that you've gone too far."

* * *

MR. HAREGOT said that the above as published in most papers was incorrect. The law student told the AFRO that what he asked the governor was "What would you advise us to do when we go home?"

The governor's reply, Mr. Haregot recalled, was that "There are many industrious

Georgia Governor rapped at forum

Afro-American P. 6

Sat. 4-28-56

Baltimore, Md.

By CONRAD CLARK

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Seyoum Haregot, a second-year law student at Harvard University from Ethiopia, changed a quiet tenseless forum on the integration issue, when he questioned Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia on his segregation stand, here on Friday night.

The governor, who appeared with former Representative Jacob K. Javits of New York, that state's present attorney general, in Rindge Technical High School's auditorium before a crowd of 1,500 Harvard students, defended his state's stand of the right to declare null and void the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation.

Negroes in the South who are contented."

To this he (Haregot) asked "Those are people you in your part of the country call 'good n-----?' "

That is when the governor declared, "I think you've gone too far."

Mr. Haregot said the question broke the tenseness in the audience and "brought them into reality." He said the "hissing" which came after the question came about because many in the audience felt he was monopolizing the questioning and wanted to ask a few themselves.

He denied press accounts that he left the auditorium, stating that what he did was simply to return to his seat from the microphone where he had to go to ask the question.

The issue of interracial marriage was raised by Roger Lawson, attorney and a member of the Georgia governor's staff.

He asked Mr. Javits whether he didn't think the school segregation decision opened the way for the court to declare the southern states' laws prohibiting such unions unconstitutional.

* * *

MR. JAVITS replied that he did not think so, and further remarked: "I recognize that there is a deep fear of that in the South, but we in the North deeply feel that experience has demonstrated that the fear is unfounded."

Governor Griffin for almost an hour outlined the Southern segregationists viewpoint and said that "The Supreme Court had no authority to declare segregated schools unconstitutional. The attempted usurpation of Congress' power by the court is palpable and flagrant," he said

Continuing, he said, "Under these circumstances it is the right of the state, as Georgia has done, to declare that the court has overstepped its authority, that these decisions are null and void . . ."

Mr. Javits replied that the Constitution, as Griffin seemed to interpret it, may have existed prior to the passage of the 14th Amendmnt, guaranteeing 'equal protection of the laws.'

The attorney general also called the governor's arguments "an arudite analysis of an old Southern position on this issue," and said that the segregation decisions in the 14th Amendment are based on:

* * *

"IT WAS ENACTED (the 14th Amendment) after a bloody war had established that we are a nation, not a loose grouping of states."

Earlier in his talk, Mr. Javits told his audience that the Supreme Court's decision poses "the greatest challenge the American people have faced in the battle for civil rights since the Civil War."

Before concluding his talk, Mr. Javits said that he would recommend to the Eisenhower Administration that it call a White House Conference of the governors and attorneys general of all 48 states to consider the problems of compliance with the court's decision.

* * *

"IN THAT way," Mr. Javits said, "the whole body of law enforcement authority on the state level would find expression, and the reasonableness of what may be asked of the southern states could then be determined."

If congress does not approve the bipartisan civil rights commission recommended this week by the administration, the President should appoint a bipartisan commission to exercise the same authority, Mr. Javits added.

"Such a presidential commission," he went on to state, "would lack subpoena power, but this can well be made up for by the prestige of the presidency itself."

Griffin Tells How To Keep Segregation; Let Him Keep Funds

Daily World
Tues. 4-11-56

SAVANNAH, Ga.—(INS)— Georgia Gov. Marvin Griffin said Monday that retaining financial control in the hands of the Chief Executive may be one of the state's major weapons in attempting to preserve racial segregation.

Griffin, addressing the annual convention of County Commissioners in Savannah, observed there have been critics who would take from the Governor his broad powers over the state's spending. He added:

"I say to you that the Governor's power over the budget, limited and restricted by the State Constitution and by-laws promulgated thereunder may well be in the future the only buffer standing between segregated schools in our state and mixed schools."

Atlanta, Ga.

The governor said there has been no waste in government during his administration and stated:

"We are living within our income. We have a healthy surplus in the treasury."

Gov. Griffin also took note of critics who branded the last legislature "rubber stamps." He told the politically strong county commissioners:

"I urge you to return to your counties and to send to Atlanta a General Assembly composed of members who will stand fast with me in defense of our ideals and traditions."

The governor also replied to recent newspaper charges that the highway department is lagging behind in its work, jeopardizing federal aid funds. He said:

"I have checked those reports and find them untrue."

He said the highway department will let contracts for about $28 million in federal aid projects during the calendar year and will be ready for an expected $40-million program in the following year.

Gov. Griffin Is Right About Third Party

Constitution P. 4
Tues, 4-18-56

Gov. Marvin Griffin merits the commendation of all citizens of the state, including those who oppose him, for his forthright statement there will be no third party move by the State of Georgia.

The governor clearly states the case. Basically, it is that any third party movement is "futile."

Atlanta, Ga.

He is correct. A third party movement is not even a protest. In 1948 there were two extra parties, that of the Dixiecrats and of Henry Wallace's Progressives. These two, plus the Republicans, were not enough to defeat Harry Truman. The Dixiecrat movement was created for that specific purpose. It succeeded only in appearing ridiculous.

In 1952 the same forces and the same mentality moved over to the Republican Party. It was a witless act, quite in keeping with that of 1860 when only the fact of the Democratic Party split enabled Abraham Lincoln to be elected.

As Gov. Griffin has said, both parties are committed to civil rights programs and to implementation of the Supreme Court's decision. But the Democratic Party offers the better chance of working out the problem in a manner which considers the human and sociological factors involved.

The Democrats as a party would have been in a stronger position in trying to handle this agonized crisis had it not been for the blindly wilful ones who went off into the third party movement in 1948 and then deserted to the Republicans in 1952.

Gov. Griffin has not retreated at all in his opposition to the court's decree.

But he has seen that a third party movement is meaningless, even as a protest. This country's present form of government will survive only as long as we are a two-party nation. Should the multi-party condition arrive, as in France and Italy, then will our system of representative government break down.

Segregation Is Endorsed By Dr. Allen

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Mon. 8-20-56

By KAY McLEOD

Separation of the races was upheld Sunday by Dr. Charles L. Allen, who said that he does not believe that the Bible calls for integration.

Dr. Allen told his congregation at the Grace Methodist Church that the problem of human relations is not confined to the South. He said that it is a universal problem dating back hundreds and hundreds of years involving all races.

Dr. Allen said that when he was approached by one Negro who wished to join Grace church, he said, "Joining our church won't accomplish anything. There are 200 Negro churches in Atlanta that need you.

"You in your church, we in ours, will be worshiping the same God. You will be better off and so will we."

Dr. Allen told his congregation, "If that's un-Christian, that's still the way I feel."

While stating his belief in segregation or "separation" of the races, Dr. Allen said that he considers the Negro race a "fine race with many wonderful and marvelous qualities."

He also said that he believes that no race can be "forever kept under the yolk of bondage." He emphasized that a feeling of brotherhood between all men should exist.

Seeking to clarify the part a peace-maker betwen nations and races must play, Dr. Allen said that there is a great difference betwen the peace-maker and the peaceable person. The peace-maker, said the minister, uses his "God-given fighting instinct" to battle those things which seek to destroy humanity, while the peaceable person merely accepts things as they are.

Constitution

Dr. Allen cited three types of peace that are "not blessed": (1) an enforced peace, which he defined as the "peace of the graveyard"; (2) a peace of sheer exhaustion with both sides still bearing animosity and continually "snarling at each other," and (3) a peace of indifference.

P. 14

In reference to peace between nations, Dr. Allen said that the United States cannot assume the attitude of the pacifist, but must "go to war against ignorance, want and privation" in all parts of the world.

Mon. 8-20-56

Bringing this fight to a local level, Dr. Allen said that his people should "go to war" against these same conditions which exist "within three blocks of this church."

Dr. Allen said that a true peace between nations and races can only be achieved when each person is at peace within himself, overcoming those conflicts which pit "the inner self against the outer self, a forward-minded body against a backward mind and man's lower nature against his higher nature."

He said that these conflicts, which are "as old as Adam and Eve and as modern as tomorrow's newspaper," can be overcome by "first making peace with the Heavenly Father."

Bomb Georgia Interracial Camp

Courier, Waycross, Georgia
7-28-56

Americus, Ga., July 24—A bomb was thrown into an interracial Youth Camp here Monday night, which has been stopped by court action from operating a non-segregated camp.

The blast shattered a roadside fruit and produce stand operated by the camp.

Investigators said today they were without tangible clues as to who tossed a high explosive into the sheet metal building of Koinonia Farms.

The blast went off just after 10 p.m., four hours after the place had closed for the day. Nobody was hurt. The walls of the 20-by-30-foot structure were buckled, the roof lifted, glass splintered and two large food freezers smashed.

Damage was placed at about $3,000.

Georgia Race Situation 'Comfortable,' Cook Says

Journal + Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said Saturday Negroes in Georgia are realizing they have "nothing to gain, and all to lose" by pressing for integrated public schools.

But he commented in the same speech that it would be a "serious mistake" for Georgia public officials to relax their efforts to keep schools segregated as they are.

Sun. 9-30-56

Mr. Cook was speaking at the Georgia Fraternal Congress, in annual convention in Atlanta.

He said Georgia's race situation is "relatively comfortable," largely because Negroes have been told the public school system will be abolished if they agitate for integration.

P. 7-A

* * *

HE SAID "strong pronouncements" to this effort by Gov. Griffin and former Gov. Talmadge had had a "salutary effect" on the few Negroes who want integration.

Mr. Cook said formal demands for integration had been filed with some local school authorities by Negroes last year and against this year, but he said these had not been pressed.

For the third time since the Supreme Court decision was rendered, he said, Georgia opened its schools this year "on a segregated basis, in an orderly manner, and without the probability of a court desegregation decision."

Mr. Cook was the principal speaker at the banquet concluding the convention of the Fraternal Congress.

* * *

ANOTHER scheduled guest was 5th District Rep. James C. Davis, the man who currently is heading up a congressional investigation of integration in the Washington, D.C., schools.

The Fraternal Congress elected H. C. Fabian, of Atlanta, as its new president. The organization is composed of representatives of 11 fraternal orders.

Mr. Fabian is the state district manager of the Woodmen of the World Life Insurance Society.

Other officers are L. D. Burns, Preferred Life Assurance Society, first vice president; Miss Myrtie Stephenson, Supreme Forest Woodmen Circle, secretary-treasurer; M. M. Richardson, Travelers Protective Assn., chaplain, and P. T. McGuire, United Commercial Travelers, sergeant at arms.

Discrimination Is Charged In Bank Bid at Savannah

Constitution Atlanta Ga.

Fri. 10-12-56 P. 5

WASHINGTON, Oct. 11 (AP)—An examiner for the Federal Home Loan Bank Board was told Thursday that Savannah, Ga., Negroes are unable to obtain GI or FHA loans for home building unless they pay higher interest rates than usual.

Ezra Johnson, Savannah Negro real estate dealer, made the charge at a hearing on an application he and others submitted for authority to set up a new federal savings and loan association in Savannah.

Johnson said large down payments, higher interest rates and shorter loan periods than usual prevented many Savannah Negroes from buying homes.

His application earlier had been turned down by the board but he asked for a hearing and the board ordered one before an examiner. Testimony given the examiner will be turned over to the board for consideration.

Opposing the application were witnesses representing the Carver Savings Bank, a Negro institution, and the First Federal Savings and Loan Assn., both of Savannah. Opposition also came in letters from the Atlantic Savings & Trust Co., Georgia State Savings Bank, Chatham Savings Bank and the Southern Savings & Loan Co.

J. D. McLamb, president of First Federal, said his firm made no distinction between Negro and white borrowers and had been in the market for GI loans that ran for a 20-year period. He placed the total of first mortgages held by his bank at $13,579,000. Of this amount $5,647,000 is in conventional loans; $6,313,000 in GI loans $1,517,000 in FHA loans and $101,000 in straight construction loans.

McLamb said the loan records were not "segregated" and he was unable to say what percentage of the loans was made to Negroes.

McLamb expressed doubt that Johnson and his associates could raise $400,000 to establish a new firm but Johnson said the amount would be supplied.

L. B. Toomer, Negro president of Carver, told the examiner there were seven Negro bank failures in Savannah during his early business career and "we've been trying to rebuild confidence" since 1927. He said he did not recall turning down loans for Johnson or John W. Lyons of Savannah, who also testified in behalf of the application. He added that his firm has $90,000 available at present for home loans.

A petition supporting the Johnson application also bore the names of Dr. J. W. Wilson, Alphonso E. Fields, Adam K. Rivers, Edgar C. Blackshear, Dr. S. M. McDew Jr., and Dr. H. M. Collier Jr.

Speaking at state C of C meeting here—

Talmadge fires broadside at Supreme Court ruling

News Wed. 11-14-56 P. 39

B'ham, Ala.

BY IRVING BEIMAN
News staff writer

Withering criticism of the segregation-blasting U. S. Supreme Court was left here last night by U. S. Sen.-elect Herman Talmadge of Georgia.

The senator-elect was principal speaker at the annual dinner meeting of the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce in the Tutwiler Hotel. His subject was "Our Great Heritage."

It dealt with state's rights and costitutional government, a topic on which Mr. Talmadge has spoken long and frequently in months past,

Its theme was that the 10th amendment to the Constitution reserves certain rights to the states. He said he favors passage of an act by Congress "restoring" the 10th amendment to the Constitution. He said the Supreme Court's 1954 decision outlawing segregated schools infringed on the rights reserved to the states by the 10th amendment.

He declared the present high court justices "probably will continue to strike down" segregation principles wherever and whenever they are brought before the Supreme Court, such as happened yesterday, he said, in the case of the court outlawing the Montgomery ordinance requiring racial segregation on buses.

Then he said:

"It is extremely unfortunate that the majority of our present judges on the Supreme Court were not appointed for what they knew but for what they would do."

As an after-thought, the senator-elect from Georgia then added: "I believe in on-the-job training, but I don't think the Supreme Court is the place to get such training."

The senator-elect said Article III of the Constitution gives Congress authority to spell out the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

Section 2 of Article III says, "In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make."

AT A PRESS CONFERENCE prior to his address, the senator-elect smoked a cigar, sat in an easy chair in his suite in the Tutwiler, and answered questions from newspaper men. He was in shirtsleeves and wore red suspenders, a charcoal black tie and black trousers.

He suggested that a solution of the segregation dilemma facing the South might be "courage on the part of the people on the local and state level, and courage on the part of those in Congress."

He said the South is not fighting the battle for constitutional government alone, that other groups are coming to its aid over the nation, that "if we can carry our message to the people we can become the majority."

He spoke in behalf of the Citizens Council over the South, saying "we have the States' Rights organization in Georgia, composed of some of the finest people. . . . I'm a charter member."

Asked what he would recommend if the next Congress attempts to pass new civil rights legislation, he said the South would "probably have to resort to the filibuster."

"We're going through a second reconstruction period," he said.

As for the effect of the "uproar over segregation" on industry coming or not coming to the South, he said: "I don't think it has had any effect in Georgia or any Southern states. Industry is moving and will keep moving into the South."

Roland L. Adams of York was reelected president of the State Chamber yesterday. He is president of the Bank of York.

Vice presidents elected were Earl M. McGowin, vice president of the W. T. Smith Lumber Co., Chapman; J. M. Griser, president of the Alabama Dry Docks and Shipbuilding Co., Mobile; Jack W. Warner, executive vice president of the Gulf States Paper Corp, Tuscaloosa.

W. C. Bowman, chairman of the board of directors of the First National Bank, Montgomery, was reelected treasurer of the State Chamber, and John M. Ward was reelected executive vice president of the organization.

A third of the State Chamber's 38-member board of directors is chosen annually for three-year terms.

Named to the board for the first time this year to fill vacancies with terms expiring in 1958 were D. B. Hosmer, Anniston, and Ernest F. Ladd Jr., Mobile. James A. Vann Jr., Birmingham, was elected for the first time to a three-year term expiring in 1959.

Other directors, all reelected for terms expiring in 1959, include W. C. Bowman, Montgomery; Thomas W. Martin, Birmingham; Frank P. Samford, Birmingham; Basil Horsfield, Listerhill; A. D. Elliott, Huntsville; Harry B. Lackey, Birmingham; Harry H. Pritchett, Tuscaloosa; Cecil G. Duffee, Dadeville; Earl McGowin, Chapman; Stanhope E. Elmore, Montgomery; James H. Faulkner, Bay Minette; Walter C. Morris, Dothan.

Desegregate Tax Digests, Fulton Legislators Asked

Constitution Thurs. 11-15-56
Atlanta, Ga. P. 19

By RICHARD ASHWORTH

A spokesman for an Atlanta Negro voters organization asked Fulton County legislators Wednesday to work for repeal of a state law requiring separate tax digests for the listing of property of white and Negro citizens.

Repeal of this law, claimed Cassandra Maxwell during a public hearing before the county Legislature delegation, would allow streamlining of tax receiving and collecting procedures and would end what she termed "discrimination" against Negro taxpayers.

Citizens also appeared during the second "grass roots" legislative hearing to ask for laws to protect residential property rights in zoning matters, allow the county to resume doing public works inside municipalities, change laws on office-holding by city councilmen, provide more mental health personnel and other matters.

COLOR VARIATION

As spokesman for the West Side Voters League, she also claimed in regard to the use of separate tax digests that all Negro property is listed on paper that varies in color from that of paper used for the property of whites. This, she said, also results in higher property assessments for colored citizens.

She said the organization asked for similar steps in 1954, including elimination of separate collection lines for Negroes. Only change made, she said, was elimination of the separate collecting lines.

Standish Thompson, who will take over Jan. 1 as the county tax commissioner, denied that race entered into assessment of property.

Regarding use of differently colored paper for Negro tax returns and separate lines for Negro returns, Thompson said his office is following the ruling of State Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook in regard to the state law requiring separation of white and Negro tax digests. Different colors of paper are used merely for identification, he added.

ZONING PLEA

Other legislation asked for by citizens included:

1. Cascade avenue, SW citizens involved in a dispute over location of a mortuary in that area asked that "some teeth" be put into zoning laws to protect the rights of property owners in residential areas.

Mayor Pro-Tem Hugh C. Conley of College Park, also appearing for the cities of East Point and Hapeville, asked that the county again be allowed to use its labor and machinery inside small sities for public works

3. Conley also requested changes in the state law which prohibits councilmen and aldermen in cities under 71,000 in population from resigning their posts to seek other city jobs. This law should be amended to make the population limit apply to cties under 14,000, he asserted.

4. B. T. Harvey, Negro, appealed for wider use of Negroes in educational consultant and supervisory jobs.

ON WARD BASIS

5. Rod Harris, a Negro who ran for city alderman in 1953, asked for changes in the law requiring aldermen to run on a city-wide basis. He suggested one of the two aldermen from each ward run on a ward basis, the other city-wide.

6. Charles S. Dudley, representing the Georgia and Atlanta Associations for Mental Health, said remedial legislation was needed to provide more qualified personnel at mental institutions.

7. John Steinchen, Georgia Tech student, asked for a general bill which would allow any community to set up planning and zoning boards. Most cities have such boards established through special laws, he explained.

8. A. E. Adams, retired county employe, asked legislation to put employes who retired under old pension laws with low compensation more on a level with present pensions. Adams, who had 42 years service, said he receives a pension of $150 whereas present employes with his service retire on $235 monthly.

9. William H. Sachs, a chemistry professor, asked for a law making it a misdemeanor to make available to minors literature classified by the State Literature Commis sionas saleable only to adults.

Griffin Vows No Retreat on Segregation

Constitution Thurs. 11-15-56
Atlanta, Ga. P. 1

Despite the new Supreme Court bus desegregation ruling "there will be no breach in the pattern of segregation in Georgia as long as I am governor," Gov. Griffin asserted Wednesday.

"No matter what any court may rule, the Constitution of the United States and the crystallized public sentiment of an overwhelming majority of the people is still 'the law of the land'," he declared.

Griffin blamed past Democratic presidents and Senates for the compositon of the Supreme Court.

ELECTION ISSUE

He insisted that preservation of segregation must be an issue in all future elections.

"We must insist that our representatives and senators in Congress speak up vigorously and often when our way of life here in the South is threatened.

"We have taken this punishment lying down long enough. It is time for all our leaders to stand up and be counted as active participants in this fight," Griffin said.

"If the voters of our region make up their minds in every election—city, county and state—to elect men who will stand fast and uphold law and order, we will win through in this fight," Griffin said.

HERITAGE DESTRUCTION

The governor called the court ruling "another evidence of the erosion of the Constitution and destruction of the heritage of this country by political judges."

At Montgomery, Ala., where state and city laws were specifically knocked down by the high court, the manager of the Montgomery Bus Co. said drivers would continue to enforce segregated seating until a state injunction requiring it is dissolved.

Buses continued segregated in most Southern states, with the exception of Virginia, Arkansas and Kentucky.

Teacher Beats Ouster Action By Resigning

Advertiser P. 5-a
Mon. 11-19-56
Montgomery, Ala.

ATLANTA, Nov. 18 (AP)—A pregnant former Georgia school teacher who had been assailed on charges that she was sympathetic to racial integration appeared yesterday to be safe from an official move to revoke her certificate.

James S. Peters of Manchester, vice chairman of the state board of education, joined George P. Whitman Jr. of College Park, chairman, and Gov. Marvin Griffin in calling for an end of the action against Mrs. Colleen Marie Wiggins.

The board had summoned Mrs. Wiggins to appear before it at its next meeting and defend her certificate from revocation. It earlier had sought to force the Gwinnett County School Board to take some action against her while she was a teacher at Bethesda School.

BOARD REFUSED

The county board refused but Mrs. Wiggins, as the birth of her baby drew nearer, resigned.

Peters explained that he wasn't present at the board meeting which voted that the 26-year-old teacher be officially cited for certificate revocation on charges of favoring integration. He said that if he had been he would have sided with Whitman that it was "a moot question in view of Mrs. Wiggins' resignation and the fact of her pregnancy at the present time."

MIXED CLASS

Some Gwinnett County residents complained that Mrs. Wiggins, a former missionary and the wife of a ministerial student, advocated mixing the races in the classroom. She denied that she did, contending that all she said was that if integration were in force she would not object to teaching a mixed class.

She had no comment on the latest action and statements concerning her. The governor yesterday had asked the state board to drop its proceedings against her. With both the chairman and vice chairman siding with him, it appeared likely that it would.

Georgia Draws Ire of Chamber Of Commerce for Negro Ban

Oklahoma City Okla.

SUMMERVILLE, Ga. (ANP)—The race - conscious Ku Klux Klan and Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia suffered a lashing last week as both were assailed by the Summerville Junior Chamber of Commerce for banning a high school football game between Negro teams in a white stadium.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce, a white group which sponsored the game, denounced the Klan action in protesting the game and Cook's opinion that it would be in violation of Georgia's segregation laws.

Dispatch Fri. 11-7-56

The contest was to be held last Thursday at Summerville high school and the proceeds were to go to the white school band.

Charles Farrar, president of the Jaycees, said the game will be played at a later date.

Teacher Quits In Race Row

Inquirer

ATLANTA — (ANP—Mrs. Colwhite teacher in the Gwinnett County school system accused of being sympathetic to racial integration in Georgia schools, resigned her teaching post at Bethesda school last year.

The former missionary and wife of a ministerial student had been accused, by some county residents, of advocating racial mixing in classrooms. She denied this, saying her remark was that if integration were in force, she would "not object to teaching a mixed class."

Educator to Fight Pension Loss for Racial Stand

Post P. 31

ATLANTA, March 15 (AP) Court action was promised today by Dr. Guy H. Wells if his monthly pension is cut off because of his views on segregation.

The State Board of Education asked the Teacher Retirement Board yesterday to see if Wells' pension could be discontinued.

At the same time the Board of Regents of the University system took from Wells the title of president emeritus of the Georgia State College for Women.

Wells, 63, said today he would ask that the title be restored. He said that by relieving him of the title the Regents can avoid a life and hospitalization insurance policy he obtained years.

Wells is now executive secretary of the Georgia Council on Interracial Cooperation and has been making speeches recently on racial cooperation.

Associated Press

GUY H. WELLS

... cooperative arrangement between GSCW and its faculty.

Wells said he paid about $450 a year into the teacher retirement fund for about 10 years, for about $4500. His pension is figured on the number of years he has been a teacher and educator—about 40 in all. He was president of GSCW for 19

DR. WELLS TO KEEP PENSION, AFTER REQUEST

Daily World Thurs. 3-22-56 Atlanta Ga.

Action by the State Board of Education aimed at discontinuing the pension of Dr. Guy H. Wells, former president of Georgia State College for Women, because of his racial views backfired Wednesday when the proposal was flatly rejected by the administrators of the Teachers' Retirement System.

Irked by Dr. Well's segregation views, the State Board of Education last week adopted a resolution calling for the discontinuation of the $518 per month pension of the eminent Georgia educator "if legally possible." P. 1

The board of trustees of the fund unanimously approved a resolution saying trustees are without authority to halt the pension of any retired teacher. The resolution directed the executive secretary of the system to forward copies of it to all active and retired members.

Daily World

The motion that the resolution be approved was made by State Auditor B. E. Thrasher, a member of the retirement board, and it was seconded by Dr. Mark Smith, superintenent of Bibb County Schools. Dr. Smith pointed out that the action would reassure the thousands of Georgia teachers who come under the retirement system.

Dr. Guy Wells Now, Who Will Be Next?

Constitution Mon. 3-19-56

Atlanta—I wish to voice my protest about the action taken against Dr. Wells of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation by the State Board of Regents and the contemplated action of depriving him of his pension. P. 4

Atlanta, Ga.

I do not know Dr. Wells nor the organization for which he speaks but it is shocking to think that such a clearcut violation of constitutional rights could occur in the United States of America . . . even in Georgia.

JUDITH C. NEIMAN.

Retirement Board Refuses To End Wells' Pension, Cites Free Speech

Constitution P. 1 Thurs. 3-22-56 Atlanta, Ga.

The State Teacher Retirement Board refused Wednesday to take away a $518-a-month pension from Dr. Guy Wells, retired president of Georgia State College for Women.

In so doing, the retirement board flatly rejected a request by the State Department of Education that Dr. Wells' pension be canceled because of his expressions of views on racial relations.

The retirement board, in a unanimous resolution, said it is without authority to stop or curtail benefits payable to a retired member or his beneficiary.

The resolution upheld Dr. Wells' "vested right" to his pension and his right to freedom of speech.

Dr. Wells said of the resolution: "I am happy over the action of the retirement board."

Dr. Wells is secretary of the Georgia Council of Interracial

By ALBERT RILEY

Cooperation. His honorary title as president emeritus of GSCW was removed last week by the Board of Regents of the University System.

The retirement board's resolution Wednesday said the request to cancel Dr. Wells' pension raised "a question of terrific impact" on the future rights, welfare and security of 1,821 retired teachers and 30,529 members of the retirement system. The question, it said, also applied to state employes' retirement and to peace officers' and firemen's pension funds.

Noting that the retirement system involves contractual agreements with members, the resolution said courts over the United States have held that a person entitled to retirement benefits "has acquired a vested right to those benefits under his contract."

The resolution also held that when a member retires, the employer-employe relationship ceases to exist and the retired member continues to have the right to exercise his constitutionally guaranteed privileges of citizenship, including freedom of speech.

State auditor B. E. Thrasher Jr. moved adoption of the resolution and was seconded by Dr. Mark Smith of Macon. Comptroller General Zack Cravey voted for the resolution although he said he was "in discord" with Dr. Wells' views as he had read them in the press.

Dr. Wells Asks Hearing On Integration Views

Constitution Thurs. 3-15-56 Atlanta Ga. P. 1

By M. L. ST. JOHN

Dr. Guy Wells, secretary of the Georgia Council on Interracial Cooperation, said late Wednesday that Georgia's two school boards should be willing to hear him before eliminating his honorary title and trying to kill his pension.

The state Board of Education earlier Wednesday requested the State Teachers Retirement Board to discontinue, "if legally possible," the pension drawn by Wells as retired president of Georgia State College for Women.

The state Board of Regents, meeting simultaneously, had erased the honorary title of "president emeritus" which it gave Wells when he retired in 1954.

"INFORMATION INACCURATE"

Wells declared the information on which the two boards based their actions was "completely inaccurate and distorted."

The actions stemmed from an article published in the Augusta Courier, edited by Roy Harris, member of the Board of Regents.

The article lashed at Wells for speeches which, Harris said, advocated forced mingling of the races.

"I regret that my former employers and friends have taken this action against me without giving me an opportunity to be heard," Dr. Wells said. "The account of the Augusta meeting (Wells spoke at Paine College), allegedly prepared by one Mr. C. C. Prescott and published in the Augusta Courier, is completely inaccurate and distorted. Any responsible inquiry among other persons present will bear this out.

CIVIC CLUBS

"I have made many speeches upon invitation to civic clubs over the state to discuss our racial problems. In every case I have been well received, and I have had expressions of appreciation from the Rotary clubs and others addressed. I have advocated Negro and white leaders in local communities coming together in goodwill to resolve differences and work for agreement.

"I have nothing to retract or apologize for, and I am confident that the good people of Georgia will sustain my position," Wells said.

Constitution P. 21

REAL REWARD

Then Dr. Wells said:

"A man is not rewarded for his titles, medals or degrees, but for the stars he earns in the service of his country. I think what happens to Guy Wells, his titles, or his earned state teacher's retirement, is not the important thing.

"Neither desegregation or integration, which most good men know will come in time, but freedom of speech and thought is the fundamental issue. If this attack on me will advance and help keep these rights for Georgians, the sacrifice will not be too great a price."

Noting that both actions were taken with little or no discussion, Wells said he thought the boards should be willing to give him a hearing so he "can make proper explanation if they haven't gotten the facts."

GRIFFIN VIEW

Gov. Griffin, commenting on the board's actions, said: "I am sure the boards did what they felt to be right. To be drawing $518.90 a month pension, Dr. Wells has been acting a little ugly." He referred to the Courier report quoting Wells as ridiculing the governor and Legislature.

The governor charged that Dr. Wells "does advocate integration."

The school board's recommendation that Wells' pension be eliminated, if legally possible, will be presented to the Teacher Retirement Board March 21, secretary said.

SPARKS CHIEF

The retirement board is headed by Dr. George Sparks, president of Georgia State College of Business Administration, and includes these members: Dr. Mark Smith, superintendent of schools at Macon; Miss Mary Ella Camp, Newnan teacher; James Budd of the C&S Bank here; Comptroller-General Zack Cravey; state auditor B. T. Thrasher Jr., and Frank Hughes, incoming secretary of the Georgia Education Assn.

One official expressed belief the Teacher Retirement Board would have to ask an opinion from Atty.

Gen. Cook.

There was no discussion when the regents removed Wells' honorary title. Regents chairman Robert O. Arnold told newsmen that some regents didn't like the idea of the former college president making speeches "for integration."

'LAMBASTING GOVERNMENT'

At the State Board of Education meeting, vice chairman James Peters asked whether it was "right to pay a man a pension to go around the state lambasting the state government and our way of life."

Dr. Wells was connected with Georgia schools and colleges for 40 years before his retirement.

He headed the women's college at Milledgeville 19 years. He is a former district governor of Georgia Rotary. He spent a year in Germany with Gen. Lucius Clay, establishing an educational program, and later spent a year in Libya as a consultant in education.

When he took the post of executive secretary of the Georgia Council on Interracial Relations in 1954, he had the recommendations of regents chairman Arnold, former regents chairman Hughes Spalding, Dr. Louie D. Newton, Methodist Bishop Arthur Moore, Dr. Rufus Clement and others.

Letter Called Humiliating

'Be Humble' Advice To Negroes Blasted

Courier Sat. 2-11-56 P.6

Pittsburgh, Pa.

ALBANY, Ga.—In a letter that disgusted and humiliated most Negro readers, Harrison G. Lee of Fort Gaines, Ga., blasts the action of Negroes in the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott and implores them to be humble to the white man.

Mr. Lee expressed his views in a letter to the Albany, Ga. Herald under the title, "Some Advice for Negroes."

Strangely enough Mr. Lee, himself, is a Negro.

Even more significant and equally as alarming is the fact that Mr. Lee, represents the acme of Negro leadership, being principal of Speight High School in Fort Gaines.

* * *

EXCERPTS from Mr. Lee's letter follow:

". . . Mentioning . . . the Montgomery boycott of the buses there by Negroes, may I say that those Negroes should call off such boycott and talk to the persons in charge there in the city and let them work out whatever problems they need worked out. I think they are making fools of themselves trying to win a battle the way they are.

"I am not at all times as humble as maybe I should be, yet may I say that humbleness is still the best method to get people to believe in what you have to say or do."

Mr. Lee states further that whatever progress the Negro has made has been made with the assistance of white people.

"Don't they (Negroes) know that even if they pooled all of their money and resources that they can only progress with the aid of the white man because of his know-how and cultural background which tend to give him some of the very qualities of a progressing society such as the one we now live in . . .?"

Mr. Lee tells Negroes, "Change your approach and stop trying to force the very hand that fed you for so many years, and if you ask me, the very hand that is still feeding you."

Quits Georgia Post Under Fire

Anti-Integration Principal Resigns

Courier Sat. 2-18-56 P.6

Pittsburgh, Pa.

FORT GAINES, Ga.—Speight High School was reportedly without a principal last week after the alleged departure from town of Prof. Harrison E. Lee.

The Clay County Board of Education reportedly had Lee's official notice of resignation and that of his wife, a teacher at nearby Bluffton School.

Lee reportedly departed because of threats upon himself, his wife and family which followed newspaper publication of a speech he delivered in Morgan and Georgetown, Ga.

* * *

THE PUBLISHED address delivered by Lee allegedly called on Negroes to "forget integration and remember that we yet have not learned how to pool our resources and build even a recreation hall for our children."

Fort Gaines Negro citizens petitioned the Board of Education calling for Lee's resignation which they termed would be in the best interest of the community.

Racial Issue Stirs Governor's Parley

Eagle Thurs. 6-28-56 P. 1

Tulsa, Okla.

Northern Leaders Say Democrats Must Endorse High Court Decision on Schools

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.— (ANP)— The 18th annual governors' conference opened here Sunday with a heated debate between Northern and Southern governors over the civil rights sissue.

Almost without exception, the Northern governors said the Democrats must, as a minimum, endorse the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation.

But their southern colleagues, headed by Gov. Bell Timmerman Jr. of South Carolina, called the Yankee proposal "a lotta malarkey."

The atmosphere became steamed up when Gov. Averell Harriman of New York, announced candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, and Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan demanded a strong civil rights plank in the Democratic national platform.

Williams Speaks Out

Gov. Williams, whose state organization has called for immediate enforcement of the Supreme Court opinion in school segregation, said the high court had used "weasel words" in proposing implementation at "deliberate speed."

He added, however, that he felt the party platform this year should be specific in supporting the court action. He denied he was trying to drive anyone out of the party and doubted any walkouts by southern Democrats.

While the miltiants toned down their civil rights demands, Timmerman took up the attack.

The Southern Carolina governor said he wasn't sure where the south will go. He insisted he isn't promoting a third party, although many southerners are scouting the idea.

All But Three Act

He said that all but three of the southern senators, congressmen governors, state chairmen and national committeemen have replied favorably to a letter he wrote proposing they meet in advance of Chicago to put up a "united southern front."

"We want to let the national party know we're serious," he said.

Timmerman said chairman of 10 southern states are expected to meet in Atlanta within a short time for an "exploratory" conference.

Timmersman said he has never voted Republican and never will.

Hope to Save Party

"We hope to save the national party," he added, by staying in it. Whether the southerners stay or not depends on the type of civil rights platform agreed on at the Chicago convention.

Timmerman said a good many people in the south would be "dissatisfied" if a platform plan along the lines suggested by Harriman and Williams were adopted. He vowed he would do all in his power to stop approval of such a plank.

The South Carolinian denied he was trying to do, he said, was to get the national convention to adopt a "constitutional" plank on civil rights and pick a candidate acceptable to the south so southern Democrats could remain in the party.

If the time ever comes when the people of the south break with the Democratic party," said Timmerman, "they are not going into the Republican party."

Reference to Ike Made

He added: "Most people in the south need expect no consideration from the Republican party. I do not think Eisenhower will carry any state in the south."

Timmerman had no answer for the fact that Gov. Raymond Gary of Oklahoma is heading a Harriman committee and Governors Luther H. Hodges of North Carolina and Leroy Hodges of Florida, Stevenson.

The South Carolinian said he has the support of five governors, but declined to name them.

Eagle

HARRIMAN FAVORS ZEAL IN BIAS FIGHT

New York

His Praise of New Committee of Commerce Group Backs Abrams Against Heck

Sat. Sept 8-56

Zealots were defended yesterday by Governor Harriman, who identified himself as one.

The Governor's defense was made at a luncheon of the Commerce and Industry Association of New York at the Bankers Club. The luncheon marked the formation of a business man's committee to combat racial and religious discrimination in employment.

The committee was formed by the association in cooperation with the State Commission Against Discrimination. Charles Abrams, chairman of the commission, presided at the luncheon. Mr. Abrams recently was criticized by Assembly Speaker Oswald D. Heck as being a zealot.

B. A. Zorn, chairman of the association's industrial relations committee, spoke before the Governor. Mr. Zorn, without mentioning Mr. Heck by name, recalled the "zealot" reference by declaring that Mr. Abrams had "his feet on the ground—he is not a wild man."

Governor Harriman addressed the fifty business executives and personnel managers as "fellow zealots." He told them that when he was a busines man he had been a zealot and that he was still one in the things he believed in.

"Let us be proud of what we are doing," the Governor declared.

Holding that 't'he overriding problem of the day is Communist aggression led by the Kremlin," he said, the Communists used racial discrimination as a weapon in their attacks on this country.

New Group Seen as Example

The Governor said the agreement between the State Commission and the Commerce and Industry Association to combat discriminatory employment practices "sets an example for the country and the world of how we strengthen our society by cooperative effort." He continued:

"One of the underlying reasons why freedom has continued to flourish in our country is the nature of the free economy under which we function. This system demands for its most effective operation the employment of men on the basis of skill rather than skull and talent rather than pigment."

The new anti-discrimination committee was formed to carry out a program that includes promoting non-discrimination in hiring and up-grading of labor; conferring with personnel representatives for the encouragement of employment policies in keeping with the State Commission's requirements, and joining employers, labor unions and Governmental agencies in eliminating "blocks to the employment of people without regard to creed, color or national origin."

Judge Hastie hits timid teachers

Afro American P. 8

Sat. 6-16-56

BALTIMORE

"Members of minority groups struggling for status must, of all people, be most insistent that educators be encouraged to criticize and challenge our past practices and behavior, and not be repressed. . . .We can not afford to have timid and frightened people in our classrooms today."

Baltimore

Judge William H. Hastie of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Third Circuit, spoke these words, last Monday afternoon, as Morgan State College held its 89th Commencement exercises and awarded degrees to 253 students in Hughes Stadium.

In addressing the students, Judge Hastie attacked what he termed "repressions" on teachers and what they teach.

He advocated the presentation of contrasting viewpoints as a method of causing students to realize that they are free to draw their own conclusions in a democratic society.

* * *

JUDGE HASTIE was presented an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws with similar honors going to the following:

Dr. Ambrose Caliver, chief of the Adult Education Section, United States Office of Education; Dr. Norbert R. Davidson, gynecologist and obstetrician of New Orleans, and Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, civic worker and president of the Baltimore NAACP

Speaking on "Free Schools for a Free People," Judge Hastie declared:

"We often talk about 'free schools,' meaning that tuition is free.

"But free tuition isn't worth very much unless the school itself is a place where all important controversial subjects can be freely discussed, where honest statement and argument of unpopular views is encouraged, if only to test such views in the open forum, where intellectual vigor and integrity are prized, but intellectual conformity is not viewed as a virtue in itself.

"I am sorry to say that 20th century America has experienced all too much 'unfree education' which in its repressions defeats the basic purpose of educating free men and women to play their part in free society.

* * *

AFTER CITING his own experiences when as a high school student during World War I he wanted to study German but found the language banned in the schools of many states, and the outcry against the teaching of evolution, Judge Hastie said.

"I can think of other examples of repression in education, but I have never seen anything like the consciousness of pressure and restriction which teachers seem to reflect and express today.

"Apparently, all too many teachers feel that they are compelled to pursue a safe course in all they say or do.

* * *

"THEY HAVE been made to feel that in the classroom and out they must make themselves colorless and wholly uncontroversial by avoiding anything which might be construed as indicating in any way critical or unorthodox views about any important aspect of the political, economic, or social organization of our community.

"When some school boards and superintendents are even refusing to allow distinguished scholars and outstanding thinkers to address student gatherings, because these eminent people are 'controversial,' it is not surprising that teachers become timid.

"I am sure that educators as a group know that rational criticism is one of their responsibilities to society, and a hallmark of loyalty to the American creed. They know that zeal for constructive change is the very essence of both education and Americanism."

* * *

JUDGE HASTIE recommended that teachers freely express unpopular opinions and convictions and fully explain the premises from which they are derived.

"The only legitimate qualification of all this is that the teacher not draw his own conclusions from sources other than his own free and unbiased search for the truth.

"This is not a course of action for timid or frightened people. But we cannot afford to have timid and frightened people in our classrooms today. Heaven knows it is easy enough to make students go to sleep.

"And teachers under constraint to play it absolutely safe in everything they say and do can only succeed in making certain that their students fall asleep."

* * *

TO THE graduates, Judge Hastie said:

No society is improved or preserved by spectators. Neither democracy nor any other way of life will prevail through its cheering section. But if we have something approaching total participation by the American people, each of us in some small way within personal reach, in making ours a more effective and rewarding democracy, we can be supremely confident.

"For we will be just as busy and much more effective building our way of life than others can possibly be trying to tear it down.

"To me there is no other answer, none simpler, and none more complex, to the riddle of winning the future for our conception of the good life."

* * *

TAKING ADVANTAGE of the sunny afternoon, alumni, friends and relatives of the graduates thronged onto the campus hours before the scheduled start of the exercises.

When the first strains of "Pomp and Circumstance" signaled the entrance of members of the academic procession, the pastels and more vivid shades worn by feminine members of the audience turned the south side of the stadium into a colorful and contrasting backdrop for the robes of the marchers.

The more than 3,000 spectators soon filled the south stands and overflowed around the rim of the huge oval, with late comers standing or leaning against the stone railing.

Following the invocation the Morgan band and choir led the audience in the singing of "God of Our Fathers," which preceded the introduction of Judge Hastie by Morgan president Martin Jenkins.

Sustained applause greeted presentation of Judge Hastie, known to most of the audience as one of the nation's most brilliant leaders in the fight for civil rights and racial equality during the years preceding World War II.

The audience listened intently and silently throughout his 30-minute address and then responded with even greater applause, rivaled only by that given the candidates for degrees when they were presented in two groups, according to the degrees earned.

* * *

IN CONFERRING the honorary degree upon Judge Hastie, Morgan State College President, Dr. Martin D. Jenkins, cited the jurist for "your devoted service" (which) . . . has helped spread the reality of justice, equality and fair play to all your fellow citizens."

The citation further read: "The evolution of your life has been, and is, both a testimony to your character and unwavering diligence, as it is also a testimony to the promise that is America—a promise which you have helped to create."

Dr. Caliver was honored for having "played an important role in the development of education not only in this nation but throughout the world."

The citation to Dr. Davidson, a 1928 Morgan alumnus, declared that through his work in medicine and in "promoting programs of civic betterment" . . . . "you have thus exemplified in your life the ideals of your Alma Mater."

* * *

DESCRIBED AS a "fighter," Mrs. Jackson's citation read in part: "You have contended for the moral and legal rights of colored citizens of this state and of this nation — the right to education, the rights to housing, the right to recreation, the right to work, the right to justice, the right to human dignity and respect. Not just equal rights but the same rights as other American citizens!

"You have fought not with animosity, not with hatred, but with charity and with full confidence in the validity of the Christian ethic and in the essential rightness of the democratic way of life.

"And in this fight you have made a significant contribution to the welfare of your race and, in a larger sense, of your country."

Dr. Carl J. Murphy, chairman of the Board of Trustees, presented the diplomas to the graduates.

DURING THE exercises, State Senator Harry A. Cole (D.-4th) class of 1943, received the first annual 'Alumnus of the Year Award" for 'distinction in politics.'

Frank J. Ellis, president of the Alumni Association, inducted graduates into the group.

Music during the exercises was provided by the college band and choir.

The Rev. Henry Offer of St. Francis Xavier Church, said the invocation, and the Rev. Nathaniel H. Wicks, pastor of Morning Star Baptist Church, said the benediction.

* * *

COL. CAMPBELL C. Johnson, assistant director of the Selective Service System, awarded Army commissions to the following graduates during the exercises:

Commissioned Second Lieutenants U.S. Army, Regular Army

*Billups, William H., Jr., Medical Service Corps
*Bradby, Harold N., Jr., Artillery
*Covington, George V., Infantry
*Morris, Joseph L., Infantry
*Onley, John A., Chemical Corps
*Smith, William F., Infantry
*Stokes, Theodore K., Signal Corps

United States Army Reserve

*Brewington, John, Medical Service Corps
Bowser, Leon J., Medical Service Corps
*Carter, Donald W., Chemical Corps
Coe, Livous B., Jr., Ordnance Corps
Dorsey, James A., Medical Service Corps
Dupree, Collen C., Medical Service Corps
Hall, Joseph S., Infantry
Hunt, Oscar L., Medical Service Corps
Jenkins, Irvin E., Medical Service Corps
Johnson, Robert E., Infantry
Kave, Kenneth E., Medical Service Corps
*Key, Spenser A. Armor McKinney, George K., Medical Service Corps
Ormond, William V., Chemical Corps
*Powell, Donald N., Medical Service Corps
Pritchett, Clyde A., Army Security
Purnell, Walter C., Signal Corps
*Robert, Wilmoth F. Artillery
Ross, Thomas A., Artillery
*Sands, Douglas B., Artillery
Stevenson, Joseph H., Jr., Medical Service Corps
Taylor, Cyril O., Infantry
Williams, Malcolm B., Army Security
Wilson, Ann J., Army Medical Special Corps
*Distinguished Military Student

* * *

THE FOLLOWING other awards to graduates were announced during the exercises:

Medals and Cash Prizes

Department of Art

Art Purchase Awards — Olga Fay Thomas, John Sidney White

Art Department Awards—Reva Goodwin Lewie, Olga Fay Thomas

Department of Biology

John E. Robinson Prize—Theodore Kenneth Stokes

Department of Chemistry

George T. Stansbury Prize — Elijah Saunders

Department of Economics

Edna G. Thrower Prize — Florence Garnell Gibson

Department of Education

W. Ashbie Hawkins Prize—Lucalle Victoria Cephas

Department of English

1. Baldwin and Hughes oratorical Medals — Henry Williams Sands and James Ivy

Secret Integration Meeting by Mayors

Courier
Sat. 2-7-56 P. 6

By JIM REID

MIAMI—A top secret meeting with racial integration heading the agenda was held by city officials of eight Florida cities here.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Officials refused to comment on the meeting except to say mutual municipal problems were discussed, but Mayor Francis Morrison of Daytona Beach admitted the recent Supreme Court ruling banning segregation at municipal facilities such as beaches and playgrounds was the "$64,000 question" of the get-together.

Morrison said any conclusion reached by the executives would be carried back to their communities by the Mayors and released in "detailed reports."

The group included Mayor Guy Bennett and City Attorney Floyd Campbell of Cocoa; Ward Baxter, city manager of Sarasota; Neil E. MacMillan, city attorney, and Mayor W. J. Snow of Delray Beach; Town Attorney Don Meadows of Cocoa Beach; City Attorney Zell H. Altman of Lake Worth; Mayor Raymond Padgett, Commissioner George Russo and City Attorney Errol Willis of Fort Pierce, and Mayor Porter Reynolds of Fort Lauderdale.

Drops Confederate Flags On Chicago 'All In Fun'

Call. P. 1 Sat. 3-9-56

Kansas City, Mo.

CHICAGO. —(INS)— The stars and bars of Confederate flags showered down on Chicago Friday in a friendly gesture by a plane-hopping disc jockey from Mississippi.

Allen English, 27-year-old radio disc jockey, flew all the way from Oxford, Miss., to make the bombardment with 20,000 rebel flags.

English's air lift followed a flight through Dixie skies engineered by a Chicago disc pockey, Al Benson, who showered down copies of the United States constitution during recent racial disputes.

But English insisted he came as "a southerner with a sense of humor." Wearing a Kentucky colonel getup with a broad-brimmed black hat, black coat with tails and a black string bow tie, he stepped from his plane at Meigs field and said:

"I don't intend this gesture as an insult to anybody, and I don't want a quarrel. I am simply not qualified to discuss the deep implications of this racial controversy.

"Nobody down home got mad at Benson for his visit. I hope nobody up here gets mad at me. If one flight was ridiculous, so was the other."

His single-engine spartan executive plane, painted red, white and blue was piloted by his friend, George Martin of Sikeston, Mo.

Newsmen greeted English with the Stars and Stripes. He laughed and said:

"Thank you so much. That's my flag too. Hey, this is more fun than anything."

English and his pilot skipped lunch and said they wanted to get back home by evening. The disc jockey said:

"Well, if I want to go back to Mississippi, I guess I'd better say, "Long Live the Confederacy."

English tried to make his flag-bombarding flight earlier last week but was forced down by bad weather.

Chicago Cafe Faces Suit On Serving

Advocate P. 1 Sat. 3-17-56

Jackson, Miss.

Chicago, March 12 — A suit charging a Chicago restauranteur with discrimination practices was filed here last week on behalf of Marguerite Cartwright, brilliant Hunter College professor and newspaper columnist, and Roland Schilen, Chicago secretary of the Adult Education Division of the Ford Foundation.

Named defendant in the suit is Johnny Annis, proprietor of a Loop restaurant at Wabash and Congress streets. Atty. Jesse Mann represented the plaintiffs.

Miss Cartwright, in Chicago for eight speaking engagements during Brotherhood Week, charges that waitress refused to serve her because of her race.

Schilen, who is white, also was denied service because he accompanied Miss Cartwright in the restaurant, the suit alleges.

The incident occurred shortly after Miss Cartwright had addressed Brotherhood Day audiences at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt University. She and Schilen had stopped in the restaurant to eat lunch, prior to filling another speaking engagement in the Chicago area.

Students Sign Racial Conduct Code

Herald Tribune P. 1 Sat.

PEORIA, Ill. — (AP) — Students at a high school where racial friction burst into a free-for-all fight four weeks ago have written a code of conduct for themselves.

One hundred of Manual Training High School's 1,000 students rose at a special school assembly to sign the code, worked out by a half dozen student leaders.

Miami, Fla.

It will be posted on corridor bulletin boards next week for the remainder of the students to sign.

Wash. 4-9-56

Principal A. Gray Adamson said the pledge was the idea of the students themselves. The faculty encouraged it. It is the first time students at any school in this centiral Illinois city of 112,000 have at- of all Manualites are vital to the general welfare and good reputation of our school . . . It is our duty to our high school to honor it, to respect it and defend it against ideals which are contrary to its general welfare and good reputation. . .

"I will refuse to support all persons and actions which tend to bring dishonor upon my school and will refuse to circulate stories of such persons and actions."

tempted to work out their own code of conduct.

There are 800 white and 200 Negro students at Manual, located in an older section of the city. The disturbances last month pitted white students against Negroes in two ma fist fights and one near-rio that was broken up by police.

The tension was caused by the refusal of a white student who works part-time as a movie theater usher to let a group of Negro students sneak into the theater without paying. Both factions shook hands and promised to forget their differences after parents, the principal and a Negro police matron addressed them at a school assembly.

The pledge the students are circulating now says in part:

"We, the undersigned students . . . believe that the integrity, loyalty and cooperation

Boycotted Melons Jam Chicago Traffic

Defender Sat. 7-28-56

An overzealous policeman, a merchant with 39,000 pounds of watermelons and an insistent photographer constituted the ingredients that sent several squad cars screaming to 5058 State st. in Chicago in answer to a riot call last week.

It all began with the peaceful unloading of the watermelons which had just arrived from Macon, Ga., in front of Your Certified supermarket at the State st. address.

Passing the scene, Tony Rhoden, Defender photographer, noted that the melons had been stacked four feet high along a 60-foot stretch of sidewalk.

LUSCIOUS BONANZA

By the time he found a parking place and returned, one of the two owners of the melons, Budd and Percy Bennett, was in earnest conversation with an unidentified police officer.

The officer, Rhoden reported, ordered him not to make any pictures and the two engaged in a heated exchange. Meanwhile, a crowd began to gather and a traffic jam developed as passing motorists slowed down at the sight of the watermelon bonanza.

But as they talked the watermelon mountain kept on growing and the officer called for reinforcements.

Several squad cars and motorcycles responded attracting more people — about 300 at the peak — and further delaying traffic.

Once unscrambled, the story appeared to be as follows:

The Bennett brothers sent a trailer to a farm near Macon, Ga., after hearing that the melons of Negro farmers were being bypassed and left to rot in the fields by white buyers who charged the money would be used to fight segregation.

SERGEANT INTERVENES

The melons, about 2,000 in the first shipment, arrived before the Bennetts had been able to contact Ald. Campbell to get a permit to stack them on the sidewalk.

Budd Bennett was pleading for time to arrange a place to stack the melons. Why the policeman objected to photographs was never made quite clear.

The officer's threats to arrest both Rhoden and the Bennetts were cancelled by a police sergeant who appeared with the reinforcements.

Budd Bennett made a quick trip to Wabash ave. police station and returned with the sad news that all the melons would have to be reloaded on the truck and moved to a vacant lot at 5034 S. State, where they are now on sale.

Rhoden meanwhile got his pictures and reported the story to the paper.

PS: Another shipment of melons arrived the next day.

Defender Sat 7-28-56 Chicago, Ill. P. 1 38 a 2d

2,000 Watermelons Cause 'Near Riot' On Chicago's Busy Southside

Request Police Walk Riot Beach

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 7-21-56

Alderman Leon M. Despres (5th) has requested that policemen be kept at the 55th Street promontory where on June 24 a band of five white youths created a disturbance during which they attacked several persons and hurled racial and religious insults.

In a letter to Park District Superintendent George Donoghue, Despres said:

P. 3

"I know that you are as disturbed as I am about Sunday's outbreak of religious and racial violence . . and the consequent injuries to several persons. For many years the promontory has been wholly free from such disturbances.

"I have spoken to eight separate persons who were victims or witnesses and who came to (my) office in great concern. Apparently the patrolman regularly assigned to the promontory was elsewhere on special duty."

Despres urged that policemen be kept on duty there at all times so that the "assailants, if they return, may be apprehended if they are identified."

Two Jews and one Negro were injured in the melee on June 24. The youths appeared on the beach and begin shouting, "We hate Jews and niggers."

One elderly Jewish man and two Negroes who protested were injured by the youths, who fled the scene before police arrived.

INDIAN EDUCATION

A program of adult education, now getting underway in five tribal areas, will be extended to others as funds permit and interest of the Indians themselves indicate. The new program is now underway in the following Indian tribal groups: Seminoles, of Florida; Rosebud Sioux, of South Dakota; Papago, of Arizona; Turtle Mountain Chippewas, of North Dakota, and Shoshone Bannock, Idaho.

INDIAN TRIBES' OIL PAY HITS RECORD HIGH

Lease Income Reaches 41 Million Dollars

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, Sept. 30 — Income received by Indian tribes and individual Indians from oil and gas leasing or their lands reached the record total of more than $41,000,000 in the fiscal year that ended June 30, Interior Secretary Seaton announced recently.

This compares with an income of about $28,000,000 in 1955 and approximately $13,000,000 in 1951.

Nearly $36,000,000 of the 1956 total was accounted for by 10 tribal groups. The great majority of tribes, as usual, received little or no oil and gas income.

Three factors are chiefly responsible for the 1956 upsurge: [1] the intense renewal of interest in leasing on the Osage reservation in Oklahoma; [2] the stepped up search for oil and gas on Navajo lands around the "four corners" area of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado; and [3] the potential expansion of gas development on Indian lands in the San Juan basin of the southwest.

Other Eight Listed

In addition to the Navajo and Osage tribes, the other eight groups receiving substantial oil and gas income in 1956 included those on the Jicarilla reservation, New Mexico; the Ute mountain and southern Ute reservations, Colorado; the Fort Peck, Blackfeet, and Crow reservations, Montana; the Wind River reservation, Wyoming, and the Uintah-Ouray reservation, Utah.

About $33,600,000 of the total Indian oil and gas income was received by tribal organizations and the balance of approximately $7,300,000 by individual Indian landowners. Nearly $21,000,000 of the total income was in the form of bonuses paid for leases. Over $15,400,000 represented royalties on production and about $4,000,000 was annual rental from the leaseholders.

4,000 Leases Approved

Nearly 4,000 oil and gas leases on Indian lands were approved during the year, bringing the total in force on June 30 up to 17,627 embracing a total area of roughly 5,400,000 acres. On June 30, there were nearly 13,000 producing oil wells and 555 producing gas wells on these lands.

Income received by Indians from other minerals in fiscal 1956 amounted to nearly $2,900,000. Much of this was a result of interest in uranium leasing on the Navajo reservation and the Spokane reservation of Washington.

In addition, there was a small but steady production from lead and zinc mining leases on the Quapaw reservation, Oklahoma, and from phosphate leases on the Fort Hall reservation. Idaho.

Indians Say Forty Million Dollars Owed Them for Lands U. S. Government Got from Forefathers

"All we want is to be like everyone else," Lyzeme Savage, 57, president of six Chippewa tribes representing 16,000 Indians in Minesota, said here Monday, when he and tribal representatives from six Chippewa communities and two Sioux tribes conferred with Glenn L. Emmons, United States commissioner of Indian Affairs.

"If the government paid us the 40 million dollars we're owed for our land there wouldn't be any problem," Savage said. "We'd all take our places in communities like every other citizen."

Suit Against U.S.

The Chippewa tribes have filed suit against the federal government for money they feel is owed them for their land, Savage said. The suit is now before the supreme court, he said.

Savage said the U. S. government's refusal to pay is an "example of bad faith by the white men."

William Morrell, 70, tribal secretary for 900 Chippewas at Leech Lake, Minn., said the Indians are trying to develop the natural resources in Minnesota but are held down by outmoded regulations.

Buck Regulations

"We always have to buck regulations which were formed years ago to keep us down," Morrell said.

"If they'd give us the rights we've been fighting for the last 60 years we wouldn't have to depend on the government for livelihood. We have to ask for money every year."

Morrell said that in 1857 "our forefathers ceded land to the United States for $1.25 an acre."

"They were paid only a fraction of what they were promised," Morrell said. "If we get the 40 million dollars we're asking we won't want any more from the goernment."

INDIANS' HEGIRA SHOWS RESULTS

Most Who Quit Reservation Under Relocation Program Benefit in Big Cities

Reservation Indians, who often grow up outside the realm of modern appliances, have had a chance to "go modern" since 1952. The Indian relocation program began that year.

Nearly 15,000 took the opportunity. About one-third returned to the reservation.

The reconversion starts when the Indian enters the trader's store and finds on the counter a small mimeographed folder inviting him to year-round employment in one of six great cities.

He is likely next to find himself in the reservation's relocation office, where he will be shown snapshots of Indians building planes in some far off happy hunting grounds, their wives standing beside television sets and eletric refrigerators.

Controversial Issue

A five-member team of the Association on American Indian Affairs, an organization devoted to Indian welfare, issued last week the results of a four-month survey of the Federal relocation program. On the whole it found the controversial program beneficial. The Field Foundation shared in the survey expenses.

"The relocation branch of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is staffed by humane, singularly unbureaucratic people," the survey observed.

"They are a corps of workers who believe, with or without justification, that what they do puts food on the Indian's table and clothes on his back, and they think nothing of working ten hours a day and on weekends to do it."

The survey noted, however, that the Indian's new refrigerator and television set were likely to be in the same room, next to the divan and dining table. It asked whether the program should not seek to "limit Indian hope rather than fire Indian aspiration."

Criticism has been advanced that the program is not a method of assisting individual Indians to a better life but a conspiracy to disperse their tribal communities.

Generous Help Offered

The report replied that relocation was voluntary, and that the program provided generous financial help that made it possible for as many as desired to do so to relocate.

When an Indian visits a relocation office a staff member "shows him job and wage reports from the relocation cities, tells him that the City Relocation Office will help him with money for up to four weeks and with guidance for six months to a year."

Before the relocation date, the report noted, the Indian "may have renounced refrigerators and television and gone off once more on migratory work, or, fired by a dream the relocation officer did not suspect, he may have found it intolerable to wait one more day and may have packed his family into an old car" and headed for Chicago.

If he waits for an officially sanctioned departure, relocation personnel will hustle him to ministers to regularize his marriage, pack his bags, buy him an alarm clock so he may get to work on time and provide disposable diapers for use along the way.

The Bewildering City

In the bewildering city another relocation officer tells the man how to use the checking account in which his subsistence money will be deposited, and how to operate a dial telephone. She drives the family to its temporary residence and advises it to eat in a cheap, clean restaurant.

It is the officer's responsibility to see that the Indian father gets and holds an eight-hour job, that his pregnant wife knows how to take a bus ten blocks to the clinic, that his school-age children are not permitted to be truants and that five relatives do not suddenly move into his one-room apartment.

Economically, the undereducated, culturally isolated reservation Indians are at the bottom. Socially, the order is reversed.

"The Indians have romantic myth and the American guilt-feeling on their side," the report stressed. "They may live anywhere they can afford to live and may appear in Sioux war bonnets on municipal occasions and receive pleasant pampering without condescension."

Wage Situation

If the Indian has a developed skill and a well-defined ambition—and few do—opportunity can readily be found for him. It is not difficult to place him at the prevailing wage in a given industry.

"Wages are commensurate with those paid non-Indians for the same work," the report said. "What is not commensurate is the size of the family to be supported on the wages," usually four to thirteen members.

Whatever is wrong with the Indian in relocation is more fundamentally wrong with the tribal reservation, the report concluded. What is wrong with the reservation is not the fault of the Indian, it added.

"The relocation program is being carried out in a total Indian situation in which huge pressures of the malign type are being exerted on the Indian people," it declared.

"They can survive and prosper within and grace our country. This, however, they will not be able to do unless Congress, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the whole American people generously decide to rewrite the imminent sad ending to the history of the American Indians."

38a 1956

AMERICAN INDIANS

High Court to Get Claim of Sioux

Post Times Herald
Fri. 11-30-56

By Karl E. Meyer
Staff Reporter

Gen. Custer and Sitting Bull may be a dim part of history to most of us, but to one Washingtonian they are as vivid and real as today's headlines.

He is Ralph Hoyt Case, who at 77 is now reaching the final round in his 34-year court battle to win $118 million for his clients, 35,000 Sioux Indians.

Washington, D.C.

As counsel to the tribe, Case said yesterday he would ask the Supreme Court to review and settle one of history's longest legal battles and biggest claims suits. P. 10-B

He is appealing a unanimous opinion of the Court of Claims, which ruled on Nov. 7 that the Sioux had been amply compensated for 7.8 million acres of gold-rich Black Hills land, taken from the tribe in 1877.

Case, son of a frontier sheriff and himself born on a Sioux reservation, said the tribe refuses to give up despite reversal after reversal in the lower courts.

"The Sioux are the toughest and most stiff-necked tribe that the United States ever encountered," he said, "and when they've been wronged they'll never surrender, until the last brave is dead."

Case and the tribe argue that an 1868 treaty with the Sioux was violated when whites —led by Gen. George Custer— discovered in 1874 there was gold in the South Dakota Black Hills. The gold lodes included the fabulous Homestead strike.

After Congress took the territory away from the tribe, it took the Sioux until 1920 to get permission to sue for at least $118 million, believed to be the largest claim ever filed against the Government.

The tribe's first attorney was Charles Evans Hughes, who had to break his contract when he was appointed Secretary of State in 1921. Then after, a tribal meeting, Case was picked —partly because Indians knew and trusted his father years before.

Today, only one of the six Indians who appointed Case is still living. In three decades, Case said, three Government lawyers who worked half a career on the dispute have died before it reached its final appeal.

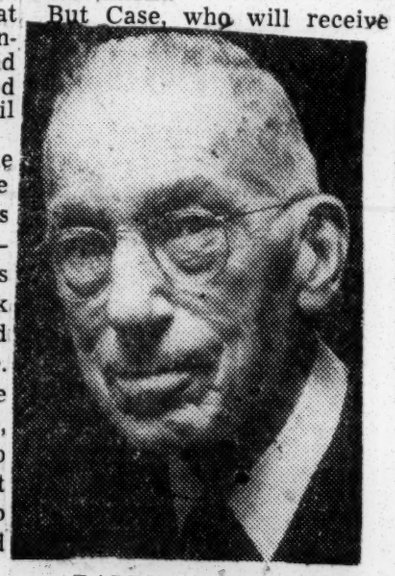
The first big blow against the tribe came in 1937 ,when the Court of Claims ruled that it lacked jurisdiction, To support its case, the Government filed a 4385-page report, costing $107,000. Case's original brief, running to 400 pages, was published as a book.

With the passage of the Indian Claims Commission Act in 1946, Case was back in court under the new law. But the Indian Claims Commission ruled against the tribe, and the Court of Claims supported the ruling.

Both courts held that Congress had the right to abrogate treaties and that the tribe had received $57 million in compensatory benefits from the Government.

But Case, who will receive no pay unless he wins, is not disheartened. Despite his age and ill health, he is as sure of victory as the independent and defiant tribe he works for. He says:

"Justice, decency and history are all on our side."



RALPH H. CASE
. . . counsel for Sioux

File $500,000 Race Ban Suits in Indiana

Call Fri. 12-14-56

Kansas City, Mo.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind. — (ANP) — Five Superior court suits, seeking $100,000 damages each, were filed here last week by nine persons charging they were discriminated against and refused admittance to a ballroom where Louis Armstrong was playing because of their race.

Named as defendant in the suits was the Indiana Roof Ballroom, which is under management of Mrs. Alice Hedricks.

The plaintiffs charge that Louis Armstrong was playing a one-night engagement at the ballroom last June 17 and that the affair was to be open to the general public.

They contend that when Negroes presented their tickets for admittance, they were informed by the management that the dance was open only to members of the Ballroom who held membership cards.

At the time of the dance during intermission, bandleader Louis Armstrong was informed by reporters of the situation. He was asked if he would have gone on with the engagement had he known in advance about the situation.

"Yes, I would have played," he said.

However, upon later being interviewed in New York by Associated Press reporters be denied the statement.

U.S. Indians Want To Head Parade For 'White Father'

Washington Post
Monday, Dec.
Fri. 12-14-56

ANADARKO, Okla., Dec. 13 (AP)— American Indians want to head the parade when the "Great White Father" is inaugurated next month.

38a T.5.C

Robert Goomi, president of the American Indian Assn., here, wired the Inaugural Committee in Washington urging that Indians head the parade since they were the "first inhabitants of the United States and the place of the American Indian in history has been minimized."

He said that if the Indians couldn't be put at the head of the parade, they at least should be put in a prominent position to "honor the Great White Father of all Americans."

Jim Crow Dropped Easily In Indianapolis

Journal & Guide P. 9

Integration Is Success In North's "Dixie City"

Sat. 5-19-56

Norfolk, Va.

(In 1949, five years before the U. S. Supreme Court issued its historic ruling banning public school segregation by race the Indiana Legislature outlawed the practice throughout the state. In Indianapolis, often called the "most southern city of the North," Negroes constituted 15 per cent of the population. Here is a first-hand report of what happened in Indianapolis, based on interviews with school officials and others concerned with the problem.)

By HORTENSE MYERS

INDIANAPOLIS—(INS)—The "most southern city of the North" began the racial desegregation of its public elementary and high schools in September, 1950, amid predictions of violence and no little anxiety.

Now, six school years later, this is the situation in Indianapolis:

Fifty-four of 84 elementary schools and seven of eight high schools have become interracial.

THE NUMBER of colored teachers in the city system ha increased from 347 to 445.

White instructors are teaching in some of the remaining all-Negro schools, and colored teachers are on the faculties of some of the all-white schools.

A colored man is serving on the city's school board for the first time in its 135-year history.

Children do not seem "color conscious."

AS FOR violence: there have been some scattered fights between white and colored pupils but never on a large scale. As one principal commented:

"Lots of things that are interpreted as racial conflict are nothing more than quarrels among children, who just happen to be black and white.

Pupils, teachers, school administrators, sociologists and civic leaders all agreed that racial integration in Indianapolis proceeded far more smoothly than the most optimistic had hoped.

* * *

BUT THEY also agreed that whatever success the city has had "didn't just happen but resulted from many years of groundwork."

The latest Indianapolis census showed 64,020 Negroes among the total population of 426,945, or about 15 per cent.

The some 15,000 colored public school students at present make up 21.57 per cent of the elementary school population and 18.18 per cent of the high school enrollment.

AT ONE time, Indianapolis had unsegregated schools, but as the influx of both colored people and southern - born whites increased after World War I, the color line was drawn — not only in schools but in housing.

During this period, Indiana became a stronghold of the anti-Negro, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic Ku Klux Klan. The power of the Klan was broken in the late 1920's with revelation of corruption that led to both the state house and the city hall.

* * *

BUT THE PATTERN of segregation lingered on. The development of colored neighborhoods during the time between the two wars is responsible for the present existence of 21 all-white and 10 all-Negro schools in Indianapolis.

For as Dr. H. L. Shibler, superintendent of the city's public schools system explained it: The school district boundaries are being observed; non-integrated schools follow the pattern of segregated housing.

* * *

WHILE INTEGRATION, or desegregation, has been affected smoothly in the classroom, it never has extended to social events, such as high school dances. In school cafeterias, the tendency has been for colored to eat with colored and whites with whites.

One of the city's Negro leaders said he believed the "awareness of greater horizons for Negros has not seeped from the administrative to the teaching level."

HE ALSO SAID that persons counseling colored pupils tend to steer them into jobs traditionally open to members of their race, and added:

"They have not accepted this business of recognizing individual ability regardless of race or religion."

WHEN NEGROES ARRIVE

Advertiser P. 1

Racial Disturbance Closes Swimming Pool In Indiana

Montgomery, Ala.

Mon. 6-11-56

MUNCIE, Ind., June 10 (AP) — Gates to a municipal swimming pool were locked today because of a racial disturbance, and authorities said they had no idea when they would be opened.

Police Chief Jack Young and Harold Collins, city parks superintendent, acted jointly to close Tuhey Pool after the appearance of Negroes there yesterday for the first time precipitated a two-hour disturbance.

Collins said a "large group" of white youths jeered at four Negroes. He said there was no violence, but the police kept close watch during the two-hour period.

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Collins said a "large group" of white youths jeered at four Negroes. He said there was no violence, but the police kept close watch during the two-hour period.

Negroes never before had used Tuhey Pool, said Collins, "but it definitely hasn't been closed to anyone." He said it would remain on that basis when it did reopen.

The other municipal pool in this east-central Indiana city of about 60,000 has been used by both Negroes and whites for several years, Collins said.

The Negroes were identified as Roy C. Buley, executive secretary of a YMCA here, and three youths he had brought with him.

RUMMEL CONTINUES SEGREGATION ATTACK

Commercial Appeal P. 11

Against Christian Charity, Prelate Declares

Memphis Tenn.

SOUTH BEND, Ind., Aug. 17. — (UP) — Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans charged Friday night that racial segregation violates Christian charity and natural law.

8-18-56

The Roman Catholic prelate, who has stirred up controversy in New Orleans for his racial stand, attacked segregation as a bar to the betterment of the nation's Negroes.

Archbishop Rummel, speaking before the national convention of the Christian Family Movement at Notre Dame University, urged desegregation as the cure for any mental backwardness, moral laxity or lack of initiative attributed to individual Negroes.

"Who will deny," he asked, "that the hardships, the humiliations, the setbacks, the retardation in civic, economic and cultural programs which racial segregation imposes either by law or by custom are not violations of Christian charity and even of basic natural law?"

From the book- THE INSIDE STORY
By- ROBERT J. DONOVAN

EISENHOWER IN THE WHITE HOUSE

Star P. 6A
Tues. 5-1-56
Washington D.C.

Desegregation Drive Gets Into High Gear

By ROBERT J. DONOVAN

II

Not much was done about the racial problem in the rush of affairs in the early months of the Eisenhower administration.

Since then a vast amount has been done—in the main quietly in order not to stir people up. As recently as March 9 an entire cabinet session was devoted to the South and to civil rights.

On June 4, 1953, about three months after President Eisenhower took office, a front-page headline in The Washington Evening Star caught his eye. It was:

HOBBY NOTE FLOUTS SEGREGATION ORDER, POWELL CHARGES

No other newspaper story at the time ever caused such commotion in the White House so quickly. The Star story shocked the President, and his vehement reaction shocked his staff, and things began to happen in a hurry.

The story was based on an open telegram which had been sent to Mr. Eisenhower by Representative Adam Clayton Powell, jr., a Negro who represents a district in Harlem. The telegram began:

"The hour has arrived for you to decisively assert your integrity. You cannot continue to stand between two opposite moral poles."

Policy "Countermanded"

The essence was that Mrs. Hobby had "virtually countermanded" the President's policy on nonsegregation in schools for children on Army posts, which are paid for by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Sherman Adams got on the telephone to Mrs. Hobby and found out that while Mr. Powell may have overstated it, he had a case. Procrastination, indecision and lack of enthusiasm no doubt was retarding desegregation of a number of Federal hospitals, schools and Navy yards. Mr. Adams was seriously concerned about straightening it out before it became a political affair. He called in Max Rabb. Mr. Rabb decided to go to see Mr. Powell.

"Adam," he said, addressing the Congressman by his first name, "I'm disappointed in you."

"Okay, Max, You Win."

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Mr. Anderson's quiet and tactful approach set a pattern. By now desegregation has spread through all branches of Government, and in sensitive areas of the South where trouble was feared but did not materialize. The process has reached a point where—though this has not been announced—not even an airport can now be built with Federal aid without employment of desegregated working forces.

Orders That D. C. Be Model

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Communists Try to Profit

In discussing the Communist role in the tension areas of the South, Mr. Hoover said they had been effective in some places in causing trouble, and in others they have not. Everywhere they were trying to exacerbate the racial conflict. Their effort to colonize the Southern textile industry was showing results, he said.

While the Communists had tried to infiltrate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. Hoover continued, they had not succeeded as far as the leadership was concerned. The NAACP leadership was fighting them vigorously.

After Mr. Hoover finished, the President picked up items for discussion. For one thing, he commented on how the roots of bitterness in the South go back to Reconstruction days. He said the conflict between two ways of life in the South—segregation and desegregation—could be changed by education, understanding and a realistic approach.

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Tomorrow: Relations between the President and the late Senator Taft.

38a 1956

From the book- THE INSIDE STORY
By-Robert J. Donovan

Eisenhower In the White House

Herald Tribune 5/1
New York Tues. 5-1-56

By Robert J. Donovan

How the Administration Pressed Desegregation; Cabinet Hears Hoover on South's Race Strife

This is the second of a series of articles based on Robert J. Donovan's book, "Eisenhower—The Inside Story," a behind-the-scenes account of the Adminstration to be published in June by Harper & Brothers.

Not much was done about the racial problem in the rush of affairs in the early months of the Eisenhower administration.

Since then a vast amount has been done—for the main quietly in order not to stir people up. As recently as March 9 an entire Cabinet session was devoted to the South and to civil rights.

On June 4, 1953, about three months after President Eisenhower took office, a front-page headline in "The Washington Evening Star" caught his eye. It was:

HOBBY NOTE FLOUTS
SEGREGATION ORDER,
POWELL CHARGES

No other newspaper story at the time ever caused such commotion in the White House so quickly. "The Star" story shocked the President, and his vehement reaction shocked his staff, and things began to happen in a hurry.

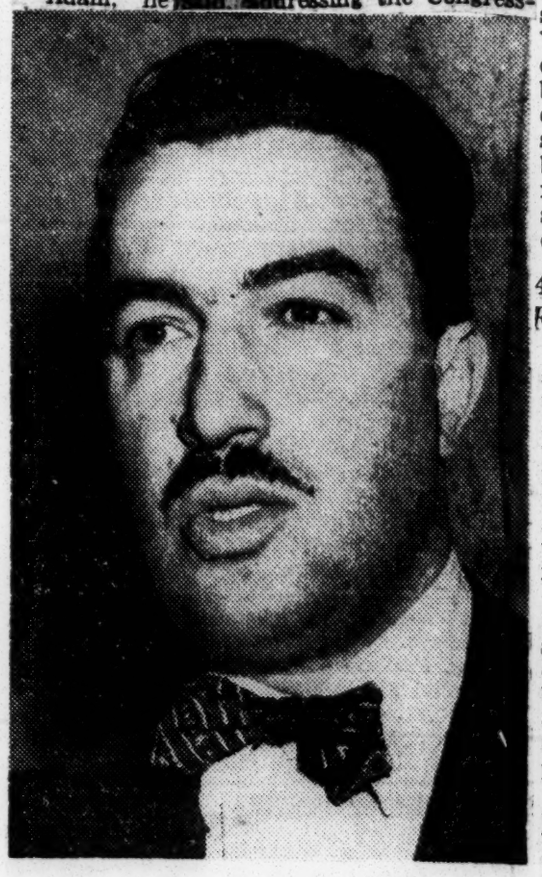
The story was based on an open telegram which had been sent to Eisenhower by Representative Adam Clayton Powell jr., a Negro who represents a district in Harlem. The telegram began:

"The hour has arrived for you to decisively assert your integrity. You cannot continue to stand between two opposite moral poles."

The essence was that Mrs. Hobby and others had "virtually countermanded" the President's policy on non-segregation in schools for children on Army posts, which are paid for by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Adams Verifies Powell Has Case

Sherman Adams got on the telephone to Mrs. Hobby and found out that while Powell may have overstated it, he had a case. Procrastination, indecision and lack of enthusiasm no doubt were retarding desegregation of a number of Federal hospitals, schools and Navy yards. Adams was seriously concerned about straightening it out before it became a political affair. He called in Max Rabb. Rabb decided to go to see Powell.



Associated Press

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell jr.

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Herald Tribune
New York
Tues. 5-1-56

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Anderson Sets A Pattern For Desegregation

Herald Tribune
New York
Tues. 5-1-56

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(The third of this series, appearing tomorrow, tells of the relations between the President and the late Senator Taft.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 6, 1953

Herald Tribune
New York
Tues. 5-1-56

Dear Congressman Powell:

I have your telegram and I want you to know that I appreciate your kind expression of confidence that I will carry out every pledge I have made with regard to segregation. I shall continue to devote my earnest efforts to advance both the spirit as well as the fact of equality. I believe that the fight to achieve tangible results will be increasingly successful.

In your communication you have indicated that there is some evidence that the policy I am pursuing against the impairment of equality through segregation has been obstructed in some agencies of the government. I have made inquiries of the officials to whom you refer and learn that they are pursuing the purpose of eliminating segregation in federally controlled and supported institutions.

We have not taken and we shall not take a single backward step. There must be no second class citizens in this country.

As you are so well aware, this problem cannot be solved wholly with either laws or directives. The spirit of these objectives cannot be achieved as a result of the action of any one person, no matter with how much authority and forthrightness he acts. To achieve our purpose we must plan and work together to win the victories one by one, and not to be content until we have gained our goal.

Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower

The Honorable Adam Clayton Powell
The House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Herald Tribune—United Press

Copy of letter President Eisenhower wrote to Rep. Powell in 1953 on the issue of segregation.

Herald Tribune—Warman

Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel of the N.A.A.C.P., which was lauded by the F. B. I. for resisting Communist infiltration.

Leader Scores Racial Discrimination In Speech

Daily World
Sun. 1-8-56

LOUISVILLE, KY. —Addressing the Public Meeting of the convention at Zion Baptist Church last Wednesday, December 28th before a crowd of one thousand citizens of the city, Dr. Iggers told those present that while there has been tremendous progress in race relations in this country in the last decade and a half, the end of legal segregation must not be confused with the thorough integration of Negroes in American life. "Apathy of the Negro," stated the educator, "in regards to his rights may lead to a situation where the Negro, while permitted to sit in the front of the bus and to send his children to the nearest school, will still be subordinated in regards to housing, economic and education opportunities for generations to come—even if he may enjoy a slightly larger share of American prosperity than in the past."

Atlanta Ga

Iggers stressed the inter-relation of the defense of our traditional American Civil Liberties with the struggle for Negro equality. He discussed at length the case of Carl Braden, white Louisville news reporter, who was convicted to a fifteen year term under a Kentucky sedition statute after having bought a house in a white neighborhood for a Negro family. "The point is," Iggers said, "that none accused Braden of bungling the house or of actively conspiring to overthrow the government, but that under a vaguely worded law he was convicted of holding certain unpopular opinions." The college professor further asserted: "If heretical opinions are the basis of legal prosecution, then all of us who see flaws in the status quo are threatened with imprisonment."

Finally, Iggers called on the fraternity to support the NAACP, to challenge segregation practices, to establish closer cultural ties with the white community, and to provide scholarships to train students for areas of employment not traditionally open to them."

BUSINEESS AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Aside from the regular business of the Conclave which included discussions of the fraternity's Bigger and Better Business, Education and Social Action Programs, committee reports, Graduate and Undergraduate Panels, special project reports and other Conclave business, the agenda included social activities of many kinds for the delegates, visiting brothers and Sigma wives.

Standiford Integration Brings Suits Dismissal

Courier-Journal & L. 13
Louisville, Ky
Sun. 5-24-56

A suit by 11 Negroes charging discrimination in eating and drinking facilities at Standiford Field was dismissed yesterday by Federal Judge Henry L. Brooks.

The judge said segregation does not exist in the restaurant and snack bar at Lee Terminal. Therefore, he said, there is no legal controversy on which to base a suit.

One of the plaintiffs, Louisville attorney Charles W. Anderson, Jr., agreed that Negroes now have no trouble getting service on food and drinks at the airport.

Judge Brooks' dismissal order sustained motions for a summary judgment filed by the City-County Air Board, Director of Airports Foster V. Jones, and Dobbs Houses, operator of the Lee Terminal resturant and snack bar.

Decided To Drop Suit

The judge noted the plaintiffs had filed no answer to this motion.

Anderson indicated the plaintiffs had decided to let the suit drop. "The matter's been corrected," he said. "There's no need to litigate the matter further."

Judge Brooks referred to a lease signed May 1, 1955, by the Air Board and Dobbs Houses. It states that there shall be no racial discrimination in the Dobbs House facilities at Lee Terminal.

Brooks found that there was no basis for a declaration of rights or an injunction against discrimination. He also denied the total of $110,000 in damages asked and found no cause for action under federal civil-rights laws.

Plaintiffs Are Listed

Plaintiffs in the suit, filed last September 14, were Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman, St. Louis attorney; Willard Brown, Charlestown, W. Va., attorney; Clark McCluckeen and Russell Cowen, Chicago; W. W. Carter and E. R. Clemons, Philadelphia, and these Louisvillians:

Dr. Grace M. James, 1715 W. Ormsby; Charles W. Anderson and Toto Anderson, by their father, Charles W. Anderson, Jr., 1025 S. Western Parkway; Frank L. Stanley, editor of The Louisville Defender, and attorney James A. Crumlin, 630 Finzer.

Defendants, besides the Air Board, Jones, and Dobbs Houses, were the City of Louisville, Jefferson County Fiscal Court, American Airlines, and Eastern Air Lines. The last four were dismissed previously as defendants.

Each Named An Instance

Each of the plaintiffs complained of one instance of being denied service at the restaurant or snack bar between February 14, 1954, and April 22, 1955. They said they were refused solely because they were Negroes.

Dobbs Houses said it used to ask Negroes who entered the small snack bar to go to the dining room for service. It no longer does this, it said.

The firm said Crumlin was refused service in the dining room because it was full. It denied the other instances of alleged discrimination.

Whites Protest, Bus Company Dismisses Negro Drivers

Daily Worker
Sun. 9-9-56

NICHOLASVILLE, Ky. —(ANP)— Three Negro bus drivers lost their jobs here last week after about 100 white segregationists protested their driving buses that carried white students to and from school.

The Jessamine school board decided to take the action and hire white drivers last Monday after the complaints had been registered.

A meeting was held the following night, at which the board rescinded its action in employing Negro drivers. The board had just recently hired the three Negro drivers.

Complaints were reportedly restricted to employment of drivers and not to limited integration planned this year in the school system.

Sturgis father loses job, but wins friends, receives help by mai

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 10-13-56

NEW YORK — Following his dismissal from his job as car-washer at a Sturgis, Ky. garage, the family of James Everett Gordon has been swamped with letters containing checks and money orders to offset the absence of his customary $55 per week earnings.

Mr. Gordon is the father of the two Gordon children who, with their mother, defied hostile mobs that barred the children's entrance to the all-white Clay consolidated school this fall.

Economic pressures had been exerted against the garage owner (who is also the mayor of Sturgis), forcing the dismissal of Mr. Gordon who is unable to find work in the farming-mining area. He had held the garage job for seven years.

NEGRO LOSES JOB OVER INTEGRATION

Times

Children Attended School at Clay, Ky., Three Days—Case Now in Courts

P. 53 38a

By BENJAMIN FINE
Special to The New York Times.

WHEATCROFT, Ky., Sept. 29 —For the last seven years James Everett Gordon, 37 years old has worked as an automobile washer in a garage at near-by Sturgis. He earned $55 a week. Today he is unemployed.

The Gordons own a small wooden house in this village of 600 population, three miles from Clay. For three days, from Sept. 12 to 15, their two children, James Henry, 10, and Theresa, 8, attended the Clay Consolidated School—the first Negroes to do so.

Sun. 9-30-56

This upset the town of Clay, population 1,400, more than anything that has happened in its nearly century of existence. The Gordons were threatened with physical violence. Gov. A. B. Chandler ordered 500 National Guardsmen and sixty State Troopers to keep the school open.

Fof three mornings, Maj. Gen. John Jacob Bethurum Williams, State Adjutant General, escorted Mrs. Gordon and her two children to the school. Then the School Board ordered Mrs. Gordon to send her children to an all-Negro school in near-by Providence. The case is now before the Federal District Court.

The Gordons knew that by sending the children to the Clay School they were endangering their livelihood. They knew that pressure would be brought to bear by the strong White Citizens Council in the area.

But more than a week went by and nothing happened. Then on Tuesday, when he reported to work as usual, Mr. Gordon was told that there was no place in the garage for him. The garage is owned by J. B. Holeman Mayor of Sturgis.

May Go to Evansville

"I don't know what I can do," Mr. Gordon said, "there's no one around here that will hire me. I guess I'll have to go to Evansville. Maybe I can find a job in a garage there. I used to drive trucks, too."

Evansville, Ind., is fifty miles from Wheatcroft.

Sturgis was the scene of a

hetic Readers

Sat, 11-20-56 Chicago, Ill. P.2

ordon Family

James Gordon last week as she watched scores of letters containing checks, money orders, and dollar bills, pour into her home after newspapers here carried the story of her integration fight in Kentucky and her husband's dismissal from his job.

Her husband, James, was fired from his job as a mechanic by his employer, the mayor of Sturgie, Ky., when he attempted to enroll his two childdren in the all-white Clay Consolidated school. The whole town rose up in arms and it took more than 500 national guardsmen to keep order in the little town of 1,400 population.

The Gordons live in Wheatcroft, Ky., a suburb of Clay. For three days Mrs. Gordon brought her two children, James, jr., 10, and Theresa, 8, to the school under the armed escort of the militia. Then the school board ordered the children sent to the all-Negro Rosenwald School in Providence.

Several days later the troops left and Gordon was found without a job. The Mayor had fired him. No one in Clay, Sturgis, or the neighboring areas would hire him. He applied for work at the two local coal mines, but received polite refusals.

But since newspapers carried the story of the Gordon plight, Mrs. Gordon said in a telephone interview that the mail has been coming in at a growing rate. She said scores of letters have been received, mostly from New York.

"I'm just so thankfu," she said. "People I have never met have been so nice to me. It looks as though God has not forgotten us. My husband is happy. He's still looking for work. I hope he can find something soon. But neither of us are discouraged now. People are so kind I can hardly talk."

Mrs. Gordon said that she had received more than 200 letters, with more coming in daily.

"I've been kept so busy answering them. I plan to answer every one of the letters. It's wonderful to have so many friends, isn't it?"

segregation battle. When eight Negro children enrolled in the white high school there they were ordered by the School Board to leave. Their case, too, has been taken to the courts.

Mr. Gordon is not sorry he took the lead in challenging segregation at Clay.

"I'm a Christian man," he said. "I obey the laws of the land in the best way I know how. I think I did the right thing for my children. Maybe it will help other children, too."

Mrs. Gordon wants to stay and see the fight through.

"I wouldn't want to leave this house," she said. "It would be impossible to move. Where would we go?

"But it looks as if some people want to get rid of us real bad. I know we're in a tight spot. I don't know where it will end. We pray every day and night for strength and guidance from the Lord."

Two years ago the Gordons bought a ramshackle house that is now their home. Mr. Gordon spent his evenings and weekends repairing it. Handy with tools, he patched the roof, painted the house and repaired the water pipes.

"It's a nice place now," he said. "I'd hate to give it up."

"Can't Move Now"

Mrs. Gordon said, "We can't move now. We want to see our case through."

"Besides," she added, "we're expecting another child in February."

Somehow or other, Mrs. Gordon s convinced, they will manage to get by, even if it means her husband will have to travel 100 miles a day or more to get to work.

"I don't feel mad at anyone," she said. "It wouldn't have been good business for the garage to keep my husband. Maybe they had some pressure put on them, too. They could lose business, I know. And my husband was caught in the middle."

Then she added: "But I don't know why they couldn't stick by my husband. Sometimes I don't understand at all. I only tried to do what was right for my children. They deserve a good school. I don't see what we did wrong. Now my husband is the one to suffer. I feel so sorry for him. It's not good for a man to lose his job and see his family go hungry."

"Don't you worry," Mr. Gordon said. "I'll find a job. I've worked all my life around cars. I know I can do good work. I never had any trouble all the time I worked at Sturgis or any other place."

The Sturgis garage employs eight white men and another Negro.

"The white men didn't talk to me much after all this happened," Mr. Gordon said. "They didn't like what I did in bringing my children to a white school. But several of them, when no one was around, were nice to me. No one said he wouldn't work with me."

Tomorrow morning Mr. Gordon will leave Wheatcroft in his 1949 Chevrolet to find a job, any kind of job. But western Kentucky, he is afraid, will turn the other way when he gives his name. He hopes to find something in Indiana.

Boss fires Clay school pupils dad

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat, 10-13-56

By LOUIS E. LOMAX

CLAY, Ky. — James Gordon Sr., father of James Jr. and Theresa Gordon, who won the heart of the nation by their heroic efforts to attend the previously all-white Clay Consolidated schools, has been fired from his job. P.120

The firing supports dispatches filed by this reporter during the integration row at Clay. Mr. Gordon was employed as a mechanic by the Holman garage in Sturgis, owned by J. L. Holman, mayor of Sturgis.

During the integration dispute, this reporter learned that Mr. Gordon's job had been threatened because of the school dispute, but both Mr. Gordon and Mayor Holman refused to confirm the report.

Mr. Gordon did express a willingness to discuss the matter with the FBI, but the agents did not question him.

The NAACP advised the FBI that Mr. Gordon's job had been threatened and the agency was given the name and location of a person in Sturgis who would arrange for them to see him and get a statement. The contact was not made.

MR. GORDON, a superb mechanic, was lured back to the job at Holman's garage after he had quit a year ago and began working on a job in Evansville, Ind., after Mr. Holman promised him a salary increase and better working conditions if he would return.

Mr. Holman, as mayor of Sturgis, took vigorous exception to the presence of members of the National Guard and led a fight to have them withdrawn. Gov. A. B. (Happy) Chandler would not follow the mayor's urging.

This is another in a series of incidents where the FBI failed to make an investigation that could have shed light on a clear cut case of civil rights abridgement.

Several complaints have been filed out of Mississippi in which colored people have alleged their civil rights have been abridged. None has been brought to prosecution by the FBI.

THE GORDON children, James Henry, 10, and Theresa, 8, attended classes at the school three days before ordered to enroll at an all-colored school Mrs. Gordon took them to school each day protected by an escort.

The case is now before a Federal District Court as is the Sturgis integration case.

Mr. Gordon says he plans to again seek employment at Evanston, about 50 miles away, and commute the 100-mile round trip daily.

"I WOULDN'T LEAVE this house," said Mrs. Gordon. "It would be impossible to move," asking: "Where would we go?"

She further pointed out that "we can't leave now. We want to see our case through. Besides we're expecting another baby soon."

Neither Mr. Gordon nor his wife expressed hard feelings over Mr. Gordon's being fired, both stating they had done what they felt was right.

Mrs. Gordon did say, however, that she didn't see why "they (the garage owner and employees) couldn't stick by her husband.

38a 1956

KENTUCKY

Negroes Situated Here As In Northern States

Courier-Journal P. 4

Fri. 11-2-56

Concentration In Few Areas Unlike South; Number Decreases In State, Grows In City

Louisville Ky.

Louisville follows "the pattern of Northern cities, rather than cities in the South," in its "residential segregation of Negro population."

38a Ky

The comparison was drawn by Dr. Robert I. Kutak, University of Louisville sociologist, in a 37-page report on "Interracial Problems and The Church."

The report, describing racial conditions in Louisville and Kentucky, was prepared for an Interracial Leadership Conference November 15 and 16 at Trinity Temple Methodist Church.

Negroes Live In Few Areas

In presenting data showing that Louisville's Negro population is concentrated in a few areas. Dr. Kutak said this was contrary to the case in most Southern cities, where the Negro population is scattered throughtout the city.

The Kutak report stated that in the past 100 years the Negro population of Kentucky has decreased from about one in five persons to one in 14. The decrease is largely because of Negro migration to Northern cities, especially those immediately north of Kentucky.

"Today about 93 out of every 100 Kentuckians are white," the report said. "The percentage of the population in Kentucky which is Negro conforms to that in the three states north of the Ohio River, rather than to states in the Deep South."

While Kentucky's Negro population decreased 12,110 between 1940 and 1950, the number of Negroes in Louisville increased 10,499, the report said.

In 1950, 83 out of 100 Louisvillians were native whites, one was foreign-born, and 16 were Negroes.

Birth Rate Rises

A sharp rise in the Negro birth rate in recent years and a slight lowering of the Negro death rate has meant that in 1955 "in Jefferson County as a whole, the Negro population was increasing at a rate of 20.1 per thousand, white population at a rate of 18.1 per thousand."

The major problem for Negroes in Louisville, Dr. Kutak said, is housing. He quoted data showing that the Negro population is concentrated in areas of low social and economic status.

Several conditions are held responsible.

"Two thirds of the Negroes are renters, compared with fewer than half of the white population. The median income of Negroes is about $1,000 less than that of whites. They cannot afford to pay high rents," the report said.

Money Scarce for Negroes

For this reason, too, the Negro cannot afford to pay the cost of an adequate home, land sites are not always available, and mortgage money is scarce, the report said.

But programs in public housing and urban renewal "make the Negro housing picture not hopeless," Dr. Kutak commented. He cited the proposed new Southwick public housing project for Negroes.

Discussing Negro employment, the sociologist contends "that discriminatory practices (in hiring) do prevail in Louisville is shown by tables indicating nonwhites, both male and female, are concentrated in the less skilled and less well-paid occupations."

One out of five white males was at the top of the occupation scale in 1950, but among nonwhites only one out of 19. In that year, the largest group of white females—45.8 per cent—was employed in white collar positions, but the largest group of Negro females—43.2—worked as domestic servants.

Between 1940 and 1950. however, the number of nonwhite women employed as operators or service workers other than domestics has increased sharply, according to the report.

Negro death rates have declined in the last 25 years, Dr. Kutak reported, but in 1955 the Negro rate was still 50 per cent higher than the rate of deaths among whites.

The number of Negro deaths due to tuberculosis is three times higher than for whites, the sociologist said. He noted that "tuberculosis is a disease associated with poverty."

Homicide Rate Higher

The homicide death rate among Negroes in 1951 was 56.3 per thousand, compared with 3.2 among whites.

Dr. Kutak blames the severe shortage of doctors for much of the Negro health problem.

"In Jefferson County in 1950 there were 779 white doctors, and only 14 Negro doctors, or one white doctor for 542 white white persons, and one Negro doctor for 4,482 persons," he noted.

On school desegregation, the report described as a problem "the fact that Negro students are more retarded than are white students.

Whites Also Retarded

However, this retardation is due, not to the fact that the students are Negro, but that most Negroes live in areas of low socio-economic status. White students who live in these areas are also retarded."

The report added: "It is important to point out that the end of the official policy of segregation will not necessarily end segregation in the schools. As long as residential segregation remains, most schools will be either predominantly white or predominantly Negro."

Discussing the outlawing of segregation in public parks and pools, Dr. Kutah said ". . . as long as discriminatory practices create residential segregation, most public recreational facilities will continue to be segregated."

Church Role Cited

Turning to the churches' role in race relations, the report noted that "nearly two thirds of the Negro population belongs to a church, a percentage somewhat higher than among whites. . . ."

The report concluded:

"By September of 1956, segregation was ended in all areas in which government functions. . . . It is important to realize, however, that many discriminatory practices are based on custom and tradition, that they exist in the hearts and minds of people. . . .

"The church deals with the inner life o fits people. . . . It can help eliminate the inconsistency between democratic ideals and discriminatory practices. . . . It can practice as well as preach the brotherhood of men."

SOME SEGREGATION STILL EXISTS

White, Negro Leaders At Louisville Combined Forces To Help Ease Pathway For Integration

By BEM PRICE

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Nov. 25 (AP)—Everybody, it seems, was surprised by the peaceful integration of the public schools here this fall except Louisvillians.

"As far as we were concerned," says Norman Isaacs, managing editor of the Louisville Times, "we were just adding to the school reporter's beat."

Louisville and surrounding Jefferson County went about integrating its white and Negro schools against a background of racial violence over the same issue in Clay and Sturgis, Ky., Clinton, Tenn., and Mansfield and Texarkana, Tex.

But long ago two strong newspapers, some extraordinary mayors and a rare set of civic leaders, white and Negro, had foreseen the current racial crisis and had acted to anticipate it.

NOT COMPLETE

This is not to say that the process of integration is complete here. There still is segregation in the theaters, hotels and restaurants, though the barriers are breaking in the last two.

There are two striking facets to the Louisville story:

1. The moves to improve the Negroes' lot were led on the white side almost exclusively by people who call themselves Southerners and who are descendants of Confederates.

2. The Negro apparently has never felt any need to agitate, and thus there has been no hardening of racial prejudices in te community.

Although it would be difficult to document, there is reason to believe too that the careful development of a rich cultural life in the fields of art, music and literature, easily available to all, has created an aura of tolerance in Louisville.

"Whether it has or not," says Clarence (Skip) Graham, head of the city's library system, "I would like to think so."

PLACID TOWN

Until the mid-1930s Louisville was a placid town, proud of its blooded horses, beautiful women and bourbon whisky.

It was a town in which about 98 per cent of the population was native born.

It was a place where people could erect a statue to Abraham Lincoln and one to Confderate dead—and honor both. Generally, though, on race relations Louisville faced South.

Then two things happened. The Ohio River flooded, and Mark Foster Etheridge came to town.

In the wake of the disastrous 1937 flood Louisville seemed to take on a new and more aggressive look. The necessity for cooperation in rebuilding the stricken city bred a strong sense of civic duty which still flourishes.

Etheridge, a native of Meridian, Miss., now publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal and Louisville Times, arrived in 1936. He brought with him, as he said in an interview, "a strong procivil rights bias inherited from my father."

Etheridge recalls that he wrote his first Louisville editorial on the need to help the Negro in 1937. "The initial reaction," he said dryly, "was unfavorable."

Yet today, a great many prominent citizens in Louisville ascriba to Etheridge the major role in creating a climate of opinion which could lead to the gradual integration of the Negro into Louisville's civic life.

FOR FAIR SHAKE

The newspapers' stand for a fair shake for Negroes was sharpened by the advent of World War II and the bloody struggle against Hitler's fascism and doctrines of racial superiority

Graham recalled that he first became aware of the race problem in 1942.

"I can remember going to an interracial meeting," he said, "where a Negro soldier got up and said he couldn't go into the post exchange at Ft. Knox—but that he could look through the window and see German prisoners buying cokes."

The war had another effect. As white youths went into the armed services their places in the labor market were filled by Negroes

About this time another milestone event occurred. Wilson Wyatt was elected mayor.

Wyatt, who served as mayor from 1942 to 1946 (Louisville's mayors cannot succeed themselves), not only saw the necessity for postwar planning, but he also foresaw the crisis which would rise later in connection with the Negro.

While other cities were in the mumbling stage, Wyatt in late 1942 had a commission at work planning for Louisville's future. He appointed 60 Negroes to help with the planning.

Wyatt took another far reaching step in 1943 wen he appointed a Negro to te public library's board of trustees.

Graham believes these two actions by Wyatt, coupled with the fact that public transportation in Louisville had not been segregated, marked the beginning of the breakthrough on the color front in Louisville.

Even before these appointments, however, two able men, one white and one Negro, had met in the State Legislature and developed a mutual respect.

The Negro was Charles W. Anderson Jr. The white man was Charles Rowland Peaslee Farnsley. An affable, restless lawyer, sometimes called eccentric, Farnsley was to become mayor of Louisville.

Anderson was elected to the Legislature in 1935—the first Negro Republican ever elected from Louisville. When he journeyed to Frankfort to take his legislative seat, Farnsley was the only one who would sit beside him.

Re-elected six times, Anderson gradually earned legislative and public respect. He had the rare experience of seeing some 1,000 white teachers pour into Frankfort to lobby on behalf of a measure he had introduced which permitted school teachers to marry.

As a Negro leader and lawyer Anderson worked closely with Farnsley after the latter became mayor. Louisville has been singularly free of lawsuits over civil rights.

"I have adopted a policy," said Anderson, "of trying to avoid litigation if I can. My pattern has been to reason things out without a lot of fanfare."

As mayors go, Farnsley was totally unorthodox. He appointed an assistant to keep track of the mere mechanics of city operation. He applied himself to thinking out the town's long-range problems, and when he believed he was right he went ahead regardless of political peril.

Supported by the two newspapers, Farnsley pursued a deliberate policy of desegregation. During his administration the main public library, public golf courses and the graduate schools of the University of Louisville were opened to Negroes. A Negro undergraduate school, part of the university remained for the time, however.

WITHOUT TURMOIL

When asked how he was able to accomplish these things without racial turmoil, Farnsley said, "This may sound like a politician talking, but I think the peoples' morale is good The people here don't feel put upon and mistreated. Under those circumstances it is easier to be tolerant."

From Wyatt down through the present mayor, Andrew Broaddus, progress toward total desegregation has been steady.

The University of Louisville became completely desegrated in 1952. Negro firemen were assigned to previously all-white stations. Public nursing schools were opened to Negroes. So were parks, swimming pools and the local amphitheater.

Another major factor in creating racial tolerance in Louisville has been the Catholic church.

For years the church has held racially mixed meetings. Through the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Felix Pitt, it sought repeal of the day law forbidding the teaching of racially mixed classes in public schools.

Father Pitt, whose family moved to Kentucky in 1800, is head of the Catholic school board here. The Catholic schools were desegregated in 1955.

An indication of white-Negro goodwill here is what happened when the University of Louisville and the city's Negro college were merged.

Dr. Philip Davidson, university president, was asked why the Negro school was closed.

"We are interested," he said, "only in providing the best education possible. We closed the Negro college because it was costing too much money and had too low a caliber of instruction."

When the Supreme Court struck down compulsory public school segregation, Louisville's city fathers promptly announced they accepted the decision as the law of the land.

Almost as soon as the court's decision was read, Louisville embarked on an intensive, two-year program of education for integration, using teachers, parent-teachers associations and other opinion making groups to pave the way.

The real test of whether the community was ready for integration came when summer schools were integrated last summer. There wasn't a peep out of anybody, at least none worth noting.

Finally, last Sept. 4, the Jefferson County schools opened on an integrated basis. The city schools followed suit Sept. 10.

Integration under the Louisville plan was not compulsory. If parents objected to their children attending mixed schools they were permitted to apply for transfer so their children could attend predominantly white or Negro schools.

As things now stand, only 20 of the city's 73 public schools serve one race, and that is chiefly because the surrounding neighborhoods are either exclusively white or Negro.

Throughout the gradual integration process, Louisville's leading white businessmen generally supported the elected officials and the newspapers.

U. S. Negro Descended From Civilized World Says Life

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 8-31-56

In the first of a proposed series of five articles dealing with the history of the patterns of segregation in the southern part of the United States, the September 3rd issue of Life Magazine makes it clear that the forebears of the American Negro were not members of "primitive societies."

Investigating the Ashantis, from many American slaves were descended, the Life research teams found that as early as 170 years ago (at the height of the slave trade,) these people had "a complex government structure—a well defined system of taxation, courts of law and an army—and a well developed priesthood."

The Ashanti civilization "differed greatly from the European of the American ideal, but it was not for that reason inferior," the Life historians conclude.

During the period of the slave trade some twenty million Negroes were captured to be sold. Millions of them died in the dark holds of the slave ships and were dumped into the sea like so much carrion. Of those who survived, about two million were landed in what is now the United States. Another twelve million were carried to Latin America. Fully a third of the human cargo who were placed aboard the slave ships in chains on the African coast, never reached the New World alive.

The African slave was "not a weakling or a cull," says the Life article, "but a warrior who had been taken in battle, or an outspoken man who had somehow offended his tribal superiors."

The magazine says that it will show all sides of the issue "hoping to provide the opportunity for understanding a vexing, complex issue whose manner of settlement can shape the nations life for generations to come."

Negroes Victim Of Squeeze, Magazine Survey Reveals

Daily World Fri. 9-21-56 Atlanta, Ga.

NEW YORK — The U. S. Negro is caught in an economic trap which has dominated his life and had major effect on national population patterns for half a century. The Southern Negro's fifty-year struggle to get out from under the deadly cycle of poor land, competition from poor whites, and poor education is told in the current (September 24) issue of Life magazine. P. 6

The article points out that since 1900 there have been two major Negro migrations—large numbers moved, within the South, from farm to city. The reasons for the moves have been primarily economic.

"The social unpleasantness of segregation have no doubt influenced many to leave the South, but the majority have moved in search of better livelihood," Life says.

PRESSURE OF POOR FARMLAND

Rural Negroes have always lived on bad farmland in the South from which it has become increasingly difficult to make a living. In 1954 the median cash income of Negro farm families in the South was $742, whereas that of white farm families was $1516. But when the Negro leaves his poor farmland and moves to a Southern city he encounters massive competition from rural whites who have also moved off the land in search of factory jobs.

"Employers will not hire a Negro for any job if there is a white man available for the same," Life says. "Even if discrimination in employment based solely on color were set aside, the Negro still could not compete with the white. Functional illiterates (the term for adults with less than fifth-grade education) are three times more common among young Southern Negroes than among young Southern whites. Moreover, such schooling as the Negro does receive generally is far inferior to that received by whites."

DIFFICULT IN NORTH TOO

Failing to find a satisfactory job in a Southern city, the Negro moves North. There he finds it easier to get a job, but the job is still usually on the common-labor level. Northern employers do not have the South's great pool of underemployed white farm labor to draw upon, and in the past 15 years have had great need for the unskilled and semi-skilled labor which the Negro can supply.

"But the proportion of Negroes who reach the top of the ladder in the North is scarcely higher than that in the South. In comparison to the total of 8.5 per cent of Negroes who rise to become 'managers, officials, proprietors, craftsmen and foremen' in the South the figure in the North is 10 per cent," the Life article says.

ONE-TENTH OF U. S.

The Negro population has constituted one-tenth of the overall U. S. population since 1900. In 1900, however, 85 per cent of all U. S. Negroes lived in the South, and of these, three-fourths lived in rural areas. Today only 63 per cent of all U. S. Negroes live in the South and of these, only half live in rural areas.

In 1900 Negroes exceeded 40 per cent of the population in six Southern states. Now they exceed 40 per cent in only one state—Mississippi (44 per cent). The ratio of Negroes to whites has decreased in all Southern states, and is increasing today only in certain Northern states, such as New York and Illinois, which receive heavy migration from the South. Of the six million Negroes who live in the North today 2.8 million were born in the South.

Story of Segregation in U.S. Today Began Centuries Ago, States Life Magazine

Bystander Thurs. 9-6-56
Des Moines Iowa P. 1

New York,—The story of segregation in the U. S. in 1956 begins three centuries ago in Africa. Out of that continent, in chains, came the ancestors of nearly all the 16 million Negroes who live in the U. S. today.

How slavery developed in Africa and reached out to the New World to become a major source of economic and moral concern to America by the time of the Civil War is the subject of the first in a major LIFE Magazine series on "the background of segregation." Subsequent articles in the five-part series will examine the developing picture of Negro-White relations and the patterns of living in segregated society.

Through paintings and photographs the current (September 3) issue of LIFE explores the growth of slavery and looks at the cultural life and physical environment which were the background of the Negro slaves coming to this country.

Only Two Million

During the entire period of the slave trade, some 20 million Negroes were made captive. Many of them died before reaching the New World. Altogether perhaps two million were landed alive in what is now the U. S. and another 12 million in Latin America.

Throughout the slave trade, African chiefs and kings eagerly supplied the market. The kingdoms of Dahomey, Benin and Ashanti were primary sources.

"The African kings obtained their captives largely through wars which they instituted for the purpose, but used other means as well. They enslaved members of their own tribes for various offenses, including debt, and frequently kidnapped their neighbors. The average slave as a rult was not a weakling or a cull, but a warrior who had been taken in battle or an outspoken man who had somehow offended his tribal superiors."

Slavery Normal

When the first European explorers pushed down the West Coast of Africa in the 15th and 16th centuries, they found slavery widely established in a huge region stretching for 4,000 miles along the seaboard. Slavery was, and for many years had been, a normal condition for native life.

The first Europeans to engage in the slave trade were the Portuguese and Spanish, who as early as 1517 were carrying slaves to work in the colonies in the Caribbean. By 1700 the trade had become hugely profitable. Other nations entered the field —the English, the Dutch and the French. Beginning about 1720, Americans heavily entered the trade. By 1786 the trade had reached its maximum, the bulk of it carried in American and English ships.

Not Primitive People

In its study of African tribal life during the slavery era LIFE shows the Ashanti people who today still display some aspects of the native culture existing 170 years ago during

The Ashanti had a non-literate but not properly "primitive" society. There was a complex government structure headed by a king, beneath whom there were paramount chiefs and subchiefs down to the heads of individual compounds. There was a well-defined system of taxation; there were courts of law and an army. Pologamy was practiced among the Ashanti by those who could afford it. Religion was polytheistic and had a highly developed priesthood. The principal occupation was farming and the principal crop yams, which grow which differed greatly from the European or American ideal but was not for that reason inferior. The description of them as 'naked savages,' often used by slave traders trying to justify themselves, yas not true," LIFE says.

Yankee slave traders sometimes argued that, since the slaves were already slaves at the time of purchase, their lot would be improved by transportation to the more "civilized" New World. But, according to LIFE, the reverse was actually true. African slaves had many rights—they could marry, possess property, own slaves themselves and even become heirs to their masters.

Scope of Series

In an introduction to the segregation background series LIFE indicates its articles will follow the evolution of segregation from its origins to its manifestations among "separate but equal" citizens of the modern South. The magazine says that while the focus is necessarily on the South, "where segregation under the sanction of local law is creating the immediate problem," the northern aspect of segreagtion, extralegal but still powerful as a social force, will be considered in a subsequent series.

The magazine says it will show "all sides of the issue," hoping to provide "the opportunity for understanding a vexing, complex issue whose manner of settlement can shape the nation's life for generations to come."

"Although the ground that is to be covered in the series is not wholly new to Americans, it is unfamiliar as a subject of moderate and unprejudiced consideration," LIFE says. "At home, the issue of segregation occupies the most careful attention of abundantly in the forest clearings. Handicrafts, particularly weaving, were well developed among the Ashanti.

"The Ashanti had a civilization the major political parties. Abroad it commands the grave, often perplexed attention of the free world and a gloating, know-nothing attention from Communists. The problem is too enmeshed in American history, too laden with emotion and the heritage of emotions, to make easy settlement possible. But precisely for this reason, understanding is the more necessary."

After 100 Years: a Dearth of Aframerican Immortals

Courier Magazine p.2

Has Our Tradition Waned in 'Dying' West?

By Ric Roberts

Pittsburgh, Pa.

WHEN Dr. Ralph J. Bunche received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950 (the final year of the fifth decade of this century) the shadowy skies of racialism still hovered over Washington, D. C.; so the next chapter of the Bunche saga naturally lapsed as the brilliant international draftsman spurned a Department of State Under-Secretaryship, grabbed his family and, post-haste, scurried to New York City, N. Y. Ever since, his singular gifts have been buried within the labyrinthine intricacies of United Nations.

4-14-56

The deprecation was dramatically in evidence, some weeks ago, when, for the first time in 100 years, a mid-decade roll call was sounded without at least one American of African ancestry listed among "The 100 Most Important People on Earth."

DR. BUNCHE
. . . slight eclipse

Decade by decade, since 1950, our candidates would have included Richard Allen, Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Robert Rillieux. Col. Charles Young, Edward Everett Just, George W. Carver and Ralph J. Bunche, respectively. Today, halfway through the sixth decade of the twentieth century, we find thirty white Americans listed among the "100 Most Important People" by LOOK magazine, without a solitary reference to any person of African ancestry.

Of course, no epoch is intelligible to its contemporary beings, but must be seen in the distance as a whole, like a magnificent mountain. Hence, Look's choices, like the choices of wise men of previous years, may not be entitled to nomination for enduring fame; the next decade may make of some of them a ridiculed absurdity.

Remember, ten years ago, Chiang Kai-shek and Josef Stalin were insuperable components of a similar listing, selected by the same magazine.

All of the foregoing leads to a graver observation: the world population of living men whose deeds seem to have the best chance to live in history, at this hour, is thinner than it has palpably been, in the West, since the successors of Charles Martel peaked in Charlemagne, 1150 years ago!

Just a few years ago, Thomas Edison, Sigmund Freud, Albert Einstein, Henry Ford, Luther Burbank, Louis Brandeis,

TREASURE TROVE

Alexander Graham Bell, Booker T. Washington, Mohandas Gandhi, Leo Tolstoy, Pierre and Madame Curie and George Washington Carver were among us: thirteen souls whose legendary contributions to the establishment of civilization will survive the centuries.

Today, turning our heads in search for their successors, among the living, we modestly suggest the names of Dr. Jonas Salk, 40; Denmark's Niels Bohr, 69; China's Liu Sho-chi, 57; India's Jawaharlal Nehru; England's Winston Churchill (who will blur Ike's role), and Harry S. Truman!

The retreat of man and the advance of the terror of his own nuclear discoveries, since Enrico Fermi's 1938 experiments, seem to indicate that the historical coroner is on safe ground to continue asserting that Western civilization has already passed its peak; that the imperishable treasures laid on the altar of civilization, by the West, between the years 1775 and 1914, will never be duplicated by humankind, even unto the most remote and "last" human generation.

Does dimunition of totals of the obviously great indicate that the West is in slow descent or is this merely the pause between the titanic strokes of propul-

DR. SALK
. . . pied piper

MR. TRUMAN
. . . undying fame

sion that lead to an eventual superhuman species, living in a superworld?

Greatness has deserted us, minority-wise, as well as nationally and globally. Thrice before, in the ebb and flow of Western Civilization, the coroner left vivid the ever-increasing tones of shadowy skies and night. Are Negroes to be identified with the lapse or will they bring the stranded galleons back to port: as the enslaved Israelites did, in the eighth century, B. C.; as the underdog Christians did, in A. D. 313; as the underdog Pilgrims did, in 1819?

Look Magazine's Articles Reveal Frightful Policies

Globe p. 1 pic. 4-13-56

Nashville, Tenn.

In Addition, How Mississippi Has Caused Young Business Man To Flee With Family To Chicago After Losing His Business Worth $25,000, Gets An Airing; Fear Of Negroes Getting Right To Vote Brings Reprisals; Unusual Reaction In School Fight Disclosed

The South is portrayed as a child in a maturing world but is actually maturing, in one of the articles published by LOOK Magazine of April 3. The series of articles are captioned "The South vs the Supreme Court." Most of the articles picture the South doing better than ever before in handling its race question and reveals that the section has been greatly helped in its advance toward "nationalism" as a result of its advance from a one-crop status to an area of diversified industries.

But a powerful minority in the South that blatantly is resisting the Supreme Court ruling on segregation in schools, it is indicated, may halt the coming of industries into the South. This is because the Northern industrialists seeking to escape the restrictions which radical labor barons are inflicting on Northern industry, will not likely continue coming South, if they find there is a big increase in racial trouble.

One article refers to the "legal tricks to circumvent the law," but says these will fail and the South will eventually have to abide by the Supreme Court, but at present there are indications that the situation may get worse before it gets better, largely because of the intemperance of some of the South's leaders, especially Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

The opening paragraph of one of the articles is as follows:

"A crisis faces the nation today that is a crisis of law, as civilixed people have and of people who live under law, as cvilized people have to live. The law, as the U. S. Supreme Court has twice laid it down, is clear. Just as clear as is defiance of the law by millions of Southern citizens for whom Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi speaks. The crisis is created by this defiance.

Reference is made to the states that have gone far in taking steps to defy the authority of the Federal Government. They are Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia which have passed stand-by laws intended to stop maintaining public schools. Virginia is proposing a Constitutional amendment to effect nullification of the Supreme Court edict or use the harder-handed bread and butter pressure of the deeper South.

The article after revealing how such states as Alabama, Georgia Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina are fixing officially to disobey the law on segregation and insist upon States' Rights, asks this question:

Nashville Ten.

"How can they do it? How can they hope to counter Article VI, Clause 2 which says: "This Constitution and the laws of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land . . . anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary, notwithstanding?"

It is revealed that the effective pressure of imposing threats to deprive Negroes of their jobs and forcing signers of petitions favorable to the NAACP are now being used. Colored persons who have once signed petitions for desegregation of schools are being forced to withdraw their signatures.

MOST DRASTIC ACTION

One of the most drastic actions already taken to deprive a colored person of his job and his business has been that visited upon James Evers, now in Chicago who lived in Philadelphia, Miss. The 33 year old Evers is a brother of Medger Evers, Mississippi field secretary of the NAACP. The press says the following about young Evers' plight.

"Three years ago, Evers was a prosperous young business man. He owned an undertaking establishment, a hotel, two cafes and the town's only taxi line for Negroes. NOW ALL THAT IS GONE, and Evers is in Chicago, saying he wants a job. He was forced to flee from Mississippi with his wife and three small girls. All this, because Evers, a radio jockey on radio station WOC in his home town,

urged Negroes in Mississippi to try to vote.

Evers had his taxi licenses revoked: the lease on his cafeteria was concelled: advertisers on his radio show quit patronizing it: and the sponsors were forced to give up the show: guests in Ever's hotel were warned that the building might be blown up.

BURIAL SOCIETY BROKEN UP

Negroes who were members of his burial society were told to give up their policies or else they would lose their jobs. Mrs. Evers, while driving in one of her husband's hearses was struck from the side by a car driven by a white man, who admitted he was guilty. The matter would have ended there but pressure was brought on the white man and he had to file suit against Evers. The white man got judgmentfor $500.

Next, one of Evers' cars struck a vehicle driven by a white woman. When the police chief arrived on the scene the woman said the Evers' car was standing still when it was struck. But the chief and the town's mayor would have none of these confessions. Evers was fined $84 for reckless driving and the mayor then and there declared no Negro in Mississippi was fit to vote.

Evers found it impossible to borrow $4,000 to save his business valued at more than $25,000. The FBI reported it could not find enough evidence to "warrant any action." And the NAACP has said it has been unable to get action in the case.

In Chicago, Rev. A. Lincoln James is trying to find Evers a job. Evers himself says: "All I want is a job—any kind of job. He is a graduate of of Alabama A&M College" All. this was information credited to the Chicago Defender.

It proves what the articles in LOOK says—that it is FEAR that motivates the harsh treatment colored people are getting in the Deep South. Persons far away from the scene can understand, therefore, why Negroes in this area find it futile to "stand up for their rights" like Negroes in civilized sections of the country. But it proves, also, that sooner than is expected, Uncle Sam must take action or abandon any pretense of being a "great democracy," worthy of emulation by other nations of the world.

And so, we shall see what we shall see.

Look Magazine Editor States His Opinion

Call Fri. 6-15-56 Kansas City, Mo.

NEW YORK. — (ANP) — After a personal survey of Negro segregation in the North, a white Southern-born editor reported that the Northern Negro "often lives a life that is, in fact, more segregated than that of the Negro in the South."

Look Magazine editor George Leonard, a native of Atlanta, Ga., disclosed in an article published in the new issue of Look, that "there's a big gap between the law of the North, which grants the Negro equality; and reality, which confines him to a "Negro ghetto."

Citing Philadelphia, as a case in point, Leonard found that Negroes there attend all Negro schools, are taught by Negro teachers, play and associate exclusively with Negro neighbors and are refused housing in non-Negro sections of town. All this occurs, Mr. Leonard found, in spite of a local "Commission on Human Relations," which fights discrimination, and a Fair Employment Practices Act, which makes discrimination in employment illegal.

Leonard quotes an unidentified Southerner in his Look article as saying, "too many Northerners talk integration and act segregation. What's needed up here is a mirror that shows bigots. A lot of Yankees couldn't look into that mirror without seeing themselves."

"In Philadelphia, as in any Northern city," Leonard said in Look, "life for a Negro is like walking through a mine field. He may get through unscathed, but when he least expects it, his world may explode."

"Whereas, in the South, a Negro's limitations are clearly defined by law and custom, in the North he lives with only a hazy idea of where the limitations lie."

"Segregation in the North does not stop in private housing," Leonard continued. "Public housing projects often go all Negro simply because there are so many Negroes requiring shelter."

"The Negro citizen outside of the South," Leonard said, "looks into the unmasked face of Jim Crow when he tries to find a place to live. Most suburbs are closed to him. When he succeeds in buying a house in a white urban neighborhood, the white residents generally move away in panic. He is left the colored district of the village, the great center of the city."

Leonard indicates that Negroes in the North are thankful for the laws and the commissions working against segregation and discrimination. "But they know in their hearts that they are not yet really free, and will never be free until they can put their money on the line and buy or rent a house in the neighborhood of their choice."

"We can buy a Cadillac or a Brooks Brothers suit," Negroes say with regret, "but we can't buy a home. Our money's just no good."

Says Negroes In North Also Discriminated Against

World Fri. 6-15-56 Tulsa, Okla. P.4

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Look Magazine Publishes What It Has Found Out

Globe P.1 Fri. 6-22-56 Nashville, Tenn.

But Hold On There Before Making Up Your Mind On The Burning Issue; The Publication Confesses It Got Its Editor Right Down In Dixie; George Leonard Went Searching And Found Plenty Jim Crow Practices; Says They Have Ghettos Up There (As If You Didn't Know It Already)

New York, June 11—After a personal survey of Negro segregation in the North, a white Southern-born editor reported today that the Northern Negro "often lives a life that is, in fact, more segregated than that of the Negro in the South."

Look Magazine editor George Leonard, a native of Atlanta, Ga., disclosed in an article published in the new issue of Look, that "there's a big gap between the law of the North, which grants the Negro equality; and reality, which confines him to "a Negro ghetto."

Citing Philadelphia, as a case in point, Mr. Leonard found that Negroes there attend all Negro schools, are taught by Negro teachers, play and associate exclusively with Negro neighbors and are refused housing in non-Negro sections of town. All this occurs, Mr. Leonard found, in spite of a local "Commission on Human Relations," which fights discrimination, and a Fair Employment Practices act, which makes discrimination in employment illegal.

Mr. Leonard quotes an unidentified Southerner in his Look article as saying, "too many Northerners talk integration and act segregation. What's needed up here is a mirror that shows bigots. A lot of Yankees couldn't look into that mirror without seeing themselves."

"In Philadelphia, as in any Northern City," Mr. Leonard said in Look "life for a Negro is like walking through a mine field. He may get through unscratched, but when he least expects it, his world may explode."

"Whereas, in the South, a Negro's limitations are clearly defined by law and custom, in the North he lives with only a hazy idea of where the limitations lie."

Globe

"Segregation in the North does not stop in private housing," Mr. Leonard continued. "Public housing projects often go all Negro simply because there are so many Negroes requiring shelter."

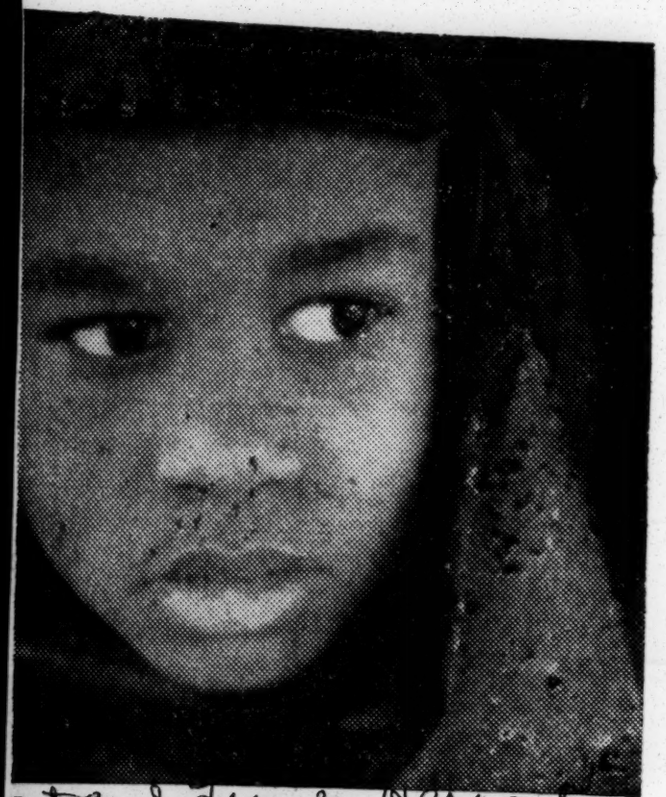
P.4

"The Negro citizen outside of the South," Mr. Leonard said, "looks into the unmasked face of Jim Crow when he tries to find a place to live. Most suburbs are closed to him. When he succeeds in buying a house in a white urban neighborhood, the white residents generally move away in panic. He is left the colored district of the village, the great centers of the city."

Mr. Leonard indicates that Negroes in the North are thankful for the laws and the commissions working against segregation and discrimination. "But they know in their hearts that they are not yet really free, and will never be free until they can put their money on the line and buy or rent a house in the neighborhood of their choice."

"We can buy a Cadillac or a Brooks Brother suit," Negroes say with regret, "but we can't buy a home. Our money's just no good."

LOOK MAGAZINE



SEGREGATED IN THE NORTH

You've read about segregation in the South. Now LOOK Magazine brings you the full story of segregation in the NORTH. See, through LOOK's brilliant photographs, how a typical Negro family in the North faces racial prejudice in every day living.

Sat. 6-16-56
Today—get

LOOK

Louisiana Outlaws All Race Mixing

Defender 7/1
Chicago Ill.
Sat. 7-14-56

BATON ROUGE, La. — Sports circles in Louisiana were faced this week with the likely prospect of complete isolation as reliable sources predicted that Gov. Earl K. Long would give his approval to a bill banning all interracial competition in the state, professional and amateur.

The bill passed unanimously by the Louisiana house and senate, would outlaw mixing of the races at "dances, social functions, entertainments, athletic training, games, sports or contests, or such other activities involving personal and social contacts."

Seriously affected by the bill would be the athletic teams of Louisiana State university, the annual Sugar Bowl game and the Shreveport (La.) team of the class AA Texas league.

Under the proposed measure, LSU could not carry out its plans to play football games against schools in the Big 10, many of which use Negro players. Nor could teams with Negro players engage in the post-season Sugar Bowl event.

Major league baseball teams, which have been playing exhibition games in Louisiana each spring, would be forced to by-pass the state.

A last-minute amendment to the bill would make it effective Oct. 15, thus giving the Shreveport baseball team opportunity to finish its schedule for the current season.

But presumably Shreveport would have no Texas league opponents next year since most of the other teams in the league — Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth — have Negro players. Shreveport also uses Negro players, who would not be allowed to return after this season.

The ban on racial mixing in sports is clear-cut, but already questions have been raised over how the bill would affect integration in education, especially in Catholic schools.

Tentative plans for integration of parochial schools in the state have met with bitter opposition from the legislature. In Louisiana, predominantly Catholic, most of the funds for parochial schools are provided by the state.

Defender

Further confusion on this point is raised by the fact that the bill does not apply to religious functions and would bring about the need for court interpretation of whether parochial schools would classify as a "religious function."

Although professional interracial boxing matches have not been promoted in the state, amateurs have trained and boxed in bi-racial matches. Under provisions of the bill, such practices would be outlawed.

Sat. 7-14-56

No one would venture an opinion concerning the measure's effect on Negro students at Louisiana State, where several hundred graduate students are currently attending classes. Some of the Negro students live in dormitories, and might be forced to find off-campus housing.

The bill requires the use of separate seating, drinking water and sanitary facilities at any event which is attended by Negroes and whites.

There is much public sentiment against the bill in Louisiana, and Gov. Long has been beseiged by telegrams urging him to veto the measure.

Even should the bill be enacted into law, there is every indication that a determined fight will be waged to have it declared unconstitutional.

Sports Racial Bill Is Signed By Gov. Long

Herald Tribune
New York
Tues. 7-17-56

BATON ROUGE, July 16 (AP). —Gos. Earl Long today signed a bill banning inter-racial athletic contests and social activities in Louisiana. The bill takes effect Oct. 15.

Long said, "The comment I've had over the state has run about 4 to 1 in favor of the bill. I'm going along with the majority that I've heard from.

The new law will prohibit "dancing, social functions, entertainments, athletic training, games, sports or contests and other such activities involving personal and social contacts in which the participants or contestants are members of the white and Negro races."

The Sugar Bowl and the Texas League joined forces during the week in urging Long to veto the bill. Both said it would hurt their programs. A Negro player, fullback Bobby Grier, of Pittsburgh, took part in this year's Sugar Bowl football game against Georgia Tech. Several Sugar Bowl basketball tournaments teams had Negro players.

One Louisiana team, Shreveport, is a member of the Class AA Texas League. Although Shreveport has no Negro players, most of the other teams do use Negroes.

Louisiana Bars Move To Lift Race Sports Law

Daily Herald
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 7-14-56

BATON ROUGE, La., — (INS)— The Louisiana House of Representative killed a move today to exempt the annual Sugar Bowl festivities in New Orleans from a new law prohibiting interracial activities and it was predicted by the man who led the Sugar Bowl fight that the great football classic "was doomed."

The proposed exemption was introduced by rep. George Tussier of New Orleans who said that without the amendment the mid-winter sports carnival could not continue to operate.

* * *

Shortly after the exemption was introduced, Rep. Wellborn Jack, of Shreveport, moved that the entire subject matter be tabled, declaring "My Children are not going to School with Negroes."

Tussier objected to Jack's motion, saying that the bill would "maintain segregation."

Jack answered:

"I make this motion under my way of life. I demand a rollcall vote and history will record how each legislator stands."

The final vote was 64-16 in favor of killing the bill. Sugar Bowl officials made an exerted attempt to win approval of the clause making it possible for Negroes and whites to participate in the same sport functions in New Orleans only. They pointed out that the major broadcasting companies could not obtain a sponsor for the Sugar Bowl coming up because of the bill and said the revenue loss from a national broadcast would make it impossible to maintain even a strictly southern major attraction.

Mixed Athletic Contests Banned

Democracy Slugged Again By Louisiana Legislature

Weekly
New Orleans, La.
Sat. 7-7-56

Baton Rouge, La.- (Special to The Weekly)- Jim Crow with the Pelican State law-makers in his corner, floored democracy, when a Senate Committee voted unanimous approval of a bill outlawing athletic contests in Louisiana between Negroes and Whites, here Monday morning.

The Louisiana House passed the bill earlier 71-0.

The bill which was introduced by Rep. Lawrence Gibbs of Monroe, prohibits all "interracial dancing , social functions, entertainment, sports and other activities" and make mandatory separate seating for white and Negro fans.

The bill does not become effective until October 15, 1956.

The bill will knock out Louisiana State University's plans to go ahead with football games against any Big Ten Schools which have Negro players.

The measure will affect the Sugar Bowl games and seating arrangements in New Orleans and would hit Shreveport, La., which has a team in the Texas baseball League which uses Negro players.

The October date when the bill goes into effect will permit the Shreveport team to complete the season.

Sen. Ted Hickey of New Orleans said this was the only segregation measure of the session he had been asked to oppose.

Weekly 7/7

According to Hickey, "New Orleans will be hit hard by this bill."

Sat. 7-7-56

The Sugar Bowl ended segregation seating for the New Year's day football game at New Orleans in 1955 when Mississippi met Navy and last Jan. 1, Pittsburgh played the first Negro (Bobby Crier) in the Sugar Bowl History against Georgia Tech.

The bill prevents Negro and white boxes from working out together, a practicw which is common in New Orleans.

The measure was a slap in the face to the LSU Board of Supervisors. Three times, the Board has refused to insert a "color clause" in its contracts to prohibit playing Negro athletes.

Now that LSU will not be permitted to play against Negroes at home, it is almost certain that the Tigers could not meet them on the road.

Therefore, it is expected that LSU will not participate in the NCAA national events such as the basketball tournament and track meets and will not permit any Tiger Athlete to vie in Olympic competition.

Reliable sources here hinted that Gov. Earl K. Long may veto the measure when it is presented to him. It was also reported that the various groups affected by the measure, plan to roll up their sleeves, pitch in and see what legal action can be taken against the bill.

With the fans boycotting baseball teams in New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Lake Charles and Lafayette due to the fact the four clubs do not have Negro players on their rosters, the boycott fever is high and is expected to spread with the passing of the bill. Therefore, a sharp decline in Negro attendance at sport events is being geared.

Race Leaders Sleep!

Courier P.2

Louisiana May Nullify Civil Rights Lawsuits

Sat. 9-15-56 Pittsburgh, Pa. P.2

38a

By JOHN E. ROUSSEAU

NEW ORLEANS—White Citizens' Councils kept a jump ahead of Louisiana's lethargic Negro political leaders by beginning an "educational" program and urging white voters to support two proposed amendments in the November election which would keep Negroes in a second-class citizenship status. Literature sent WCC members quoted a plea by Dixiecrat leader Leander H. Perez for support of Amendments 47 and 48.

Amendment 47, explained in the Courier last week, would create legal delays amounting to 205 days before a person denied vote registration could seek a remedy in the state court. This court's decision would be final and would not be subject to an appeal.

Amendment 48 would make many commissions, boards, bodies and municipal corporations "special agencies of the state of Louisiana" and thus make the state a party in any court action taken against any agency.

■

INCLUDED AS "special agencies" are the State Parks Commission, the Recreation and Park Commission for East Baton Rouge; all receation districts; any municipal corporation, parish or subdivision of the state in matters respecting the operation or maintenance of parks and other recreational facilities or in connection with any rule or regulation applicable thereto.

Others included are the State Board of Education, the Board of Supervisors of Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, the parish school boards of each of the parishes in the state, the school boards of Monroe, Lake Charles and Bogalusa; the state superintendent of public education in his capacity as well as in the capacity of ex-officio secretary of the State Board of Education, and also the State Board of Education.

Then, Amendment 48 provides, "The consent of the state of Louisiana to suits or legal proceedings against any of the above listed special agencies, (however heretofore given) is hereby expressly withdrawn and no suit or proceeding shall be permitted except as provided in this section.

■

"THIS WITHDRAWAL of consent to suits and legal proceedings shall apply not only to suits and legal proceedings filed in the future but also to any pending suits or legal procedure."

Thus, under Amendment 48, the state of Louisiana would withdraw its consent to suits against school boards, recreational commissions and other groups which generally operate under programs of racial segregation and discrimination.

While this attempt to abrogate the rights of Louisiana minorities is a clear violation of Article I of the United States Constitution which provides no law shall be made to prohibit the petitioning of the government for redress of grievances, not one single Negro political leader has pointed out to his constituents the evils and injustices of Amendments 47 and 48.

Sugar Bowl Bid to Ease Bias Law Rejected by Louisiana Legislature

Times Sat. 9-1-56 P.6-C

Amendment Would Have Permitted New Orleans Festival to Have Unsegregated Seating and Teams With Negroes

New York

BATON ROUGE, La., Aug. 31 (UP)—Louisiana legislators today killed a proposal that would have allowed unsegregated athletic contests in New Orleans. In doing so they rejected a plea by a former football star who said that the action would doom the Sugar Bowl sports festival.

The plea was made by Representative Georgi Tessier of New Orleans, who played football for Tulane University. He introduced a bill that would have eased some of the restrictions imposed by a law approved at the 1956 session of the Legislature. The law prohibits athletic contests involving members of different races.

Mr. Tessier was a guard on the Tulane teams of 1932-33-34. He played for Tulane in the Sugar Bowl game on Jan. 1, 1935.

"Without this additional provision," Mr. Tessier told the legislators, "the Sugar Bowl as it exists today is doomed to death. We are not asking you to repeal the racial ban except for New Orleans. We ask only to add a section permitting the Sugar Bowl to continue. We ask only for permission to live."

Mr. Tessier was backed in sponsoring the proposal at the request of the Sugar Bowl by Representatives Nicholas J. Lapara and Lucien T. Vivien Jr., also of New Orleans.

Under Mr. Tessier's proposal, which was killed when House members voted 67 to 15 to table it, inter-racial athletics would have been permitted in cities of more than 300,000 population. It would have affected only New Orleans, where the Sugar Bowl and Tulane and Loyola Universities are located.

The proposal would have maintained segregated seating everywhere in stadiums and auditoriums except for specific blocks of seats sold out-of-state by visiting teams to Sugar Bowl events.

The law that Mr. Tessier sought to amend goes into effect Oct. 15.

Paul Deblanc, president of the Sugar Bowl, had no comment after the bill was killed. He had been at the legislature trying to get support for the measure.

When Mr. Tessier introduced the bill, Representative Wellborn Jack of Shreveport, jumped to his feet and said the bill would cause unrest and bad feeling between the races.

"We passed this segregation bill 100 per cent," he said. "I want to kill it without engendering bad feeling. I make my motion under my way of life to table the entire subject matter. That is my motion and I ask the people to vote on it and it will be recorded in history how they voted."

Robert Angelle, speaker of the House, ruled Mr. Jack's tabling motion out of order without a suspension of rules. However, Mr. Jack easily won a suspension to permit his motion despite Mr. Tessier's objections.

The Sugar Bowl had asked Gov. Earl Long to give them a chance at a special session to have sections of the law reconsidered. Governor Long agreed, but said he was keeping hands off and would do whatever the legislature wanted.

Notre Dame, Dayton and St. Louis universities have withdrawn from the Sugar Bowl basketball tournament at New Orleans in December, and other teams have advised officials they will not be available for invitations to any of the events.

New Orleans Jaycee Says Bias Views Cost Him Job

Blames Dismissal On Opposing Segregation

Daily World
Atlanta Ga.

NEW ORLEANS — (INS) — A New Orleans Chamber of Commerce executive charged yesterday he was fired from his job because he opposes segregation.

F.M. 3-30-56

Robert D. Barnes, former editor of the Chamber of Commerce Weekly News Bulletin, said another factor in his dismissal was his membership on the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

P.3 8a

* * * *

The fund, directed by James Dombrowski, has been investigated by Congressional committees for possible Communist ties.

Barnes said in a statement that the fund has been "cleared of any evidence of wrong doing" each time it has been investigated.

He added: "This dismissal is a blow at the basic right of every individual to think for himself—an effort to intimidate those who sincerely believe that the days of segregation and discrimination are numbered."

* * * *

Whittaker Riggs, executive vice president of the Chamber of Commerce, said it was "damn presumptive" of anyone to think Barnes was fired for any of the reasons listed in the statement. He said, "Mr. Barnes left this morning by mutual consent." Riggs refused to comment further.

Robert W. Elsasser, president of the Chamber of Commerce, said he had no comment and referred newsmen to Riggs.

Barnes is the second New Orleans man in recent days to charge that his dismissal stemmed from the heated segregation controversy.

Herman Liveright was fired as program director for WDSU-TV on March 20 after he refused to tell the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security whether or not he is or ever has been a Communist.

Liveright, who refused to reply on the grounds that the committee had no right to pry into his personal beliefs, said he believed pro-segregation forces in the New Orleans area engineered his appearance before the committee.

The committee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D) Miss., is scheduled to hold hearings on alleged subversive activity in New Orleans next Thursday and Friday. The subpoenas have been sent out. One of them was received by Betty Liveright, wife of the fired TV executive.

* * * * *

Mrs. Liveright, who said today she was suspended from her job at WDSU because of her husband's appearance before the committee, said she was "shocked and outraged" at receiving the subpoena.

Another person subpoenaed was a former restaurant worker, Pitts O'Dell. He has not been located by investigators. It has not been disclosed who received the other eight subpoenas.

Segregation Foe Forced To Resign

Daily World
Thurs. 3-29-56
Atlanta Ga.

SHREVEPORT, La. — (INS) — A Shreveport probation officer who wrote letters to local newspapers in support of integration resigned his post Wednesday under pressure from the Caddo Parish police jury.

Chief probation officer Louis Rains said his resignation was requested by the police jury's juvenile committee in a special meeting

The police jury which direct supervision over rains' office, has publicly supported the interposition movement to maintain continued segregation in the South.

Rains was invited to make a statement before he committee members after the group met in a two hour closed-door session today.

He told the committee he "may have been indiscrete" in his letter but defended his right to express an opinion.

Rains' most recent letter, which appeared in the Shreveport journal yesterday called the pro-segregation white citizens councils "twentieth century Klans and charged that murder of Negroes in Mississippi "has been made legal."

Wants Ruling On Legality Of Louisiana Segregation Law

Informer Houston Tex.
Sat. 4-21-56

WASHINGTON, D C (NNPA)—In an unusual proceeding, the Orleans Parish (County) School Board and James F Redmond, New Orleans superintendent of schools, Thursday asked the Supreme Court for leave to file a petition for writs of mandamus and prohibiton to compel a three-judge Federal court to pass on the constitutionality of Louisiana laws requiring racial segregation in the public schools.

P. 20

The petition asks the court to direct Judge Wayne G Borah of the Fifth United States Circuit Court of Appeals and Federal District Judges Herbert W Christenberry and J Skelly Wright to show cause why such writs should not be issued against them.

Chief Judge Joseph C Hutcheson, Jr, of the Circuit Court, designated Judges Borah and Christenberry to sit with Judge Wright as a special three-judge court to hear the suit brought by the NAACP challenging the constitutionality of the Louisiana school segregation law.

The NAACP asked for the convening of a three-judge court to hear its complaint to enjoin the Orleans Parish School Board and Supt. Redmond from enforcing racial segregation in New Orleans public schools.

The three-judge court heard oral arguments last Dec 2. On authority of the Supreme Court decisions in the school segregation cases, the three-judge court held that Louisiana laws requiring or permitting segregation in the public schools were invalid.

The three-judge court also held that no serious constitutional question was presented and a three-judge court was not required.

The two judges designated by by the Chief Judge to sit with Judge Wright withdrew trom the case with the direction that the case proceed in the District Court where it was originally filed.

Judge Wright later held the Louisiana Jim Crow laws unconstitutional and enjoined the Orleans Parish School Board and Supt Redmond from enforcing racial segregation in any school under their supervision.

The school board and Supt Redmond are now asking the Supreme Court to:

1. Order the three judges to show cause why they should not be required to decide as a three-judge court the issues raised in the suit and whether or not an injunction should be issued.

2. Order Judge Wright to expunge from the record his opinion holding the Louisiana school segregation law unconstitutional and also expunge the decree enjoining its enforcement.

3. Prohibit Judge Wright from taking any further action in the case.

The suit was a class action brought by the NAACP in behalf of colored children in New Orleans.

MIXING OF RACES IN PARKS SCORED

Times-Picayune
Thurs. 4-5-56

Recreation Leaders Prepare for Opposition

By JAY HALL
(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

BATON ROUGE, La., April 4 — Three resolutions aimed at keeping racial separation in the parks and play centers were passed here Wednesday by park and recreation officials of nine Louisiana cities.

They said the resolutions will be put up to the Legislature for enactment into state law.

The resolutions contain some of the strongest language yet observed in the legislative efforts of Southern states to maintain separate facilities for the white and Negro races.

New Orleans, La.

Unanimous Passage

Leaders from New Orleans, Monroe, Thibodaux, Baton Rouge, Zachary, Arabi, Lake Charles, Lafayette and Shreveport gave all three resolutions unanimous passage.

No. 1 proposes passage of a resolution of interposition. It also proposes that legislative action be taken to remove responsibility for noncompliance with the supreme court's "Black Monday" ruling from the individual and place it instead on the state itself.

Times Picayune

No. 2 calls for a constitutional amendment which would withdraw the consent of the state of Louisiana to be sued, or to allow any of its subdivisions to be sued, in connection with the conduct and affairs of the parks and recreation centers.

No. 3 flatly declares that separate facilities will be maintained. Moreover, it stipulates a fine or prison sentence, or both, for any individual or firm who violates the segregation principle.

P. 2

Refuse to Abide

In the interposition matter, resolution No. 1 asked wording declaring "that the sovereign state of Louisiana refuses to recognize or abide by any federal court decision or act of Congress ordering integration in the public schools, public parks or public recreational facilities in Louisiana until such time as the au-

thority of the federal government in this field is clearly established by an amendment to the constitution of the United States which shall clearly abrogate all state laws, rules and regulations having the effect of segregating the members of the white and colored races in such matters."

It also asked for a companion measure "in order to protect state and public officials from federal contempt proceedings or civil suits in the exercise of their duties under the above resolution."

The companion piece would direct "any public official involved not to comply with any federal court order or act of Congress directing integration in such matters, under pain of fine, imprisonment, or removal from office, and to provide that the state of Louisiana shall hold such state and public officials free from loss or damage in the premises, such legislation to have the effect of placing the responsibility for noncompliance directly upon the sovereign state of Louisiana, rather than upon any particular individual."

The constitutional amendment asked for in resolution No. 2 contains this paragraph:

Consent Is Withdrawn

"The consent of the state of Louisiana to be sued in connection with the conduct and affairs of the state parks commission of Louisiana, the recreation and park commission for the whole of the parish of East Baton Rouge and any recreation district created under the terms of article XIV . . . as heretofore given by provisions of this constitution or legislative enactment is hereby expressly withdrawn. This withdrawal of consent shall apply not only to suits filed in the future but also to any pending litigation."

Then followed wording which would "expressly" withdraw the consent of the state to the institution of suits against any "municipal corporation, parish or other subdivision of the state" in respect to the operation or maintenance of parks and other recreational facilities.

Resolution No. 3 declares, "All public parks, recreation centers, playgrounds, community centers and other such facilities at which swimming, dancing, golfing, skating or other recreational activities are conducted shall be operated separately for members of the white and colored races.

"This shall not preclude mixed audiences at such facilities provided special sections and rest room facilities are reserved for members of the white and colored races."

Punitive Clause

The punitive clause states, "Any person, firm or corporation violating any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction therefor by a court of competent jurisdiction for each such violation shall be fined not less than $500 nor more than $1000, or sentenced to imprisonment in the parish jail not less than 90 days nor more than six months, or both, fined and imprisoned as above, at the discretion of the court."

It further provides that if any part of the act is held to be unconstitutional, all parts not so held "shall continue in full force and effect."

Spokesmen for the group said resolution No. 1 was introduced by Lester Lautenschlaeger, director of the New Orleans recreation department, seconded by Jack Hesketh, Monroe director of recreation; No. 2 introduced by Hesketh, seconded by Earl Brown, Thibodaux recreation director; No. 3 introduced by Brown, seconded by Gernon Brown, executive assistant director of the New Orleans recreation department.

They said the resolutions were drafted by William Shaw, special attorney for the Legislature's joint segregation committee, headed by Sen. William Rainach of Claiborne parish.

Among those attending the closed session in the Heidelberg hotel, spokesmen said, were William Wells, New Orleans, superintendent of state parks, and state Sen. Louis H. Folse from St. Bernard-Plaquemines parishes.

They stated that G. Norman David, Zachary, presided at the session. They stressed that the action was that of separate park and recreation units working jointly, not as a new, single organization.

NEGROES DON'T PLAY IN BATON ROUGE PARK

Commercial Appeal p. 25

Lake Charles Game Postponed By Umpires

Memphis Press-Scimitar

BATON ROUGE, April 25.—(AP)—The listing of a Negro player in the Lake Charles Giants' lineup caused postponement of an Evangeline League game with the Baton Rouge Rebels Saturday night.

Negroes are barred from the park used here by the Class C baseball clubs, but the problem was solved Friday night by a "gentleman's agreement."

Mem. 4-30-56

Under the agreement, the Giants benched Negro shortstop Ralph Crosby and centerfielder Felipe Alou for subs while the Rebels benched their white shortstop and centerfielder. Baton Rouge then beat the league-leading Giants, 7-4.

Saturday night, however, Lake Charles presented its lineup which listed Crosby. Chief Umpire Joe Powers in turn gave the lineup to Bob Breazeale, president of Baseball Fans, Inc., which operates the Baton Rouge team.

The public address system then read a statement to approximately 600 fans, explaining that the game had to be postponed because of the segregation ban.

The Baton Rouge club had expected Lake Charles to use at least one Negro tonight and had not opened the ticket office. The fans drifted in to see what would happen.

Powers next will report to Ray Mullins, president of the Evangeline League, who will rule on the situation. Mullins was expected to declare it a forfeit.

Sam Tarleton, general manager of the Lake Charles team, previously warned that the "gentlemen's agreement" would not be in effect Saturday night.

'Me and My Shadow'

Crackers Hurled At Lewis' Act

Courier p. 2, Sat. 4-14-56

By JOHN E. ROUSSEAU

NEW ORLEANS, La.—"Me and my shadow" were objected to by patrons in the lily-white Roosevelt Hotel's Blue Room as Ted Lewis and his partner, Elroy Peace, underwent bombardment by cellophane-wrapped crackers and a silver bread tray.

580

Very much in evidence at the demonstration was Dixiecrat kingpin, Leander H. Perez, both Lewis and Peace told the Courier.

Perez, a leader in the state's fight against desegregation, is district attorney for Plaquemines and St. Bernard parishes. Efforts of the Courier to contact him for a statement proved fruitless.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

PEACE, WHO has been with Ted Lewis for eleven years and has played all over the South declared that the incident was the first that he had experienced. He told the Courier that during his act in the Blue Room he noted cellophane-wrapped crackers on stage and narrowly avoided slipping on them. Then, he said, someone began throwing more crackers and later a heavy silver bread tray sailed up onto the stage.

This demonstration occurred during the "rock and roll" routine of the act, and brought about a commotion in the audience.

When Lewis returned to the stage after the act he told the patrons, "Ladies and gentlemen, I have played this number all through the South for the past thirty years with a little colored boy and I feel badly here tonight and I am sure you know the feelings of the little fellow have been hurt. If we have offended anyone in this room please accept my apologies."

■

THE AUDIENCE is then said to have responded with a rousing cheer for Lewis and then yelled in the direction of Perez' table, "throw him out!"

Te Courier sought to contact the owner of the Roosevelt Hotel, Seymour Weiss, but he was reportedly "out of town."

The incident was hushed up in the New Orleans daily papers.

LONG GIVES WARNING TO MINORITY GROUPS

Commercial Appeal p. 14

Senator Points Out Rights Could Be Lost

Memphis Press.

SUPREME COURT LASHED

Thurs. 5-10-56

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 9. — Senator Russell Long (D., La.) cautioned the nation's minorities Wednesday that the civil rights they have gained could be lost.

"Minorities should remember," the Louisiana Democrat declared in a Senate speech, "that the rights they enjoy would be endangered if the majority should turn against them."

Decisions Hit

He assailed recent Supreme Court decisinos and declared they amount to "amending the Constitution of the United States without the consent of the people."

"The rights enjoyed by minorities," he said, "would be much more secure were our Supreme Court composed of men who have demonstrated through the years their ability to dispense justice fairly and impartially.

"Likewise, the rights of all Americans would be more secure were they able to depend upon a court that would follow long established precedents."

He introduced a proposed constitutional amendment that would limit Supreme Court justices to 12-year terms, instead of their present life tenure, and would require at least five of the nine justices to have had a minimum of six years of prior experience on a court of record.

Justice Sherman Minton, who served from 1941 to 1949 as a United States Court of Appeals judge before joining the Supreme Court, is the only member of the present court who could qualify under Senator Long's proposal.

Senator Long's prior experience proposal was one of a series that have been offered in the Senate. Senators John Stennis (D., Miss.) and George Smathers (D., Fla.) have introduced comparable measures.

Says Form Changed

Senator Long centered most of his fire on the Supreme Court decisions interpreting the interstate commerce and general welfare clauses.

He declared these and other decisions have changed the form of the Federal Government from one of closely limited powers to one of almost unlimited powers.

"I am confident," he said, "the vast majority of level-headed persons, familiar with our history and our laws, will agree that the Supreme Court of recent years has exercised powers far beyond those intended by our founding fathers."

He said such actions have had the effect of enacting new laws and of amending the Constitution. Urging consideration of his proposed constitutional amendment, he said:

"The power to amend our constitution or change our laws should not be an unlimited authority vested in men appointed to serve for life. Like every other power in our Government, it should be subject to checks and balances."

2 Louisiana Segregation Bills Signed

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 7-18-56

BATON ROUGE, La., July 17 (AP)—Gov. Earl Long today signed two more segregation measures passed during the recent session of the Legislature.

One would require employers to furnish separate eating and restroom facilities for Negro and white workers. Segregation leaders said it was aimed at industry in the New Orleans area.

The other would remove from the Orleans Parish (New Orleans) school board the power to decide which schools are for Negroes and which are for white students and transfer the power to the Legislature. The measure was designed to help public schools in the city avoid a federal court order to end segregation.

LSU EDITOR BLASTS SEGREATION BACKER

Commercial Appeal

Charges State Senator With Censorship Attempt

Wed. 8-29-56

REPERCUSSION IS SEEN

Memphis Press-Scim.

By The United Press

BATON ROUGE, La., Aug. 28.—An LSU newspaper editor Tuesday cried "hands off" to a prominent legislator who said the university newspaper is promoting integration.

Summer editor of the Daily Reveille Darnell Eiland, a 27-year-old Korean War veteran, called State Senator W. M. Rainach "our high priest of segregation."

May Echo In Legislature

He told the legislator to peddle his "Hitler-Stalin technique for eliminating the free press" some place else.

Senator Rainach is the leader in Louisiana's fight to preserve segregation and the bitter verbal fight could have repercussions in the special session of the Legislature which begins Thursday.

The dispute was reminiscent of one in 1934 when the entire seven-man editorial staff of the LSU Reveille was expelled from the university in a dispute with the late Senator Huey P. Long.

Huey Long demanded and got dismissal of student editors after the newspaper criticized his appointment of football star Abe Mickal, through Gov. O. K. Allen, to the state Senate.

Senator Rainach has not threatened to expell Mr. Eiland or any other student, but Saturday he said changes will be made:

Heads Citizens Council

"We will see in a short time that the policy of the Daily Reveille will be changed," he said. "But not through censorship." Senator Rainach heads the Citizens Council Association and is chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation.

"The trouble lies not in the students, but in the people who have been planted in the faculty, administration and off the campus to bring about integration in Louisiana," Senator Rainach told a Citizens Council rally in Alexandria, La.

But Mr. Eiland said Senator Rainach misstated the facts.

"Senator Rainach's persistent attacks on LSU and the Daily Reveille are not only inaccurate and contradictory, but also smack strongly of the Hitler-Stalin technique for eliminating all opposition by first eliminating the free press," Mr. Eiland said.

Mr. Eiland said he was not an integrationist, but he would continue to oppose Senator Rainach "in his reckless assaults upon the basic liberties of Louisiana's citizens, white as well as Negro."

Pro-segregationists are rarely criticized publicly in Louisiana. LSU officials could not be reached for comment.

U. S. Grant was actually named Ulysses Hiram. But, at West Point he was entered as Ulysses Simpson (his mother was Sarah Simpson) so he became U. S. Grant.

In Their Fight For Civil Rights

Weekly, N.O. New Orleans, La. Sept. 7-56

The Proud Record Of Louisiana Negroes

By Marcus Christian

Poet, Writer and Historian. Unit Supervisor, Federal Writers' Project, 1939-42; Rosenwald Fellow, 1943-44; University Librarian, 1944-50.

Long before the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, the free colored class of our state was held in almost universal esteem for their high standards of education, achievement and deportment. During the antebellum days, when black men were sold like cattle, white indentured servants were shipped like Negro slaves, and Indians were banished, burned or sold into slavery, the position of the free colored group in Louisiana was the highest yet achieved by any similar group in a slaveholding land. They monopolized most of the skilled trades and had reached a high state of literacy under Catholic tutelage. For higher education they sent their sons-and occasionally, their daughters - to colleges and seminaries in the northern United States or the European continent. This group produced highly-trained men in the fields of medicine, literature and the arts. It produced mathematicians, inventors, poets, playwrights and journalists of no mean repute. Thi class also included several men of large wealth who were worth individually from one hundred thousand to a quarter of a million dollars.

When the United States authorities arrived in New Orleans, Negroes were practically in possession of the city. Many of them were joined to the wealthier white group by blood or through church or common-law marriage. They far outnumbered the whites. It was practically a Negro city. Whites, 3551; free people of color, 1566; Negro slaves, 3105; "all other persons,' 253. And there were so many free women of color "sweet sixteen" and older living in household setups with white bachelors that those in authority set about immediately to the passing of "additional laws for the regulation of slaves and free people of color."

Since the position of Negroes in other parts of Louisiana was similar to that of their kin in New Orleans, it was but natural that as a group they became proud and jealous of their rights as freemen. In colonial days they frequently addressed petitions to the French or Spanish governors for redress of wrongs. In the more liberal days of Spanish justice these petitions sometimes went all the way to Cuba before being passed upon. A few finally ended up in Spain for final disposition. In most instances, however, decisions were handed down by the old Spanish Cabildo here in the city. One of the earliest of the famous batture cases was concerned with a free man of color named Belly or Bailey. Many years before the Civil War two free men of color named Boisdore and Goule brought successful suit against the old Citizens Bank when that powerful institution sought to eliminate their names from its original list of stockholders. There was also the antebellum suit brought by the members of historic St. James A. M. E. church against the city of New Orleans when the latter sought to close their place of worship.

Negroes were especially vigorous in their drives for civil rights during the war and Reconstruction. They sued to wipe out Jim Crow on the city's "star cars;" sued to abolish segregation on steamboats; sued to wipe out segregation in schools and on railroads; as well as for equal rights in public places. The case upong which all subsequent Jim Crow cases have been decided was the famous case of PLESSY v. FERGUSON, a Louisiana case. All of this prior to 1900. No wonder George W. Cable, himself a champion of Negroes, called them "litiguous,' and Thurgood Marshall, in a speech some years back, asked his hearers where were those traditionally militant Louisiana Negroes, when some type of white racist action had been allowed to pass unchallenged.

Yet, today, they have allowed their legislators, elected by their votes as well, to enact laws which will yoke their children and grandchildren to the status of second-class citizenship, without a single protest to the legislature; without one protest to the governor, whose election in a large measure was due to "the good colored people;" without one petition to President Eisenhower, who might be prevailed upon to lend his good offices in this "season of unreason." The highly-vaunted "free Negroes' of today dare not do what their forbears, the "free Negroes' of yesterday, did in regard to governors, legislators and lawmakers. At the very outset of American rule, Governor W.C. C. Claiborne was forced to treat with Negroes in regard to their civil rights. When the whites began to plan a memorial to Congress for themselves, the Negores, learning that they would not be asked to sign it, began to make plans for one of their own. An unnamed free man of color, an "influential character" among them, wrote an address and then took it to the printer, but that worthy would not have anything to do with it. Then Governor Claiborne called nine of the Negro leaders together and "convinced them of their error." Having St. Domingo in mind, he afterwards wrote, he proceeded quite mildly with them instead of taking the harsh measures advocated by the disgruntled whites. The whites, intent-as always-upon their own rights, were so frightened and upset by the Negroes' action and so fearful of setting a bad example, that they abandoned their plans for a memorial.

The Negroes, however, were undaunted. In 1830, with the rise of vicious enactments against them, they again went to the front and delegated one of their group to present a petition to the Louisiana Legislature. For this task they selected Jean Fleming, a rich free colored planter, living in the upper suburbs of the city. They knew that their action could be productive of dire consequences for themselves, but they did not flinch. In the year of 1836 Fleming, acting upon their instructions, presented the petition to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. There is no record of the outcome, but Negores still pressed forward. Later, when one of them was charged with having violated one of these restrictive measures, they literally swarmed into the courtroom and had the pleasure of hearing a liberal judge decide the case in their favor. In 1863 New Orleans Negroes presented a petition to Military Governor George F. Shepley. A few months later they sent a committee to call upon him. In 1864 they sent two of their numbers to Washington to call upon President Lincoln and they were kindly received by them. In 1865 Negroes again presented three successive memorials to one or the other branches of the state legislature.

Just recently I asked two white women why is it that with all of the harsh measures being passed by the legislature, no Negroes-with the exception of the school teachers - had drawn up protests, petitions, or memorials to the men they helped to elect? With whites journeying to Baton Rouge, voting groups threatening to recall legislators, the newspapers screaming, and legislators being placed on the griddle-why is it that the Negroes have remained silent or have spoken out only "at the big gate"? One of the women, after reminding me that it was gen-

erally said that Long would not have been elected had it not been for Negroes, turned away and held her head down. The she replied quickly: "I'll tell you why-it's because they're jackasses-that's why."

Sugar Bowl Hit By TV Boycott Threat

Afro-American Sat. 9-8-56

Baltimore Md.

BATON ROUGE, LA. — A reported reluctance on the part of prospective sponsors to sign for the telecasting of the Sugar Bowl New Year's Day activities, last week led to an effort to bypass the recently enacted segregated law.

P. 14

A prominent legislator, who preferred to remain anonymous for obvious reasons, is said to have admitted polling 140 representatives and senators on the advisability of softening certain aspects of the bill.

THE MEASURE, which takes effect Oct. 15, prohibits "any dancing, social functions, entertainments, athletic training, games, sports or contests and other such activities involving personal and social contacts, in which the participants or contestants are members of the white and Negro races."

It further requires separate seating and sanitary facilities.

Although not yet in effect, the law struck hard at the Sugar Bowl. Three teams dropped out of the Sugar Bowl basketball tournament because of the new law.

The legislator said there also was a provision to get around the segregated seating clause for the football game. Both Navy and Pittsburgh, the last two visiting teams in the New Year's Day contest, opposed segregated seating, requiring special provisions.

* * *

THE PROPOSAL is to exempt the Sugar Bowl activities, the Shreveport baseball team in the Texas League and college sports at Tulane, Loyola and Louisiana State Universities.

One way of doing this, the legislator pointed out, is to reword the bill so as to suspend the law for cities with 100,000 population or over.

They Can't Win

Chicago Defender

Louisiana's backward law forbidding interracial sports events became effective on October 15 amid great rejoicing by the segregationists.

P. 4

Their joy will be short-lived.

The law cannot stand, not only because it does violence to human dignity and decency and the Constitution, but because it declares war with history.

Baltimore Md.

Many in generations past have engaged in frantic efforts to push back the hands of progress, but history has yet to suffer a defeat.

Sat. 10-27-56

We are confident it won't lose this time either.

La. Sports Segregation Complete

Enquirer P. 28

NEW ORLEANS, Oct. 15 (AP).—Louisiana today segregated all sports.

Tues. 10-16-56

It will be illegal for white and Negro amateur professional players to compete in the same "athletic training, games, sports or contests." Spectators also must be segregated. The maximum punishment is a $1000 fine and one year imprisonment.

Philadelphia Pa.

Although the law passed in the regular May session of the Legislature but did not take effect until today, its provisions have been felt for weeks.

Soon after Gov. Earl Long signed the bill July 17, some colleges began cancelling their commitments to appear in Louisiana. Some withdrew because of Negroes on their squads. Others said they were withdrawing on grounds of principle.

The University of Wisconsin was the first to act. It ended its 1957-58 home-and-home agreement for football games with Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge.

SUGAR BOWL HIT

Seven schools called off basketball games set for next season. Notre Dame, Dayton and St. Louis quit the Sugar Bowl tourney. The Sugar Bowl substituted Alabama, Houston and Virginia Tech to play with Kentucky, only team remaining of the original four invited. The Sugar Bowl football game New Year's Day will also be affected.

Santa Clara dropped out of the Louisiana Invitational Tournament at Shreveport and was replaced by Virginia Military Institute. Loyola, of New Orleans lost Harvard, Marquette and American University from its basketball schedule.

Boxing previously was the only sport specifically segregated throughout the State. That ban was applied through a rule of the Louisiana State Athletic Association. The new State law goes further; it will prohibit white boxers from working out with Negro boxers in gyms, a not uncommon practice here.

FEW EXHIBITIONS

Because of the new law, only a few major league baseball exhibition games are expected in the State each training season. But the biggest baseball question is what will happen to take care of Shreveport's entry in the Texas League.

Shreveport has no Negroes, but other clubs in the loop play Negroes there. Some solution may be forthcoming at tomorrow's league meeting in Dallas.

Asks Army To Halt Tulane Tilt At N.O.

Informer P. 1

Houston Tex.

Sat. 11-10-56

NEW YORK — Citing Louisiana's new Jim Crow law which would impose segregated seating of Negro Army personnel and other Negro spectators, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has urged Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker "to order withdrawal of the Army team from Tulane football game" scheduled for November 16 in New Orleans.

Informer P. 10

Sat. 11-10-56

Since enactment of this law, Mr Wilkins pointed out in a telegram to Secretary Brucker, several northern and midwestern universities and colleges have cancelled both football and basketball games with Louisiana teams. For the West Point Cadets to participate in a game under these circumstances, he said, "would be conspicuous endorsement of racial segregation."

"Distorted" Segregation Views Ban 3 Magazines

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 5-6-56

SHREVEPORT, La. — (INS) — The Bossier Parish School Board has placed a ban on three national magazines — Time, Life and Look — because of what it called their "distorted" view of the segregation issue.

Subscriptions were cancelled and back issues of the magazines were ordered removed from the libraries of the parishes' nine high schools.

The resolution banning the magazine was adopted at a board meeting Thursday night but the action was not made public until late last night.

At the same time, it was learned that the neighboring Claiborne Parish School Board had taken a similar action several weeks ago.

The Bossier Parish School board passed the resolution without a single dissenting vote. It was introducted by board member J. B. Waggonner, Jr., of plain dealing.

Three of the nine schools affected are Negro. The action affects all the public night schools in Shreveport.

The resolution accused the three magazine of "waging a systematic campaign to prejudice the American people against the south by presenting in their columns bisaed and distorted views on the institution of segregation of races in our schools."

School Superintendent R. V. Kerr would not say how he is going to dispose of the thousands of copies of back issues of the magaines.

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Survey of L. A. Negro's status on CBS Sunday

Bulletin P. 3 Los Angeles, Calif. Fri. 3-9-56

"Minority Report," an hour-long program, first in a series of three examining the status of three minorities in Los Angeles, will be presented on KNX Radio, Sunday at 9:45. The program, an appraisal by prominent Los Angeles Negroes of their relationship to the whole community, was prepared by the KNX News Bureau under a grant from the Fund for the Republic.

With Dan Cubberly as narrator, the program is composed of expressions of opinions by members of the Negro community. Among those whose opinions will be heard are Under-Secretary of the United Nations, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Norman O. Houston, George A. Beavers, Jr., Dr. Ruth Temple, Bernard Jefferson, Mrs. Betty Hill, Woodley Lewis, Kenny Washington, the Rev. L. L. White and Dr. James Kirk.

The Negro spokesmen represent business, press, legal profession, education, sports, politics, medical profession and labor.

"Distorted" Segregation Views Ban 3 Magazines

World Tues. 5-8-56 P. 1 Atlanta, Ga.

SHREVEPORT, La. — (INS) — The Bossier Parish School Board has placed a ban on three national magazines — Time, Life and Look — because of what it called their "distorted" view of the segregation issue.

Subscriptions were cancelled and back issues of the magazines were ordered removed from the libraries of the parishes' nine high schools.

BOSSIER BOARD BANS MAGAZINES

Times-Picayune

Three Are Revoked from Libraries

Sun. 5-6-56

SHREVEPORT, La., May 5 (INS)—The Bossier parish school board has placed a ban on three national magazines — Time, Life and Look—because of what it called their "distorted" view of the segregation issue. P. 28

Subscriptions were cancelled and all back issues of the magazines were ordered removed from the libraries of the parishes' nine high schools. New Orleans

The resolution banning the magazines was adopted at a board meeting Thursday night but the action was not made public until late Friday night. La.

The neighboring Claiborne parish school board had taken a similar action several weeks ago.

The Bossier parish school board passed the resolution without a single dissenting vote. It was introduced by board member J. B. Waggonner Jr. of Plain Dealing.

Three of the nine schools affected are Negro. The action affects all the public high schools in Shreveport.

The resolution accused the three magazines of "waging a systematic campaign to prejudice the American people against the South by presenting in their columns biased and distorted views on the institution of segregation of races in our schools."

School Supt. R. V. Kerr would not say how he is going to dispose of the thousands of copies of back issues of the magazines.

Mrs. Kenneth Butler, Bossier High school librarian, said that her school alone has 1300 copies of Life magazine dating from 1935 to the present.

La. Governor Raps Both 'Extremists'

Defender Sat. 5-12-56 Chicago, Ill. P. 1

BATON ROUGE, La., — (INS) — Incoming Gov. Earl K. Long of Louisiana called for moderation on the segregation issue and criticized both the White Citizens Councils and the NAACP last week.

Long, who goes into office on May 15, declared that "extremists" on both sides of the issue are injuring their respective causes.

"There are a lot of hotheads," he told a news conference, "who will try to make themselves politically popular by befuddling the people on this issue. But I believe the people will spot them."

MILD CRITICISM

Long, who reaffirmed his segregation stand, said the NAACP wasn't needed in Louisiana "because the colored people here can get a square deal without it." The NAACP has been kicked out of the state through court action.

Speaking of the prosegregation White Citizens Council, he said: "They may be doing some good. But this could be misused by any hotheads. For instance, right now I understand they have knocked out some good white voters."

Long referred to reports that in some areas the White Citizens Councils have been accused of **pressuring election officials into stiffening requirements for registration in order to cut down the list of Negro voters. In some cases, this has resulted not only in eliminating Negro voters but also white voters.**

Long also said that Adlai Stevenson has lost strength in the South because "he is too frank."

Long, who personally favors favors Stevenson, said: "I still admire and like Stevenson, but he seems to have a hard time getting down to earth."

He added: "He's too frank. That may be a good thing as president but not as a candidate for president."

Long said he believes a good vote-getting combination for the Democrats would be Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois, and Gov. Frank Lausche of Ohio.

He has mentioned such a team in previous conferences.

Anti-Segregation Magazines Banned

Post-Herald Mon. 5-7-56

SHREVEPORT, La., May 6 (AP) —The Bossier Parish School Board said today it has banned "Time," "Life" and "Look" from school libraries because of the magazines' views on segregation.

The school board oredered subscriptions canceled and back issues removed from school library shelves in the nearby parish (county). The ban is effective immediately.

The resolution accused the three magazines of "waging a systematic campaign in their columns biased and distorted views on the institution of segregation of races in our schools."

LEADERS AGREE ON SEGREGATION

Times Picayune New Orleans, La. Fri. 5-18-56

Long, Rainach Announce 'Firm Policy'

By JAY HALL

(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

BATON ROUGE, La., May 17 —Gov. Earl K. Long and the state's foremost segregation leader said Thursday they have agreed on "maintaining a firm policy of segregation in the state."

State Sen. W. M. Rainach, rep-

resenting Bienville and Claiborne parishes, announced the agreement at the governor's "Little Mansion" during a press conference.

Rainach said, "I have been conferring with the governor regarding segregation" policies for the four years of the Long administration which moved into control Tuesday.

"Our legislative group expects to work with the governor in maintaining a firm policy of segregation in the state," Rainach said.

Long Approves

Said the governor: "I subscribe to that."

Rainach said he was making the statement as a legislator and in his capacity as a member of the joint legislative committee on segregation. Rainach is also chairman of the Louisiana Association of Citizens Councils, the state's biggest organized force for promoting the continuance of segregation.

Election result statistics indicate that Long got a heavy Negro vote in the gubernatorial primary. He has said frequently that he will "continue to be a friend to the Negro."

Long disclosed a number of appointments at the meeting and Jack P. F. Gremillion, new attorney general, announced the appointment of several assistants.

The governor also said at the conference:

He is going to look into the Webster parish voting registrar's situation in which Mrs. Winnice Clement has been embroiled in controversy the past few months.

New Commission

He advocates a seven- or nine-member board of commissioners to replace the present one-man voting machine custodian system now under the duties of the secretary of state.

He thinks the Legislature will probably introduce bills to double the severance tax on timber, and there will "be a dozen bills" to repeal a present law exempting growing timber from taxation.

He thinks the cities will introduce legislation for a 20-cents a gallon tax on whiskey to compare with the tax only New Orleans now has, with revenues being distributed statewide on a pro-rata basis.

'Mighty Good Man'

And, he said, "I still think Adlai Stevenson is a mighty good man."

as far as Democratic presidential nominee prospects are concerned, "but not as good a politician as Eisenhower or Kefauver." Long said he has never been to a Democratic national convention and won't go this time.

Wednesday he announced the appointment of former New Orleans Mayor Robert Maestri to membership on the Louisiana tax commission. Is it likely Maestri is to move into the chairmanship, he was asked, if chairman Graydon K. Kitchens, Minden, should resign as requested by the Legislature?

Long said, "I'm sure he wouldn't want to be chairman. I'm not even sure he'll ever take the oath as a member" since Maestri did not seek the job, though Long wants him.

On his voting machine board suggestion, the governor said the membership should include one representative each from Tulane, Loyola, and Louisiana State university; one from the state board of registration; the secretary of state, "and maybe the Police Jury Association would name one."

Would the governor also be a member? Long replied, "We have not got that far. I don't think so."

Race Track Tax

He also got around to renewed discussion on the possibility of increased state revenues from the New Orleans Fair Grounds race track.

Reminding that New Orleans gets $1.5 million from this source, he said he felt the rest of the state should get as much. He said he believed a bill would come up giving the other parishes of the state $1 million and LSU a half million dollars out of race track proceeds.

The governor said he felt the reforestration program should "carry its own load." He called the timber severance tax "a myth—what timber and nothing is, is the same thing," as far as revenue is concerned. The severance tax, he said, should at least pay for the fire-fighting necessary for the protection of forests.

Money for LSU

Long said he thought "maybe a fourth" of any additional timber severance tax could go to LSU's school of forestry.

"This would not really be a tax increase. It would be just clearing up a misunderstanding. I think the people think that timber is paying its own way

LONG URGES CAUTION IN RACE ISSUE LAWS

Commercial Appeal 5-19

Legislature Advised On Eve Of Opening

Memphis Tenn.

HE TAKES POST TUESDAY

Mon. 5-14-56

By JAMES McLEAN

Associated Press Staff Writer

BATON, ROUGE, May 13. — Earl K. Long, who becomes Governor of Louisiana a third time Tuesday, Saturday called for "reasonableness and caution" in legislative handling of racial issue.

The newly elected Legislature opens Monday, bringing 60 days of controversies in the politics-loving state.

While for segregation, Mr. Long is in the camp of Southern moderates on race questions.

No Need For Classes

Mr. Long said while he sees no need for mixed classes of Negroes and whites from the high school level down, "I don't see any need to pass a lot of segregation bills—even though I would favor them—when the Supreme Court probably would knock them out anyway."

Segregation leaders, with Senator W. M. Rainach of Summerfield in front, have been drafting a heavy load of the new bills—everything from an interposition resolution, holding the state has the right to nullify the Supreme Court school segregation ruling, to a proposal directing state and school officials not to comply with the integration decision.

Sen. Rainach and his leaders pushed through a willing Legislature in 1954 special laws to bypass the Supreme Court on classroom integration. But Federal courts already have ruled the laws unconstitutional.

Rainach is president of the Louisiana Association of Citizens Councils. He wants an interposition resolution. Several weeks ago, when asked for comment on the issue, Mr. Long countered, "Let Rainach do all the talking on it."

Five States Act

Interposition resolutions against the 1954 court decision have been passed by Mississippi, Virginia, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina.

"I think the colored people of Louisiana will listen to me," Mr. Long insists. He declared the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, now banned by court order in this state, ought to tone down. And Mr. Long said such segregation - minded groups as the Southern gentlemen's organization "should not stir up Negroes in reverse."

"Even though I received a splendid Negro vote," Long commented, "I didn't make any promises to the white citizens or colored people which could be considered unreasonable by either side."

The same views, he added, apply to opponents and proponents of organized labor's legislative drive to kill the right to work law banning compulsory unionism.

Uproar Touched

The fight to pass the law two years ago touched off the greatest legislative uproar in years.

"I'll remain neutral in this right to work controversy," Governor-elect Long declared, "and I'll be fair to both sides."

SEGREGATION PLANS FOR LOUISIANA TOLD

Commercial Appeal

Legislative Unit Will Offer Interposition Resolution

Mon. 5-21-56

OTHER ACTIONS DRAFTED

Memphis Tenn.

By The Associated Press

BATON ROUGE, May 20.—Legislative leaders said Sunday they will introduce a seven-part segregation program this week which would make Louisiana the sixth Southern state to defy the United States Supreme Court with interposition.

Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia have passed interposition resolutions which declare they consider the court ban on school segregation to be invalid.

New Pattern Of Laws

The 10-member Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation has been drafting a new pattern of laws to bulwark Louisiana's official stand against mixed races in public classrooms.

The committee was responsible for the recent lawsuit in which a state court stopped activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Louisiana. The segregationists dug up a 1924 law which had wiped out the Klan and used it against the NAACP.

Senator W. M. Rainach, head of the committee, made public the new segregation package after a conference with Gov. Earl K. Long.

"The Governor has agreed to co-operate with us in our program to maintain segregation," Senator Rainach said.

To Be Introduced

To meet the changing situation brought about by Federal Court decrees, Senator Rainach and his committee will introduce in the new Legislature:

1. The interposition resolution.

2. A legislative resolution continuing the work of the Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation, chief foe of the NAACP in this state.

3. A proposal for constitutional amendment withdrawing consent of the state to any lawsuits, except for contract questions, against city, parish or state public park and recreation agencies. Sponsors said this would have the effect of blocking integration lawsuits.

4. A bill tightening college and university entrance rules by calling for a certificate from lower school officials attesting to the applicant's eligibility and good moral character. This would stiffen colleges against undesirable applicants, whether white or Negro.

Waiting Rooms Bill

5. A bill guaranteeing white waiting rooms at air, rail and bus terminals, by stipulating white passengers traveling within the state must have a separate room, even though another will be available for Negroes and any interstate passengers.

6. A bill placing city, parish and state parks under the sovereign police power of the state, a segregation step.

7. A bill eliminating compulsory school attendance wherever integration occurs. This would allow white pupils to ignore the attendance law while awaiting new steps to bring back segregated schoolrooms.

Segregation Rally Planned For Tonight

Daily Herald
Atlanta, Ga.
Thurs. 5-17-56

NEW ORLEANS --(INS)-- The biggest segregation rally ever held in modern America is scheduled tonight in New Orleans--on the second anniversary of the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation.

The meeting will be held in Pelican Stadium, home of the New Orleans baseball club, which seats 14,000.

George Singleton, chairman of the arrangements committee, predicted, however, that some 20 000 persons would attend the rally. He described the meeting as a "protest against the Supreme Court decision."

The "celebration" will begin in the afternoon with a parade down New Orleans' famed Canal Street.

Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia and Sen. James O. Eastland (D) of Mississippi, will lead the parade. These two segregation leaders will be the keynote speakers at the Pelican Stadium rally tonight.

The entire program is being sponsored by the Citizens Council of New Orleans, one of the all-white, prosegregation groups that have sprung up in the South since the May 17, 1954 decision of the Supreme Court.

Following the parade, Mayor DeLesseps S. Morrision of New Orleans, will present Griffin and Eastland with keys to the city and proclaim them honorary citizens.

Today's rally follows the biggest promotion campaign ever staged by the White Citizens Councils. A total of 14,000 leaflets advertising the meeting were dropped from an airplane over 12 cities in South Louisiana in one phase of the campaign.

Louisiana Archbishop Warns Of Excommunication Over Bias

Herald Tribune Sat. 2-25-56

New York, N.Y.

By Francis Sugrue

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 24.—The Most Rev. Joseph Francis Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans, one of the most controversial figures in the Southern integration issue, today approved of an editorial that warned Roman Catholics they face "automatic excommunication" if they vote for or support laws to forbid integration in Catholic schools. P. 1

This was the second time in a week that Archbishop Rummel's voice has been heard in major statements on the Church's position that integration must eventually come to the Catholic schools of southern Louisiana. On Sunday, in a pastoral letter that left little room for theological argument, Archbishop Rummel told his flock—the majority of whom oppose integration—that segregation is "morally wrong and sinful."

Catholics in Dilemma

Now he has approved an editorial that appeared today in "Catholic Action of the South," the official publication of the church in New Orleans, that Catholics can have nothing to do with laws that in any way hamper Archbishop Rummel in his control over Catholic schools.

The archbishop's position has become so positive that Catholics in New Orleans are in a dilemma that stirs the deep roots of their consciences. They would like to put off for years the idea of Catholic white children and Negro children going to the same parochial schools and, if it were possible, forever and a day. These are devout, sincere Catholics who believe that they belong to the "true church." These are also people who believe fervently in the separation of the races and wish to support all attempts to keep the traditional relationship between whites and Negroes, even though they belong to the same church.

Legislative Plans

The moment is fast coming when the souls of Catholics in New Orleans will be sorely tried.

Today's editorial was prompted by the announcement on Feb. 15 of four Catholic representatives in the Louisiana Legislature that they would seek legislation that would not only maintain segregation in the public schools but broaden it to include parochial schools to protect the children of the private schools "from the evil effects of integration of the races."

On the same day a special three-man Federal court declared all Louisiana school segregation laws were unconstitutional. But the joint committee of the Legislature began immediately to give consideration to new laws that would give the state the same power to stop integration.

This was the reason for today's editorial—that Catholics would clearly understand the dangers of any legislation that gave the state any control over the Catholic schools.

The seriousness of the movement was expressed in these words: "The proposed legislation would certainly impede the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in this instance the operation of Catholic schools. If the laws were put into effect automatic excommunication would be incurred by those who worked for and voted for their passage and by those who appeal to lay authority for their application, such as persons who besought sheriffs, chiefs of police or courts to put provisions of the laws into effect." P. 4

Canon Law Cited

The editorial explained that the issue is so grave that under certain conditions the offenders automatically incur excommunication. Canon 2334 of the church law was quoted. It reads: "The following incur an excommunication latae sententiae (automatic) specially reserved to the Holy See: 1. Those who issue laws, mandates or decrees contrary to the freedom or rights of the church. 2. Those who directly or indirectly impede the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction either of the internal or the external forum, and for this purpose have recourse to a lay authority."

The editorial makes it clear that the Catholic school system of any diocese operates under the ordinary, be he a bishop or an archbishop. "No other group has any right to dictate the operation of the schools, least of all the state," the approved policy declaration states. At one point it warns: "The precedent is most dangerous, for, if political leaders can dictate to the church on one matter under its jurisdiction, the way is open for them to dictate in others. The end result could well be complete state control of religion."

Long's Comment

Asked to comment on the archbishop's position, Earl K. Long, who has won the Democrat primary election for Governor, which is tantamount to election, said that on the one hand he is "a million per cent for segregation," but on the other hand he would not attempt to tell the Catholic Church what to do about segregation in the Catholic schools."

"From a religious standpoint," Mr. Long said, the Archbishop "is undoubtedly right" in condemning segregation as morally wrong and sinful. But the incoming Governor said Archbishop Rummel "is going too strong" on the issue.

"Maybe he is a little too advanced," Mr. Long said. "From a religious standpoint he is undoubtedly right. But at this time it may be the wrong time to push it. I'd hate to have his job right now."

The chancery office of the Archdiocese also issued a comment on the editorial. The chancery attempted to make it clear that the Archbishop was not "threatening" any one with excommunication, because excommunication was "automatic" under certain conditions of canon law.

One of the Catholic legislators, Joseph Casey, who was defeated in his campaign for re-election in the recent primary said he wished he had a chance to vote on any new proposed law to maintain segregation.

"The only one that has that right (to excommunicate) is the Pope himself," Mr. Casey said, "it becomes a matter of whether the Pope would designate that right to his bishops and so on. I don't think he would."

Associated Press

Gov.-elect Earl K. Long of Louisiana.

Archbishop Stirs Fight With Integration Pressure

Evening Star P. 2-A Thurs. 2-23-56

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 23 (AP).—Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel, who caught the eye of the late Cardinal Hayes as a struggling young pastor in New York's Harlem, meets the same problems today on a far larger scale as shepherd of the Deep South's largest Catholic flock.

"Negroes were just beginning to move into Harlem in large numbers at that time," said the New Orleans prelate of his four years (1924-28) as rector of St. Joseph of the Holy Family Church in Harlem. Wash. D.C.

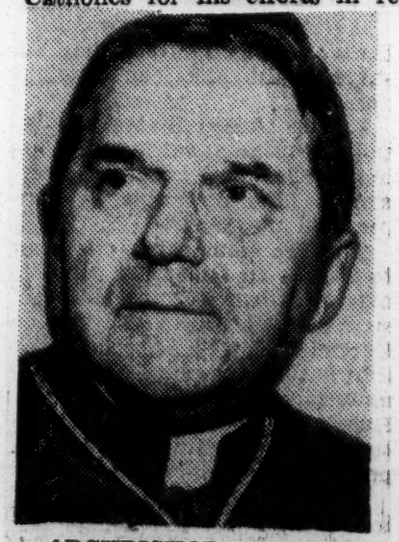
"The neighborhood was still predominently white, but Negroes were on the increase. Already they were attending masses and sending their children to our school. Times were changing."

And the 80-year-old archbishop feels that times are changing in the South, too.

Actions Bring Bitter Fight

Last Sunday, after months of prayer and study, he denounced segregation as "morally evil and sinful" in a strongly worded pastoral letter read at all masses throughout the archdiocese. The letter left little doubt that it is only a matter of time, very short time, before parochial schools in the archdiocese are desegregated.

When Archbishop Rummel came to New Orleans 20 years ago, he was widely acclaimed both by Catholics and non-Catholics for his efforts in restoring historic old St. Louis Cathedral, bringing the city its first Eucharistic Congress and fostering numerous charities.



—AP Wirephoto

ARCHBISHOP RUMMEL
Segregation Fighter

Today, in the winter of a half-century priestly career, he is the taciturn center of a bitter segregation controversy that already has closed one church, brought excommunication threats and bids fair to be a major issue in the coming May Legislature.

Native of Germany

In the resulting furor he has been called everything from a man of God to a Yankee, a word devoid of devotion in the present day South.

The designation Yankee is both geographically and rhetorically incorrect.

Born in Baden, Germany Archbishop Rummel came to America at the age of 6 with his immigrant parents and settled in Yorkville, the big German community on Manhattan's East Side. Here he experienced the deep loneliness of an immigrant boy learning a strange language in a strange country and the deep pride of a proud son separated from a proud mother country.

The combination of outcast and patriot no doubt has influenced his handling of the touchy problem of integration vs. tradition.

In his pastoral letter denouncing segregation as "sinful," the archbishop sympathized with the century and a half of Southern tradition and pleaded with his flock to pray for an orderly solution to the problem.

Ordained in Rome

The dual appeal to prayer and reason is characteristic of his own approach to life. From his shoemaker father, Archbishop Rummel early learned that life must be "dutiful before it can be beautiful." He learned to pray at the knee of his mother.

Quickly overcoming the language barrier, Archbishop Rummel built an outstanding academic record in the New York parochial school system and was selected from his class at St. Joseph's Seminary to continue his studies for the priesthood at

the North American College in Rome.

Ordained in Rome in 1902, he stayed abroad long enough to obtain a Doctor of Sacred Theology degree, then began a career as curate, pastor, monsignor in the New York Archdiocese and finally Bishop of Omaha in 1928.

Everywhere he went, he was known as a builder, an organizer, and a leader, but the talents he showed for bringing the races together at St. Joseph's Church in Harlem may prove the capstone of his stewardship in New Orleans.

Waning health and failing eyesight have not dimmed the archbishop's vision of a church unified, even in the New Orleans Archdiocese, where one out of every five Catholics is a Negro.

SEGREGATION WRONG, SINFUL, LONG AGREES

Daily Tribune
Dat. 2-25-56
Chicago, Ill.

New Orleans, Feb. 24 (AP)—Earl Long, the incoming governor of Louisiana, today said Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel "is undoubtedly right" in declaring segregation morally wrong and sinful.

"Maybe he is a little too advanced," said Long. "From a religious standpoint he is undoubtedly right. But at this time it may be the wrong time to push it. I'd hate to have his job right now." P. 3

The archbishop, in a pastoral letter read at all masses in his New Orleans archdiocese Sunday, said racial segregation was "morally wrong and sinful" and gave clear indication he would order the parochial schools desegregated.

Face Excommunication

Long made his statement after the official archdiocesan newspaper Catholic Action of the South said Catholic lawmakers preparing bills to enforce parochial school segregation may be excommunicated if the measures become law.

"I wouldn't attempt to tell them how to run the schools," Long, a Baptist, said of the Catholic church. Long is the younger brother of the late Huey P. Long, the governor who gave Louisiana parochial schools free text books and buses.

Long, who will take office May 15, said he is inclined at present to oppose any amendments which would put Catholic schools in Louisiana laws providing for segregation. These laws have been declared unconstitutional by a special three judge federal court.

Thinks He Can Keep It

"I believe I can maintain segregation in Louisiana for the four years I am governor," said Long, who will be serving his third term. "I have just enough confidence I can do as much toward handling the situation. I don't believe we are going to maintain it dogging it and raising hell."

The Catholic newspaper also said excommunication may apply to those who worked for and voted for measures to enforce parochial school segregation and those who sought the aid of civil authorities to put the laws into effect.

Excommunication is the severest punishment meted out by the Catholic church. The excommunicated person is barred from receiving the sacraments of the church, including communion and the last rites.

Ordered by Archbishop

"The proposed laws, in effect, would be an entering wedge for the control of Catholic education by political leaders," the newspaper said. They would "certainly impede the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction," it continued.

"If the laws were put into effect, automatic excommunication would be incurred by those who worked for and voted for their passage and by those who appeal to lay authorities for their application, such as persons who besought sheriffs, chiefs of police, or courts to put provisions of the laws into effect."

The Rev. Carl Schutten, editor in chief, said the editorial "was written and included on specific instructions of the archbishop, who is president of Catholic Action." M. F. Everett, editor, whose byline appears on the editorial, said he wrote it and the archbishop "was apprised of it."

U. S. Enters Court Case

Washington, Feb. 24 (AP)—The justice department, in its first set to back up the Supreme court desegregation ruling for public schools, will oppose an effort by segregationists to dissolve a federal injunction which prohibits them from interfering with racially integrated schools at Hoxie, Ark.

The government will file as a "friend of the court" brief with the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis next month, said G. Frederick Mullen, justice department public relations director.

Three segregation groups have asked the Circuit court to overrule United States District Judge Albert L. Reeves, who enjoined them early this year from interfering with operation of the integrated schools.

Editor's Home Bombed

Tavares, Fla., Feb. 24 (AP)—Mrs. Mabel Norris, Mount Dora woman newspaper editor who favors integration, told a grand jury today her home had been bombed twice this week.

Mrs. Norris told newsmen after she appeared before the jury that one bomb exploded in her yard Tuesday night; the other last night when no one was home. Neighbors said fragments picked up at the scene apparently were of a war hand grenade. Mrs. Norris has been active and outspoken in anti-segregation matters.

Negroes Going North

Athens, Ga., Feb. 24 (AP)—Georgia editors were told today that while the segregation issue has been drawing so much attention, there has been a diffusion of the minority race in the south.

Don Shoemaker, director of the Southern Education Reporting service, told the Georgia Press institute, "The Negro population of our region increased only about 1.5 per cent from 1940 to 1950 while outside the south it increased some 56 per cent."

Our Opinions

Defender P. 9
Chicago, Ill. 3-3-56

Archbishop Rummel And The Devil

It is remarkable how many great Christian Churchmen in America seem to be able to reconcile the cruel system of racial segregation with their own particular brand of Christianity. It is odd that God should have so many hypocrites working on His side of the street. Of course, God is not being fooled and, to put it bluntly, neither are we.

It is refreshing no end, therefore, to greet a gentleman of cloth a true representative of Christ on earth, who is willing to live up to the precepts of his faith and practice what he preaches. We have reference, of course, to Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel of New Orleans.

Last week Archbishop Rummel, in a pastoral letter read in all the churches of his diocese, declared flatly that racial segregation was "morally wrong and sinful." Many New Orleans Catholics were distressed at this intelligence. Some were downright angry about it.

Nevertheless, it appears that Archbishop Rummel is going forward with plans to integrate the Catholic schools of New Orleans. He recognizes that there are many grave problems to be resolved and that integration will not be easy. He is going ahead anyway.

The Archbishop stated in his letter that segregation is "morally wrong and sinful because it is denial of the unity and solidarity of the human race as conceived by the God in the creation of man in Adam and Eve."

The Fatherhood of God is an essential, basic tenet of the Christian faith. So it would appear, very logically too, that to believe in the Fatherhood of God, would be to believe also in the brotherhood of man. Here is where the Devil enters the picture.

Strangely enough, jim crow Christians lose their minds and their faith when one of the brothers turns up colored. Perhaps the Devil has done his work too well. So far, at least, the Devil is in the saddle in Dixie and God's only hope lies with men like Archbishop Rummel.

In recent years the Catholic Church has taken the leadership in true Christian thought and action in the race relations field. Archbishop Rummel and his colleagues in the Catholic Church deserve the support and commendation of all good Americans of all faiths.

N.O.I.M.A. SLAPS AT SEGREGATION

Times-Picayune
Says It Runs Counter to Moral Laws
Sun. 3-18-56

The New Orleans Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, in a statement Saturday, declared that segregation is an evident evil that runs counter to the moral laws of God and is destroying the integrity of American democracy.

New Orleans,

The statement, in the form of a resolution, was signed by Dr. P. W. Raphael, chairman; Rev. Nicholas Hood, Central Congregational church; Rev. Dave Dennis, Sixth Union Baptist church; Rev. John B. Morris, First Free Mission Baptist church, and Rev. A. L. Davis, alliance president.

Segregation retards economic progress and creates a paralyzing influence of inferiority, read the resolution. P. 13

The N. O. I. M. A. praised the decision of the US supreme court which abolished segregation in public schools.

A request was made of lawmakers and leaders of the community to abide by both the letter and the spirit of the US supreme court concerning the practices of segregation.

The alliance reported that it was opposed to segregation in any form, and condemned the interposition resolution which is being favored by most of the leaders of Southern states.

Rev. Davis will be the principal speaker Sunday at 3 p. m. at a mass meeting conducted at Union Bethel African Methodist Episcopal church, 2321 Thalia. Rev. Davis replaces Bishop H. Thomas Primm, presiding bishop, Eighth Episcopal District, African Methodist Episcopal church, who was called from the city on business. The public is invited, stated Davis.

RACIAL PROBLEM LAID TO INACTION

Times-Picayune

Morrison Points to Steps Taken in New Orleans

Sun. 1-1-56

By B. L. KREBS

(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

WINNSBORO, La., Dec. 31—Candidates in the governor's race who are making the most noise about the segregation issue are the ones mostly to blame for bringing it on, Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison charged in a series of campaign speeches in Northeast Louisiana Saturday. P. 10

"If equal facilities had been provided for the Negroes, as was supposed to be done," said Morrison, "the pressures would not have been generated which brought about the recent Supreme Court decision precipitating the present crisis.

"If state officials had gone about the business of providing equal facilities like we have in New Orleans this wouldn't have happened. Instead of burying our head in the sand like an ostrich, we started providing equal facilities 10 years ago, the only fair basis on which segregation can be maintained."

Accompanied by Lt. Gov. C. E. Barham, candidate for re-election on his ticket, Morrison spoke at Farmerville, the home-town of gubernatorial candidate Fred L. Preaus; at Bastrop, Rayville, and here, and the itinerary called also for speeches at Gilbert, Wisner, Sicily Island and Ferriday.

Barham, in his Bastrop talk, assailed Gov. Robert F. Kennor for what he charged was a violation of a pledge by Kennon four years ago not to seek to name his successor.

"The independent voters are going to pick the next governor," said Barham. "With voting machines and civil service, they are now in the saddle and they don't like to be told what to do."

Morrison asked those voters of Union parish who are not going to support Preaus to cast a ballot for him.

Bringing up the so-called "religious issue," Morrison said he had heard it stated at least a hundred times that he was a competent public official but that he can't be elected governor because he's a Catholic.

"I was born a Catholic," said Morrison, "and I learned religion from my mother. Most of you probably learned your religion the same way. Billy Graham, the great Baptist leader, in a series of meetings in New Orleans last year didn't urge people to join the Baptist church; he urged them to return to their own church, whatever it was, and be a good member of it."

Any man who harbors religious prejudice, said Morrison, would not be fit to be governor of Louisiana because the man in that office is governor of all the people, regardless of creed or race.

PREAUS TO BACK RACE SEPARATION

Times-Picayune

New Orleans, La.

Candidate Pledges Use of Police Powers

Mon. 1-2-56

Gubernatorial candidate Fred T. Preaus indicated in New Orleans Sunday that should he be elected governor he would turn to the state's police powers to enforce segregation. P. 14

He expressed confidence that those police powers of the state would not be abridged by the federal government.

Appearing over WDSU-TV on a program presented by the bureau of governmental research, the Farmerville businessman said of the supreme court decision on segregation, "I consider it only a temporary interpretation."

He said he knew of no law which would support the decision.

Denies Any Deal

In answer to questions from a panel, Preaus denied any "deal" with Jefferson parish Sheriff Frank Clancy, stating only that Clany has said he hoped Preaus would be as "considerate of Jefferson parish in the future as he has in the past."

"If that's a deal," said the candidate, "then we've made a deal with everybody in Louisiana."

On the subject of law enforcement, he said he thought candidate Francis C. Grevemberg had done a "good job" as state police superintendent. Asked whether he would appoint Grevemberg as state police chief should he (Preaus) win, Preaus answered only that he would not deal with any opponent "in this part of the campaign."

Prefers Democrat

Switching to the national presidential campaign, Preaus said: "I would like to see a good Democrat nominated whose platform would be in the best interests of this state."

But he said he was opposed to Adlai Stevenson's attitude on tidelands legislation. He said that attitude calls for the federal government to seize the tidelands oil fields.

"I'm a Democrat," said the candidate, "a good Democrat, but I still put my country first."

Catholics Shout Defiance On Race Issue

Daily World

Sat. 2-4-56

Atlanta, Ga.

NEW ORLEANS — (ANP) — Rabig pro-segregationists shouted abuse and defiance on Archbishop Joseph Rummel here Monday night and accused the Catholic church of "pushing Negroes on us." P. 7

At a tumultous meeting of the Council of Catholic School Cooperative Clubs, made up of president and past presidents of the Catholic school parents clubs in the area, the archbishop was called a Yankee because of archdiocesan intergration plans.

One woman charged that the church and the north are "the same thing," when the Rt. Rev. Henry Bezou superintendent of archdiocesan school, said it made no difference where the archbishop came from since intergration was a church matter.

(Archbishop Rummel was born in Baden, Germany, ordained in Rome in 1903, and served parishes in Yorkville, Kingston and Harlem, N. Y. He was bishop of Omaha, Neb. before moving up to archbishop of New Orleans in 1935).

Some of the parents accused the archbishop of "not being fair to white people"; others of "trying to shove intergration down our throats."

Applause greeted an unidentified man who asked! "Why does the church insist on pushing Negroes on us?"

New Orleans is the only city in the south where more children attend parochial than public schools.

Msgr. Charles Plauche, chancellor of the New Orleans Archdiocese, told newsmen Sunday that racial intergration may come in Roman Catholic schools here this year.

His remarks came following a panel discussion at Ursilino Academy on integration, a topic that split up a meeting of the Parents Club at Jesuit high school two weeks ago and is becoming a hotter issue every day.

Msgr. Paluche said the timing of the intergration was under study and "no definite decision has been made." He said, however, "it's very possible that it may come this year."

The chancellor said the church had tolerated segregation through the ages because "often when you're working for an ideal that's right, you are tolerating a lot that isn't right along the way."

About 27 percent of New Orleans' Catholic school children are Negroes.

They have been attending separate schools.

Bar Mixed Unit From La. Parade

Defender

Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 2-11-56

ONG BEACH, Calif — (INS)— Long Beach youth band, a nember privately-sponsored orization, is staying away from Orleans' forthcoming Mardi s because of racial segrega-. P. 6

we members of the hand are groes and the Rex organiza-, which sponsors the Mardi s, reportedly ruled that they ld not take part in the parade. ordon Carmen, director of the d said:

If all of our members cannot rch in the parade, then none s will. It's a matter of Ameri- principle."

OTEST RAISED

he decision to cancel the band's is to go to New Orleans was ched Thursday after Edwin J. son, attorney for the Long ch chapter of the NAACP, put ssure on city officials.

embers of the band had raised 00 for the trip through the of concert tickets.

e City Council was on the e of contributing $2,200 more ded to finance thet rip.

owever, Wilson protested the cation on the ground that "public funds should not be used to promote racial segregation."

NEGRO CITES THREAT

Commercial Appeal

Louisiana Man To Move To California

Sun. 2-5-56

COUSHATTA, La., Feb. 4. — (AP) — Henry Vickers, 55-year-old Negro plumber and electrician, plans to leave Louisiana after reporting threats against his life because of political activity. P. 7

Vickers told newsmen Saturday he had received anonymous letters and telephone calls. In one letter was a newspaper clipping of a story on the shooting of a Negro in Mississippi. He said a note on it said "The same thing is going to happen to you."

Memphis, Tenn.

His political activity had centered on last month's race for sheriff and the state Legislature. He said he had decided to move, possibly to California, for his family's safety. He plans to leave next month, he said.

LIFE THREATENED, NEGRO TO LEAVE

Times-Picayune

Ad Thanks Coushatta Citizens for Town Benefits

Sun. 2-5-56

COUSHATTA, La., Feb. 4 (AP)—A politically-active Coushatta Negro said in a newspaper advertisement Friday he will leave the state after threats against his life. P. 26

The ad by Henry Vickers, 55-

year-old plumber and electrician, appeared in the weekly Coushatta Citizen.

New Orleans

He told newsmen he had received a newspaper clipping of a story concerning the shooting of a Negro in Mississippi. At the bottom, he said, was the pencilled note, "The same thing is going to happen to you."

La.

Vickers said an anonymous telephone caller had told him, "Henry, you are going to die."

Vickers said the FBI has contacted him about the threats and Red River Parish Sheriff Kirwin Brown said the FBI was checking to see if Vickers' civil rights had been violated. The FBI office in Shreveport declined comment.

Vickers' political activities were centered in races for sheriff and the state Legislature. He said the letters and telephone calls began shortly before the Jan. 17 Democratic primary and lasted until a few days ago. They cautioned him to quit politics or leave.

Vickers, who said he probably will go to California, told newsmen he is not connected with the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

He said his decision to move was based on his family's safety.

The one-fourth page advertisement thanked Coushatta citizens for the benefits the town in northwest Louisiana had afforded him and said, "I am more in its debt than I can ever repay."

Band quits Mardi Gras in slap at race issue

Afro-American Sat. 2-11-56 P. Baltimore, Md

LONG BEACH, Cal. — Racial bans in New Orleans have deprived the annual Mardi Gras celebration there of one of the nation's finest young bands.

The crack Long Beach Youth Band last week withdrew from the Mardi Gras parade beacuse the aggregation's two colored musicians will not be permitted to participate.

Gordon Carmen, director of the band, after a conference with Mayor George M. Vermillion, said:

"If all our band members can't participate in the parade, then none of us will. It's a matter of American principle."

The 39-piece band was one of several invited to take part in the parade February 14.

"An official who declined to fully identify himself over the telephone said that the colored members could attend the Mardi Gras if they wanted to and could participate in another parade sponsored by a Zulu organization," Carmen said.

The California officials made it clear that they had no intention of so segregating their youngsters.

"We have no Zulus in our group," Carmen commented, "although they would be welcome if they could qualify as musicians. Ability is all we are interested in."

Cleric Scores Race Barirers In Louisiana

4 Sections

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 19 (AP) — Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel in a strongly worded pastoral letter today denounced racial segregation as "morally wrong and sinful" and gave clear indication he intends to integrate New Orleans parochial schools.

Birmingham, Ala.

His letter was read at all Masses in all churches throughout the archdiocese, largest in the Deep South with a Catholic population of 524,157. About 25 per cent are Negroes.

It was the first time New Orleans catholics heard integration plans discussed in a public letter from the archbishop. The reading at most churches commanded rapt attention.

Ala. 2-20-56

Archdiocesan spokesmen previously have announced that plans are under way to integrate the Catholic schools sometime after 1956, but this was the archbishop's first public denunciation of segregation as a sin.

The New Orleans parochial school system is the state's largest single school unit. New Orleans is one of the few cities in the country where more children attend parochial than public schools.

Archbishop Rummel did not say when integration would come but pleaded "that the decision when made will be accepted in the spirit of Christian charity and justice.

. . .

"This is a problem which should be worked out not in an atmosphere of wranging or contention or discord or hatred but in a spirit of conciliation and with a desire to achieve peace through justice and charity."

He said the plans are still under study.

The New Orleans public school system is already under U.S. District Court order to begin carrying out the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision ending public school segregation.

The court order came Wednesday after a special three-man federal court declared all Louisiana school segregation laws unconstitutional.

More than 50 per cent of the South's Catholics live in Louisiana. But the archbishop's letter had no effect on Louisiana's other two dioceses, Lafayette and Alexandria.

In his letter, the German-born archbishop said racial segregation "is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial of the unity and solidarity of the human race as conceived by God in the creation of man in Adam and Eve."

Segregation Sinful, Says Archbishop

Louisville Courier-Journal Mon. 2-20-56 P. 7

New Orleans Prelate To Integrate Schools

Louisville, Ky.

By The Associated Press

New Orleans, Feb. 19.—Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel today denounced racial segregation as "morally wrong and sinful" and gave clear indication he intends to integrate New Orleans parochial schools.

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Date Not Told

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Courier Journal

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P. 10

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New Orleans Embroiled In Racial Fight

World P. 6 Sat. 3-9-56

Birmingham, Ala.

NEW ORLEANS — (ANP) — For the first time in New Orleans since 1920, a period of 36 years — the first thing that looked like the Klu Klux Klan appeared in the Crescent City. A huge cross was burned on Canal and Jefferson Davis Parkway at the foot of the statue of Jefferson Davis, Confederate States leader. Inscribed on the cross was the following phrase: "Let us Preserve White Children from the Black Plague."

Eyewitnesses say they saw three very young lads get out of an auto and set up the cross, afterwards lighting it and quickly fleeing away. No real commotion was raised in the city about the matter. New Orleans has been rather free of Klu Klux Klan influence due to the great number of Catholics here.

A school board member, Emile Wagner, also has caused some commotion by his attitude in the matter of a meeting at Lovola last Sunday at which the principal address was given by Hulan Jack, Negro borough president Manhattan. Wagner, who has been active in organization of White Citizens' Councils says Loyola never should have had Jack to speak as Jack was "known to run with communists and belonged to a number of Communist organizations."

Wagner is an alumnus of Loyola and he objected to the holding of the interracial meet by the school. No segregation occurred at the meet which was the sixth annual gathering of its kind.

La. Medics Fail To See 'Harm' In Integration

Defender P. 4 Sat 5-26-56

Chicago Ill.

NEW ORLEANS — Four out of five New Orleans psychiatrists and neurologists participating in a poll thought racial school integration would be either beneficial or of little effect upon the children.

The poll was conducted by the Medical Advisory Committee of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., in cooperation with a committee of the New Orleans Medical Association.

Fifty-six questionnaires were mailed to New Orleans psychiatrists and neurologists: 21 replies weree received. The key question was:

"From a professional point of view, how would you characterize the psychiatrict effect of racially integrated schools on white and Negro children?"

17 DOCTORS

Seventeen doctors — 81 percent of those replying — thought integration would be either beneficial or would have little effect. Ten termed it beneficial; of the seven believing it of little effect, three qualified their answers with "in the long run."

Four considered there were harmful possibilities in the ending of segregation. Two of those thought both races would suffer; one believed that whites would be harmed while Negroes would benefit.

The poll was undertaken following the filing in the Orleans parish school case of affidavits from eight physicians and three psychiatrists intended to show that intgration would confront the community with a health hazard and would be "psychiatrically traumatizing to the children of both races."

MAKE COMMENTS

Following are some of the comments appended to the questionnaires by the New Orleans specialists. In the words of one doctor:

"There can be little question of the detrimental effect on the psychic development of any discriminated-against group by a system which teaches them that they are inferior. The psychic effect on master groups is equally, but more subtly, detrimental."

Another doctor envisaged the emotional transitition that will take place with the coming of integration:

"Initially there is likely to be some reserve and suspiciousness on the part of both races. Especially in the upper grades the children will first try to remain separate and associate only with their own color. Some, inflamed by their elders, may become involved in fighting.

GENERAL ACCEPTANCE

"Gradually it can be expected that the children will come to accept the individuals of the other race according to each one's worth as a human being. The over-all effect on mental health should be salutory."

Among those medical men who thought that integration would have little effect "in the long run," the reservations expressed doubts about adult behavior in the situation.

A doctor who considered that integration would be harmful to both races qualified his answer by adding "under present setting."

The one respondent who believed that Negroes would benefit and whites lose, added this comment: "Probable lessening of health standards or levels for white race."

MOST COMPREHENSIVE

The most comprehensive analysis of the dispute was appended by one psychiatrist:

"The fears that any mixture of the races will lead to increases of disease, significant lowering of intelligence, or psychiatric difficulties in either race are, to my view, unfounded.

"These seem to be rationalizations to attempt to show just cause why the status quo should be maintained, and to seem to give a scientific medical basis for views which otherwise would have to be termed biased, undemocratic and un-christian."

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Griffin Sees Bolt Peril in Integration

Constitution Fri. 5-18-56 Atlanta Ga.

NEW ORLEANS, May 17 (AP)—Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia here to address a citizens council rally, said today the South would bolt the Democratic Party "if it tries to ram integration down our throats."

P. 10

He told a press conference he felt Southerners would support a third party movement if other Democrats "don't realize our position on segregation and civil rights."

Griffin and Sen. Eastland (D-Miss) were featured speakers for tonight's prosegregation rally.

Griffin told the rally Thursday night that the United States Supreme Court—not the people of the South—is flouting the "law of the land."

"COURT FLOUTS LAW"

In the speech at the municipal auditorium, Griffin said:

"It cannot be said that the people of the South have defied the court, when it is the court, itself, which acts unconstitutionally, and the states and their people refuse to recognize a ruling which is clearly an unlawful usurpation of authority by the federal judiciary. It is the court which flouts the law of the land, not the states nor their people."

The governor said Southern people who refuse to accept the court's anti-segregation decisions are acting according to the provisions of the U.S. Constitution in their resistance. They are following the law, he asserted.

"JOIN WITH GEORGIA"

Griffin appealed to other Southern states to join Georgia in declaring the court's decision null and ending the "tyranny" of the court.

The issue today is the same as it was almost 100 years ago when the people of Louisiana and Georgia fought side by side for the causes they thought were right, Griffin went on.

The governor contended the school segregation decision is "an effort to bring about by naked force alone the amalgamation of race and the destruction of our very form of government." He called this "anarchy" by the court.

"We don't have a totalitarian form of government in this country," Griffin stated, as he pointed to the powers reserved to the states by the 10th Amendment. "We don't want one."

FIVE BILLS PASS ON SEGREGATION

Times Picayune New Orleans, La. Tues. 6-12-56

Senate Quickly Approves House Measures

(The Times-Picayune Capital Bureau)

BATON ROUGE, La., June 11 —House bills 434 through 438—loaded with keep-segregation intent — moved quickly through final passage in the Senate without debate Monday.

With 31 representatives and senators listed as co-sponsors of all five measures, the bill was guided over an effortless course in the Senate by W. M. Rainach, Bienville-Claiborne district, head of the Louisiana Association of Citizens Councils.

The first of the five-bill package is in the form of a constitutional amendment to be voted on in November. It would withdraw the consent of the state to be sued in certain instances.

Though not referring directly to segregation, sponsors have clearly indicated withdrawals of consent to sue is aimed at staving off attempts to make the state enforce integration in the public parks, playgrounds and other facilities.

Specifically Exempted

Specifically exempted from state consent to be sued are: state parks commission; recreation and park commission for East Baton Rouge parish; all recreation districts created under section 14 (D-4) of article 19 of the constitution; any governmental agency, from local through state, operating parks and other recreational facilities; the state board of education; the LSU board of supervisors; the parish school boards of each parish, and the school boards of the cities of Monroe, Lake Charles and Bogalusa, the only three cities in the state having municipal school systems.

Here is what the other four measures, effective 20 days after the conclusion of the legislative session if they get the governor's signature, are meant to do:

House bill 435—Separate the races at public parks, recreation centers, playgrounds, community centers and other such facilities at which facilities for swimming, dancing, golfing, skating or other recreational activities are conducted.

Public Transport

House bill 436—Require public transportation systems to provide separate waiting room and reception room facilities for white intra-state passengers; require separate facilities for Negro and intra-state passengers.

House bill 437—Require a certificate of "eligibility and good moral character" from the parish graduate's or municipal superintendent of education and the principal of the graduate' high school for entry into "any publicly financed institution of higher learning of this state."

House bill 438 — Eliminate compulsory school attendance within "any public school system and or private day school wherein integration of the races has been ordered by any judicial decree or othe rauthority."

In introducing these bills, Rainach remarked, "We'll be in this fight (to stave off integration) for several years to come . . . which ever side gets the public of the United States on its side will win out."

Each of the five bills whipped through without opposition. The vote on each measure:

House bill 434—Passed 37-0. Not voting were Sens. Theodore M. Hickey, Orleans district and Frank M. Edwards, Livingston-Et. Helena-Tangipahoa.

House bill 435—Passed 36-0. Not voting were Sens. Clifton Gaspard, St. Mary-Vermilion; Hickey, Edwards.

House bill 436 — Passed 36-0. Not voting were Sens. John J. Petre, Orleans; Hickey, Edwards.

House bill 437 — Passed 36-0. Not voting, Petre, Hickey, Edwards.

House bill 438 — Passed 36-0. Not voting were Hickey, Edwards and Arsene L. Stewart, Allen - Beauregard - Calcasieu - Cameron-Jefferson Davis.

Pro-Seg Leaders Crack Hate Whip On Legislators

Times-Picayune, New Orleans, Sat. 6-9-56

During the past week the Louisiana Legislature appeared to be manipulated like so many puppets in their disgusting, appalling and arrogant display of defiance to the U. S. Supreme Court and racial hatred of the Negro by flooding the Legislative hopper with bills literally designed to enslave spiritually and physically the mind and soul of the patient, law abiding Negro community of this state. Thought to be pulling the strings were State Sen. Willie Rainach with Leander Perez in the background as technical director. Both are important figures in the White Citizen's Council movement which has the state in a near panic over its rabid promotion of white supremacy and pro-segregation sympathies. Al Capone and his thugs in their wildest heyday never caused so much fear among decent law-abiding citizens.

The tenseness in the atmosphere around the state capital can best be described by those who felt the arrogant invasion by the Hitler regime, according to reports.

Reliable sources disclosed that most of the lawmakers, considered at one time friendly to Negroes, are now afraid to say anything . . ." I have never seen anything like this situation before," said one cautious legislator.

When Sen. J. D. DeBlieux of Baton Rouge opposed interposition, not in its entirety, he asked that the body not to attack the judiciary. He further solicited the help from certain so-called "liberals" from New Orleans, but it was learned, they turned him down.

The most talked of thing in this "hotbed of hatred" is the possibility that Negroes might be swimming in the same pools and using the same golf links and parks.

Informational sources related that the majority of the decisions and plans are not formulated in the capitol, but have their origin in local hotels and private clubs. The assembly lines were listed as the Heidelberg and King hotels and the Eagle Club.

The un-Democratic attitudes and un-Christian conditions prevalent in the Red Stick City during the past several days depicts a typical scene of what happens in neighboring Mississippi. Several days ago, it was learned, a group of certain liberals visited Gov. Long to see what could be done.

At the time of the session, the meeting was continually interrupted by a tirade of telegram messages, telephone calls, etc. allegedly spearheaded by San. Rainach and Leander Perez, two pro-segregation stalwarts.

Those elected officials who had been counted on as friends of Negroes, are complaining that nothing can be done. It is hardly believed that any will make a move for fear of getting the "evil eye." The tense condition gripping at the hearts of men dedicated to the democratic principles of this country, has quickly and quietly separated the duty-bound into the camp of the "where you lead I must follow or else."

Meanwhile, a flashback to the last statewide election will indicate that New Orleans Negro voters failed miserably by not strongly backing the return of Mrs. Bland Cox Bruns, Bernard T. Engert and David McHower, who stood up against Amendment 16. All were subsequently defeated for re-election which again points up the fact that Negroes cannot elect anybody unless they increase their voting potential and stand behind proven candidates.

Discussions of the flood of segregation bills designed to halt integration in all schools, colleges and other areas which reliable sources hinted that any unfavorable votes would be like committing political suicide.

The resultant effect of the "freeway to hatred" here is expected to awaken the Negro voters that something must be done to rid the state of "hoodwinked" politicians who are afraid to follow the dictates of their minds, hearts and soul to legislate for the betterment and not the deriment of the state.

Among the "simple" and stringent proposals concocted by a group of so-called intelligent lawmakers are: to dismiss teachers, school bus drivers and other employees who either belong or contribute to the NAACP or advocate integration in public schools or state colleges; to prohibit television station from showing or displaying any interracial theatrical, drama, vauldeville, burlesque, skit, dancing entertainment or any such program in which members of the white and Negro race participate or which involve social contacts between members of the two races; to ban all interracial activities, including athletics contests; to maintain segregated waiting rooms for intrastate passengers on public transportation lines; require enrollees at colleges and universities to present certificates from their school and parish superintendents attesting to eligibility and good moral character; to eliminate compulsory attendance at public schools forced to integrate; to extend the police power of the state to public parks and recreational facilities; to change the state constitution withdrawing state consent for suits against public bodies as the state parks and recreation commission, city and parish park commissions, the state board of education, LSU board, parish school boards and city school districts in Monroe, Lake Charles and Bogalusa, and others not worthy of the time wasted in preparing them.

Meanwhile Negroes are wondering when the pro-seg, white supremacy leaders are going to introduce a bill making it mandatory for all white people and those alleged to be white to prove their claim of pure, untainted white blood by going back four or five generations and producing records to substantiate the fact they do not have one fatal drop of Negro blood or ever consorted with Negroes to produce 'passe pour blanches.' The segregation committee headed by Sen. Rainach might turn up some interesting facts were it to pursue such a line of investigation. Some other highly secretive, expert investigative groups who are investigating along similar lines have made some remarkable discoveries about racial backgrounds in Louisiana. They are finding out what Huey Long believed many years ago about the complexion of this state. Maybe Louisiana was integrated long ago and is now afraid to find out if it is really true.

Louisiana Bills Ask Race Bars

Star P. 14-A, Fri. 6-1-56

BATON ROUGE, La., June 1 (AP).—Segregationists introduced bills in the Louisiana Legislature yesterday to preserve segregation in public buildings and shut off State aid to private schools that desegregate.

Two Senate measures, aimed primarily at Catholic and other private schools, would:

1. Cut off free school books, school lunch funds and other State aid to elementary and secondary schools which end racial segregation.

2. Forbid State recognition of graduates from any elementary or secondary school that desegregated.

Archbishop Joseph Rummel of New Orleans is expected to announce in a few days whether the New Orleans Catholic schools system will be desegregated next fall.

A constitutional amendment would end property tax exemption for schools and colleges not operated separately for white and colored persons.

In the House, three segregation bills were offered, to:

1. Require superintendents of public buildings to make sure separate facilities — sanitary, drinking and seating—be provided for whites and Negroes in their buildings.

2. Prohibit hotels or other lodging places and all public eating establishments from mixing the races. This provision would be enacted in the "exercise of the State police power to regulate public health and morals, and to maintain peace and good order in the State."

3. Require employers to furnish separate sanitary facilities, eating and drinking, for employes of white and Negro races.

All three proposals provide the same penalty for violations, $100 to $1,000 fines and 60 days to one year in jail.

LA. SEGREGATION LAWS ARE VOTED

Times-Picayune, New Orleans, Sun. 6-22-56

House Sends Five Bills to State Senate

BATON ROUGE, June 21 (AP)—The Louisiana House Monday swiftly and unanimously passed and sent to the Senate five bills to tighten the state's segregation laws.

A few simple explanations were offered. There was no debate. Votes ranged from 92-0 to 96-0.

The bills, including a proposed constitutional amendment, deal with such questions as white and Negro waiting rooms, public park facilities and tighter college entrance requirements.

The five bills are part of a total of 17 on the segregation question introduced in the current Legislature. The deadline for introductions is past.

Extend Police Power

The bills would:

1. Extend the police power of the state to public parks and recreational facilities.

2. Change the state constitution withdrawing state consent for suits against public bodies as the state parks and recreation commission, city and parish park commissions, the state board of education, Louisiana State university board, parish school boards and city school districts in Monroe, Lake Charles and Bogalusa.

3. Maintain segregated waiting rooms for intrastate passengers on public transportation lines.

4. Require enrollees at colleges and universities to present certificates from their school and parish superintendents attesting to eligibility and good moral character.

5. Eliminate compulsory school attendance at public schools forced to integrate.

Six More Bills

Six more segregation bills were added to the stack of proposals Sunday night. . . . The joint segregation committee advanced four making it possible to dismiss teachers, school bus drivers and other employes who either belong or contribute to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or advocate integration in public schools or state colleges.

In the Senate, Sens. Brenham Crothers of Ferriday, Andrew Sevier of Tallulah and Louis Folse of Arabi, proposed a bill prohibiting television stations "from showing or displaying any inter-racial theatrical, drama, vaudeville, burlesque, skit, dancing entertainment or any such program in which members of the white and Negro race participate or which involve social contacts between members of the white and Negro races."

The proposals accuse TV of following "the Communist technique of brainwashing for racial integration by bringing into private homes in this state harmful programs designed to affect the minds and attitudes of juveniles and thereby contribute to juvenile delinquency."

Louisiana Senate Okays Four Bills For Segregation

Advertiser, Fri. 6-22-56, Montgomery

BATON ROUGE, June 21 (AP)—The Louisiana Senate without debate or opposition today voted final legislative passage to four bills to permit firing of teachers who advocate racial integration. P.I.-C

The bills now go to Gov. Earl Long for his signature.

The four proposals involving teacher tenure are the last major items of a 12-measure legislative program sponsored by the joint legislative segregation committee.

Catholic Body Calls Racists Subversive

Defender p.4 Sat. 6-23-56

List 10 Points Supporting View

Chicago, Ill.

NEW ORLEANS — A unit of the Catholic Committee of the South has issued a 10-point statement to support its charge that Southern white supremacy groups who organize "racism" are "anti-American, anti-Catholic, anti-Southern and irreligious."

The committee's Commission on Human Rights released its statement here in response to a request by a spokesman for a white supremacy group who invited the commission to explain the basis for its charges.

Father Joceph H. Fichter, S. J., is the founder and moderator of the Commission on Human Rights.

CALLED THREAT

Calling the "un-American activities" of Southern white supremacy groups "the greatest threat to the greatest number of people", the commission's statement listed 10 points to substantate its charge that the actions of these groups have been anti-American in both spirit and practice.

Each point was in response to specific actions taken by Southern white supremacists. The points were:

1. It is subversion of the American government, the statement began, to advocate armed insurrection, to suggest that Southern states band together and fight, to dare the federal government to send troops to enforce the desegregation rulings of the U. S. Supreme Court.

2. It is subversion of the American ideal of free, universal education to threaten the closing down of the public school system in order to avoid desegration.

AMERICAN SYSTEM

3. It is subversion of the American system of separation of Church and State, to promote legislation which would interfere with the operation of private and Church schools and institutions.

4. It is subversion of the American system of free enterprise to drive people out of business, prevent them form getting credit, threaten the safety of their customers and suppliers, simply because these pople are on the side of racial desegregation.

5. It is subversion of American democracy and comletely foreign to promote the American concept of human eqaulity, to hold, preach and promote the doctrine of racial supremacy.

FORCED JIM CROW

6. It is subversion of American democracy to put into practice the foreign ideology of racism by insisting upon compulsory segregation of the races.

7. It is subversion of the American system of equal opportunity for all to deprive large numbers of Negroes of the equal chance to participate in voting and holding office, in schooling and recreation, in housing and property ownership, in job-training and job-advancement, in jury duty and equal protection of the law.

8. It is subversion of the American spirit of fair play to use "smear tactics" against the good name, reputation and loyalty of fellow citizens.

ATTACK COURT

9. It is subversion of the American political system to attack the United States Supreme Court as an institution.

10. It is subversion of the American legal system to maintain that "law is merely public opinion", that a law is not binding on those people who do not like the law.

The commission concluded its statement by stressing its belief that a majority of Southerners, white and colored, would not "fall easily into the trap of un-Americanism which white supremacy groups are trying to set."

It asked Americans of good will of both races to work out race problems, harmoniously, " in the American way of tolerance, justice and fair play."

Standing Up And Being Counted

Weekly Ill.

The Negro citizens of this state are duly alarmed and concerned at the current outburst of vicious and repressive segregation legislation that is currently being passed in the Louisiana legislature. A mighty lot of goodwill and good race relations are being washed down the drain by the Louisiana legislature apparently trying to ape several defiant Southern states who have gone off on the deep end in this matter of refusing to abide by and comply with the law of the land as recently enunciated by the U. S. Supreme Court.

How Negroes in this state feel about this tense and lamentable state of affairs in our fair state is probably best stated in 'The Negro's Declaration Of Intention' recently printed in the Louisiana Baptist Advocate 'voice of 150,000 Baptists' in the state prepared by Rev. J. H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc. and approved by 5,000,000 Baptist ministers and their congregations.

In the preface to the Declaration Of Intention Dr. Jackson said in part 'In recent days, many questions have been raised about the new wave of terror sweeping the Southland . . . Many people in Europe, including Russia as well as those in Africa and South America and the Isles of the sea, are concerned about the basic reaction of the Negro population . . . Will they remain loyal, or will they turn communist? It was the writer's opinion that some kind of expression of outlook, aims and purpose would be of untold value. Hence this Declaration Of Intention."

DECLARATION

1. At all times, WE INTEND to support the Federal Constitution, to obey the laws of the land, to avoid contempt of courts, and to respect the judgments and decrees of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, and to always abide by the same.

Sat. 6-9-56

2. Whatever is said or done against the United States of America by enemies foreign or domestic; we will ever oppose with all of our heart, mind, body, soul and strength.

3. WE INTEND to continue to teach our children that this nation is a great free republic of law and order, with a system of government Of the People, By the People, and For the People. And any person who disobeys the laws of the land and teaches others to do so, is a declared enemy of this nation, and is working for its overthrow; and hence, does not deserve the right of free participation in the nation's life, and is unworthy of the security that the country gives, and is subject to the penalties of the law. We shall also teach our children that this nation under God, was founded in the spirit of justice, freedom, and due regard for moral law, and cannot survive without our remaining true to its

foundation principles.

4. WE INTEND to participate in the total cultural life of the nation, both for personal growth and development, and for the further progress of the country itself.

5. WE INTEND always, to cherish and to give thanks for those natural endowments and special gifts that have made our race great; and pledge all of our talents and resources in the building of a better social order and a more democratic world.

6. In spite of the doctrine of the segregationist, we shall always believe that the basic quality of real distinction, is character not color; and the stature of a person is determined by the power of his mind, the purity of his heart, and the highest possible dedication of his life.

7. WE INTEND to crusade against all the evils in our society that are designed to poison creative human relationships, and to crush the constructive growth of human personality, and to fight against the false doctrine which claims that some men are by origin, birth and nature, superior to others.

8. While we shall recognize a need for the patience that accompanies growth, WE INTEND at all times, to reject that doctrine of gradualism which implies that the established laws of the land should be gradually applied, and gradually obeyed, in order to respect the unjust traditions of men, and to give free reign and honor to destructive prejudices.

9. WE INTEND to take every legal step to employ every constructive measure, and to cooperate with every group of loyal Americans in the struggle to preserve all of the nation's ideals, and to overcome every economic, political and cultural stumbling block that hinders the further progress of this great republic.

10. With love for our nation, good-will towards all, utter devotion to the Federal Constitution, and undying faith in God; WE INTEND to continue our struggle for the complete victory of freedom on every front, and the preservation of the soul of the nation whatever the cost. And if we are slain by the forces of oppression before our high purpose is achieved: we pray that we shall sleep under the shadows of the flag that we love, and that our flowing blood shall help to wash from the nation's life, every blot of shame; and our bleached bones shall help to fertilize our hallowed soil for those who come after us; and our sacred dust shall be a silent testimony and a lasting memorial to our eternal quest for justice, peace and goodwill.

Police Jurors In Louisiana Defy Integration Decisions

By The United Press

NEW ORLEANS, May 1.—Louisiana police jurors Tuesday defied the United States Supreme Court orders regarding segregation which one Caddo Parish juror said "could very well lead to our first dictatorship."

The jurors, by voice vote, unanimously adopted a motion by another Caddo Parish juror, L. F. Clawson, condemning the decisions.

"We're not going to become integrated in 500 or a thousand years," Mr. Clawson said in a fiery speech.

The Police Jury Association of Louisiana ended a two-day meeting Tuesday night.

Caddo Police Juror George O. Baird said the Supreme Court decision was based on writing, much of them "by left wingers, rather than on law.

'Natural Law'

"God put the red man in America. He put the black man in Africa. He put the yellow man in Asia and the white man in Europe. Segregation is a natural law."

The high court decision, Mr. Baird said, "could very well lead to our first dictatorship."

Mr. Clawson said the decision could not be blamed on the Republicans.

"There are seven Democrats on the Supreme Court and two Republicans. If seven weak-kneed Democrats can let two Republicans tell them what to do they have no business there."

Local Control Urged

Earlier Gov. Robert F. Kennon urged the jurors to "demand that Baton Rouge give you a maximum of local control."

"I hope we get to the point where you don't have to go to Baton Rouge for anything. No matter how much a governor has to give, it gives out before you have a chance to get to everybody."

He cited the $2,500,000 annual appropriation included in the long-range highway program passed under his Administration as a step toward aiding local police juries.

LONG SIGNS TWO NO-MIXING BILLS

Measures Cover Waiting Rooms, Schools

BATON ROUGE, June 22 (AP)—Gov. Earl Long today signed two segregation bills because he didn't "want Garrett to think I'm courting the colored people."

Garrett is Rep. John Garrett of Claiborne Parish, vice chairman of the Legislative Segregation Committee.

The bills would:

1. Require a segregated travel waiting rooms for intrastate travel and lump nonsegregated interstate waiting rooms in with the colored room for intrastate passengers.

2. Knock out the compulsory school attendance law where schools are integrated under court order.

The bills become law Aug. 1, 20 days after the session ends.

Long, visiting the press table in the House, told reporters:

"I signed one of brother Garrett's bills which makes it a penitentiary offense for a Negro to stick his head in a place where a white man is sitting."

Presumably he meant the bill concerning travel waiting rooms, but Long did not explain his remark.

He continued, "I don't know how much good these bills will do, but I don't want Garrett to think I'm courting the colored people."

The two measures, part of a 12-proposal segregation package sponsored by the segregation committee, were the third and fourth segregation proposals signed by the governor.

Two previous bills would place segregation in recreational facilities and parks under the state's police power and require certificates of eligibility and moral character from school principals and superintendents from applicants to state colleges and universities.

Four other segregation committee bills passed the Senate yesterday, permitting firing of teachers who advocate racial integration. They now await Long's signature.

Previously, the Legislature adopted interposition, passing a resolution which declared the U.S. Supreme Court's school segregation ruling unconstitutional.

"WATCH DOG"

Louisiana Prepares New Court Flaunting Program

BATON ROUGE, La. — (INS) — A 12-point legislative program designed to preserve racial segregation in Louisiana was ready Friday for the signature of Gov. Earl K. Long.

The measure spell out new state power to enforce segregation in schools, public transportation, state parks and other recreational facilities. They reenact provisions of Louisiana law, designed to circumvent the U. S. Supreme Court's desegregation ruling, which were held unconstitutional by a Federal District Court.

The legislature gave final approval to the last four proposals Thursday. The program becomes law when the bills are signed by the Governor.

Included were measures which would prohibit teachers and other school employes from contributing to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and permitting dismissal of teachers who advocate racial integration in the public schools. The NAACP has been outlawed in Louisiana by a state court.

The new measures call for continued segregation in public transportation waiting rooms, grant the state police powers to enforce segregation in state parks and other recreational facilities.

The legislature joined those of a number of other Southern states in approving a resolution of interposition, holding the U. S Supreme Court school segregation ruling not applicable in Louisiana.

The school program also tightens entrance requirements, calling for certificates of moral character from school officials for college student applicants, and abolishes compulsory school attendance in event scaool integration is ordered.

Other measures would require legislative approval before integration suits might be field against state agencies, and establish a legislative "watch dog" committee to keep up with integration efforts.

New Sports Segregation Law Takes Effect In Louisiana

Advertiser Tues. 11-16-56
Montgomery Ala.

NEW ORLEANS, Oct. 15 (AP) — Louisiana put its new sports segregation law ino effect today and a backer of the act predicted the people themselves would make sure it was enforced.

The law makes it illegal for white and Negro amateur and professional players to compete in the same "athletic training, games, sports or contests." Separate seating for spectators also is required under the act, which carries a maximum penalty of $1,000 fine and one-year imprisonment.

Sen. W. M. Rainach of Summerfield, chairman of the legislative committee on segregation which drafted the act, said "this law has probably the strongest public support of any segregation measure enacted by the Louisiana legislature."

Rainach said he looked for any violations to be "called to the attention of the proper authorities by the people themselves. I don't think our committee will have to worry about enforcement."

NO TROUBLE ANTICIPATED

"I am not anticipating any trouble at all because the people of this state are firm in their determination and they are becoming rapidly organized and strong in their position to maintain segregation."

Rainach also is president of the Louisiana Assn. of Citizens Councils. The citizens councils are dedicated to preserving segregation.

The bill, passed by the May session of the legislature, was signed by Gov. Earl Long July 17.

The law did not go into effect until today because of a possibility, when the bill was being discussed, that Shreveport might get into the Texas League playoffs. It turned out the precaution was unncessary. Shreveport finished seventh.

Long, who couldn't be reached for comments today, previously said he was neutral on the question. However, he said once that he thought the law eventually would wind up in court.

Rainach apparently doesn't expect any trouble there.

"With the rising temper of public opinion on this issue, I doubt the wisdom and effectiveness of a court test," Rainach said.

NO PLANS KNOWN

A. P. Tureaud, lawyer for the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, said he didn't know of any plans for contesting the law.

Paul DeBlanc, president of the Mid-Winter Sports Assn. which sponsors the Sugar Bowl, had no comment.

The Sugar Bow, several universities in the state, and the Louisiana Invitational Basketball Tournament at Shreveport already have felt the effects of the bill. Some schools cancelled contracts because of Negroes on their squads. Others said they were voiding contracts on grounds of principle.

The University of Wisconsin acted first. It cancelled a 1957-58 home - and - home agreement for football games with Louisiana State.

GAMES CALLED OFF

Seven schools called off basketball games scheduled for the upcoming season. Notre Dame, Dayton and St. Louis dropped out of the Sugar Bowl tourney.

Under the new law white and Negro boxers will not even be able to work out against each other, a not uncommon practice here.

The big baseball question is what will happen to Shreveport's entry in the Texas League.

Shreveport doesn't have any Negroes, but other clubs in the loop play Negroes there. The question may be answered tomorrow at a league meeting in Dallas.

Louisiana sports ban now in effect

Afro-American p. 17
Baltimore Md.

NEW ORLEANS (ANP) — A ban on interracial mixing in sports passed by the Louisiana State Legislature last May over strong protests and which is expected to have far-reaching effect for years to come, went into effect throughout the state last week.

Pushed through the state legislature by proponents of segregation, the law makes it illegal for colored and white amateur and professional players to compete in the same "athletic training, games, sports or contests." It provides a maximum penalty for violation of $1,000 or one year imprisonment.

THE PLAN, before becoming law, was bitterly opposed by the Midwinter Sporting Association, which sponsored the annual Sugar Bowl games, and the Southern Association of baseball. Both groups felt that it would wreck sporting events under their jurisdiction.

Their predictions proved right, when a number of college basketball and football teams pulled out of the Sugar Bowl classic. Others cancelled games scheduled with teams both in Louisiana and in northern cities.

A number of baseball teams are said to be also planning to bypass the state and play their spring exhibition games elsewhere.

However, predicted financial losses and disruption of the Sugar Bowl schedule failed to impress the Louisiana legislators, who voted the edict into law.

CITIZENS COUNCIL MOVE

Louisiana Vote Rejects Plan To Trim Negro Registration

Advertiser Sat. 6-B
Montgomery Ala.
Thurs. 11-15-56

BATON ROUGE, La., Nov. 14 (AP)—Louisiana voters defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to help white citizens councils trim Negro voting, but okayed another proposal aimed at slowing school integration lawsuits, complete returns showed today.

Both measures were drafted by the legislative "watch dog" committee on segregation, which previously has won lopsided approval for its proposals.

Final but unofficial returns from the Secretary of State's office gave Amendment 47, setting up a new procedure for handling appeal of persons denied vote registration, a 190,410 to 178,833 unfavorable vote.

The other amendment, No. 48, withdrawing state approval for suits against a number of state agencies such as school boards and recreation commissions, was approved 233,015.

It was designed to block future integration lawsuits against parish school systems and recreation departments by requiring approval of the Legislature for such suits.

The first proposal grew out of a drive against Negro vote registration before the Nov. 6 election. In more than a dozen parishes (counties), pro - segregation groups have challenged some Negro voters, forcing them to prove they were properly registered.

The amendment would have provided two administrative steps before the voter losing his registration could take the matter into court, setting up administrative barriers to a federal court action.

The Public Affairs Research Council, an independent research group, contended "the proposed appeal procedure could be used as a political weapon to discourage registration of factional opponents or other groups."

The returns also showed voters rejected Gov. Earl Long's proposed 1957 constitutional convention nearly six to one, complete but unofficial election returns showed today.

Final results were not avialable on President Eisenhower's victory sweep in Louisiana. He carried the state over Adlai Stevenson by a margin of better than 75,000 ballots in earlier tabulations.

Louisianians okayed the 16-million-dollar bonus for World War One veterans in a tight decision, 199,054 to 191,965, and the two million dollars extra to complete payment of the Korean bonus, 269,310 to 117,433.

FBI 'BROWBEATING' OF LOUISIANA DENIED

Commercial Appeal
Memphis Tenn.

Brooks Says South Treated 'Like Conquered Province'

Sun. 12-14-56

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13.—(UP) —The Justice Department denied Thursday that the FBI has been browbeating anybody in Louisiana.

It said the FBI has been questioning some Northern Louisianans but did not say why.

Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III referred to the FBI activity in reply to a complaint by Representative Overton Brooks (D., La.) that the department was treating the South "like a conquered province."

Mr. Brooks sent Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. a telegram demanding FBI agents cease questioning of pro-segregation council members. Mr. Brooks said "a proper foundation" had not been laid for such activity.

The Louisiana Democrat also said Federal agents had investigated public officials and others "whose records" as law abiding people have never been questioned.

Mr. Olney, head of the Department's Criminal Division, said "persons being interviewed by (the) FBI in Northern Louisiana are for the most part witnesses rather than prospective defendants."

Mr. Olney told Mr. Brooks all interviews are conducted with the FBI's "usual courtesy and propriety."

Negro Charges Bus Companies With 'Unlawful Humiliation'

Advertiser Fri 12-14-56

Montgomery, Ala.

SHREVEPORT, La., Dec. 13 (AP)—A 76-year-old Pasadena, Calif., Negro today charged that his civil rights were violated in an incedent at a local bus station last November.

P. 5-a

The suit, received in the mail here today by federal court officials, sought a $400,000 judgment.

38a

It was filed in the name of I. H. Spears, who said in the suit he was acting as his own lawyer. He said his only source of income was an $89 a month old age pension.

The City of Shreveport, 18 unidentified city policemen and the Coninental Bus System, Coninental Trailways, Dixie Lines Inc., of Dallas and Southern Lines Inc. of Alexandria were named as defendants.

Spears said he was enroute from El Dorado, Ark., to Witchita Falls, Tex., and was waiting for a bus to continue his journey when the incident occurred Nov. 13.

Spears said he was "unlawfully and wrongfully assaulted, abused, humiliated, shocked and threatened with being put in jail in Shreveport."

Charles Kenney, regional manager for the bus company here, gave the following version:

Spears was sitting in the white waiting room and a policeman asked him to move to the Negro section. Instead of leaving, Spears went to a telephone booth. He was again asked to leave the waiting room. He then went outside.

When Spears' bus arrived, he entered and sat in the rear, Kenney said, adding there was no disturbance.

Catholics' Choice of Negro As Loyola Speaker Is Hit

Courier-Journal P.1 Mon. 2-27-56

New Orleans, Feb. 26 (AP)—An Orleans Parish (County) School Board member today termed "most regrettable" an invitation by Loyola University of the South to Hulan E. Jack, Negro president of the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York, to speak on a Catholic interracial program.

Jack addressed a nonsegregated crowd at the Roman Catholic university on a program headed by Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans.

Emile A. Wagner, Jr., New Orleans attorney and member of a school board pledged to retain segregation in public schools, said in a telephone interview, "I am not going to say Mr. Jack is a Communist or anything like that—I don't know.

Louisville Ky.

Releases Statement

"But the public is entitled to know the facts," he added.

He released to the press four typewritten copies marked "Information from the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives." The files were undated and unsigned. They allegedly contained information associating Jack's name with organizations cited as subversive.

When informed of Wagner's action, Jack said he denied "these associations categorically. I never had any activities with these organizations of any nature."

Jack said communism was "never an issue in my career." He said he had been a member of the Democratic Party for 25 years and added:

"I'm an American citizen and proud of it."

Wagner's prepared statement said:

"Certain institutions and agencies in their zeal to foist racial integration upon an unwilling and intellectually sincere majority may be unwittingly aligning themselves with sinister forces which are working to bring about not only their own destruction but also the destruction of the democratic way of life."

Archbishop Rummel said almost the same thing of the pro-segregation forces.

The prelate said segregation leaders should ask themselves whether they "are really acting as genuine Americans or whether they are doing the work of those striving to introduce the principles of atheism and infidelity and the principles of communism in the United States."

Negroes Urged to Fight

Atlanta Ga. 2-29-56

NEW ORLEANS, March 19 (AP)—A mass meeting of about 5,000 Negroes was urged yesterday to "rise up" and let White Citizens Councils know "the time is out for segregation."

Baltimore Md. 2-20-56

The audience contributed $3,000 in support of the Negroes in the Montgomery trial. The sponsor of the meeting was the New Orleans Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, headed by the Rev. A. L. Davis Jr.

"We face a crisis, and the quality of our strength is now being tested," Mr. Davis, Negro pastor of the New Zion Baptist Church, said.

Light In New Orleans

(From The New York Times)

Along with his order requiring integration of the schools of New Orleans "with all deliberate speed," a United States District Judge has written an opinion to stir the heart of every citizen concerned with the great and difficult question now rocking the Deep South. These are his words:

Daily World

The problem of changing a people's mores, particularly those with an emotional overlay, is not to be taken lightly. It is a problem which will require the utmost patience, understanding, generosity and forbearance and from all of us of whatever race.

But the magnitude of the problem may not nullify the principle. And that principle is that we are, all of us, freeborn Americans with a right to make our way unfettered by sanctions imposed by man because of the work of God.

Wed. 2-29-56

Atlanta, Ga.

Judge James Skelly Wright deserves honor for this eloquent expression. He himself is a Southern Democrat, born in New Orleans forty-five years ago, educated at Loyola University and named to the Federal bench by President Truman in 1949. He told the Orleans Parish School Board that it could not continue segregation indefinitely, but that his order did not mean that the public schools of the Deep South's largest city "would be completely desegregated overnight or even in a year or more." In other words, Judge Wright is urging his fellow-citizens of New Orleans to recognize that desegregation is not merely inevitable but morally necessary as well, and that it will come with gradualism and can come without undue friction.

Fortunately, many leaders in the South hold similar views. Only a few days ago more than 200 whites and Negroes met together in Montgomery itself at the annual conference of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in an effort to work out rational ways of "resolving community conflicts." At the University of Alabama, recent scene of shameful rioting against a Negro student, the better element among the undergraduates is now making itself heard in protest. The more patience and understanding shown by both Negroes and whites, the easier and surer will this revolutionary transition be made.

Integration Issue Flares At New Orleans Session

Evening Star P.1 Mon. 2-27-56

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 27 (AP).—An Orleans Parish (County) school board member, who is pledged to maintain racial segregation, has accused Roman Catholic institutions of perhaps "unwittingly aligning themselves with sinister forces."

Emile A. Wagner, jr., made the assertion yesterday after a nonsegregated interracial meeting at Loyola of the South, a Catholic university. Hulan E. Jack, Negro president of New York City's Borough of Manhattan, shared the speakers' platform with Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel.

Washington D.C.

Mr. Wagner, a Catholic and an alumnus of Loyola, said in a statement criticizing the university that "certain institutions and agencies in their zeal to foist racial integration upon an unwilling and intellectually sincere majority may be unwittingly aligning themselves with sinister forces which are working to bring about . . . the destruction of the democratic way of life."

Archbishop Rummel, in his speech, had similar charges to make of segregation defenders. The Archbishop said they may be "doing the work of those striving to introduce the principles of atheism and infidelity and the principles of Communism in the United States."

Mr. Wagner strongly objected to the appearance of the New York speaker. "I am not going to say Mr. Jack is a Communist, or anything like that—I don't know," he said. "But the public is entitled to know the facts."

The school board member released to the press four typewritten pages allegedly containing information associating Mr. Jack with organizations listed as subversive."

Mr. Jack, categorically denying the associations, said, "I never had any activities with to use my name at any time."

Mr. Jack said he has always fought communism.

He said he is wholeheartedly in favor of the methods employed by the Negroes in Montgomery, Ala., in the bus segregation dispute.

Evening Star

He also said he approves the tactics of Autherine Lucy, Negro woman barred from the University of Alabama.

"I would not advocate force," Mr. Jack said. "Whatever we do, let's do it peacefully.

P.6-A

Data Sent by Clerk

The typewritten pages released by Mr. Wagner were undated and unsigned. They were marked "Information from the files of the Committee on Un-American Activities U. S. House of Representatives."

Mr. Wagner was quoted as saying the files were sent to him by Mrs Juliette Joray, acting clerk of the House committee. In Washington, Mrs. Joray said these organizations of any nature."

When he arrived in New York today by plane, Mr. Jack said any charge that he was linked with Communists is "a diabolical scheme."

Mr. Jack, an active Roman Catholic layman, repeated that he never has been a member of any group known to him to be subversive.

Denounces Accusation

"The diabolical charges made against me," he told newsmen at LaGuardia Field, "are an outgrowth of the White Citizens Council, which is staging a rear guard action to disobey the decision handed by the Supreme Court on the desegregation in schools."

Asked about the list of organizations released by Mr. Wagner, Mr. Jack said:

"I know I have never been a member of any of these organizations as mentioned, nor have I given any one the authority she sent the data to Mr. Wagner on orders of Richard Arens, acting counsel for the committee.

Mr. Jack, who came to this country from the British West Indies 49 years ago, praised the archbishop in his comments here and said Archbishop Rummel has "stimulated the admiration of every right-thinking citizen in every corner of our country."

He said he was an American citizen "and proud of it." Mr. Jack, a member of the Democratic Party for 25 years and former member of the New York State Assembly, said his election to the presidency of Manhattan was a "practical demonstration of democracy in action which the Communists can never challenge."

Outspoken Segregation Foe

Archbishop Rummel is an outspoken opponent of racial segregation. In a pastoral letter February 19, the German-born archbishop condemned segregation and indicated he would integrate the New Orleans parochial schools, perhaps after September, 1956.

Last week he approved an editorial in the archdiocesan newspaper which warned Catholic lawmakers against attempting to include private schools in Louisiana's segregation laws. The editorial said the lawmakers, if their measures went into effect, might be subject to automatic excommunication from the church.

Three of the legislators, two of whom were defeated in the primary, said last night they intend to go ahead with plans to include private schools in the segregation laws.

Representative E. W. Gavolet, jr., said the excommunication warning in the editorial "is the explanation of one man who seeks first integration and not the free exercise of religion towards which the canon (rule) of the church is directed."

Letter Read in Catholic Churches

Louisiana Archbishop Assails Bias as 'Sinful'

By the Associated Press

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 19.—Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel in a strongly worded pastoral letter today denounced racial segregation as "morally wrong and sinful" and gace clear indication he intends to integrate New Orleans parochial schools.

His letter was read at all masses in all churches throughout the archdiocese, largest in the deep South with a Catholic population of 524,157. About 25 per cent are Negroes.

It was the first time New Orleans Catholics heard integration plans discussed in a public letter from the Archbishop. The reading at most churches commanded rapt attention.

Archdiocesan spokesmen previously have announced that plans are under way to integrate the Catholic schools some time after 1956, but this was the Archbishop's first public denunciation of segregation as a sin.

Largest School Unit

The New Orleans parochial school system is the state's largest single school unit. New Orleans is one of the few cities in the country where more children attend parochial than public schools.

Archbishop Rummel did not say when integration would come but pleaded "that the decision when made will be accepted in the spirit of Christian charity and justice."

"This is a problem which should be worked out not in an atmosphere of wrangling or contention or discord or hatred but in a spirit of conciliation and with a desire to achieve peace through justice and charity," he said.

Federal Order Issued

The New Orleans public school system is already under Federal District Court order to begin carrying out the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision ending public school segregation.

The court order came Wednesday after a special three-man Federal court declared all Louisiana school segregation laws unconstitutional.

Earlier this week three Catholic state legislators announced they would ask the May Legislature to include Catholic schools in these state segregation laws. Catholic schools were deleted from the original bills in 1954 at the urging of Archbishop Rummel.

More than 50 per cent of the South's Catholics live in Louisiana. But the Archbishop's letter had no effect on Louisiana's other two dioceses, Lafayette and Alexandria.

Associated Press

Archbishop Rummel

30 CATHOLIC LAYMEN FORM RACIAL STUDY

New Orleans Integration Foe Heads Organization

NEW ORLEANS, March 18.—(UP)—Thirty Roman Catholic laymen in this area have formed a corporation for "investigation and study" of compulsory racial integration.

The president of the organization is Emile A. Wagner Jr., a local attorney and outspoken foe of integration. He recently attacked officials of Loyola University for inviting Hulan Jack, Manhattan's Negro borough president, to speak at an interracial meeting.

Known as the Association of Catholic Laymen, the group said in articles of incorporation it would also "seek out and make known and denounce communist infiltration, if there be any in the integration movements."

The group is open only to "persons of the Caucasian race who profess the faith of the Holy Roman Catholic Church."

Mr. Wagner said the founders of the group intended to circulate 25,000 membership applications in the New Orleans area.

Catholic officials here, including Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel have said integration of the parochial schools was coming. Archbishop Rummel called segregation "a moral sin."

SEGREGATION FIGHT REACHES STALEMATE

Louisiana Lawmaker Says 'Pressure' Lessening

BATON ROUGE, La., March 18.—(UP)—A Louisiana segregation leader said Sunday the South has advanced to a stalemate in the fight against integration.

State Senator W. M. 'Willie' Rainach pointed to President Eisenhower's call for moderation in dealing with the race problem as a sign pressure for integration is lessening.

"The President realized he faces a much more difficult enforcement task than was at first believed when the United States Supreme Court issued its anti-segregation public school ruling," Senator Rainach said.

The courts and their supporters thought the South would not fight back and that there would be wholesale retreat, he said.

"But they have just realized how deep and intense the white man's resolve is to maintain our segregated way of life," Senator Rainach said.

Senator Rainach, who heads the joint Legislative Committee on Segregation, has helped draft most import state segregation laws passed in recent years.

It was largely Senator Rainach's public schools segregation laws which a 3-man Federal court in New Orleans declared unconstitutional last month.

He heads, also, the Association of Citizens Councils, which is a policy-making body for local citizens chapters.

Catholics May Ignore Bias Ban

By the Associated Press.

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 20.—A group of Catholic lawmakers today proceeded with plans to prevent integration of Louisiana Catholic schools, despite a pastoral letter from Archbishop Joseph Rummel condemning segregation as "morally wrong and sinful."

The letter was read at all masses yesterday in the 120 churches throughout the Archdiocese of New Orleans and clearly indicated the archbishop intended to end segregation in church and school facilities.

Rep. E. W. Gravolet Jr. of Plaquemines Parish said the pastoral letter would have no effect on his group's plans to restore parochial schools to Louisiana's 1954 school segregation laws when the Legislature meets in May.

The state's segregation laws were declared unconstitutional last Wednesday by a three-judge United States Circuit Appeals Court which ordered New Orleans public schools to begin carrying out the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision banning school segregation.

ence Education Fund, which has actively supported integration.

He said his dismissal was a "great blow at the basic right of every individual to think for himself" and was an effort to intimidate those who sincerely believe that the days of segregation and discrimination are numbered.

In Shreveport, Police Jury Member Thomas P. Fitzgerald was asked for his resignation after refusing to support a resolution calling for an act of interposition against integration rulings.

a Coushatta, La., Negro leader indicated that he was leaving his hometown for California when he received threats apparently for his political activities. He acknowledged his plight in advertisement appearing in the local newspaper.

There were no immediate facts to prove whether a secret undercover campaign is being launched to deprive Negro leaders of their right to enjoy complete freedom of expression in small Louisiana towns. However, that is a partial contention of veteran observers.

Minister Forced To Flee Small La. Town

A Negro minister was mysteriously forced to flee the seat of his pastorate after being called from his humble parsonage in a small Louisiana town last week, allegedly by a group of white citizens, it was learned here this week.

The nature of the pressure brought to bear on the cleric was unknown at press time. The name of the minister was not disclosed pending further inquiries surrounding the circumstances of his enforced departure.

Reports indicated that the pastor was called from his parsonage, carried about 10 blocks, shot at and run out of town.

Efforts to contact the reverend for an interview were futile. However, sources closed to him revealed that he had no comment to make at this time.

The incident marked the second occurence involving a Negro minister within the past three months. The first such case involved the circumstances surrounding the strange death of the Rev. Ellis F. Wise, pastor of Mt. Olivet Methodist Church in Bastrop.

The Bastrop Cleric's body was found in a bayou on the old Monroe highway last January and the cloud of mystery of suicide or foul play still hangs in mid-air. He reportedly left his home several hours before his body was found by an elderly white man to visit a sick member.

About a month and a half ago,

Whites Lose Jobs Because Of Integration Attitudes

NEW ORLEANS, (ANP)— Three Louisiana officials have lost their jobs because of their statements favoring racial integration.

In Shrevéport, a Caddo parish juvenile probation officer, Louis Rains, was fired because he told a newspaper that the paper was biased in its stand against segregation and criticized the police jury on the same grounds.

In New Orleans, Robert D. Barnes, editor of the News bulletin of the Chamber of Commerce, was dismissed because of his racial attitudes.

Barnes frankly admitted being against segregation, which he said is outmoded, and admitted being a member of the Southern Confer-

'Segregation a Sin,' Archbishop Declares

Post & Times

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 19 (AP) Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel in a strongly worded postoral letter denounced racial segregation today as "morally wrong and sinful" and gave clear indication he intended to integrate New Orleans parochial schools.

His letter was read at all masses in all churches throughout the archdiocese, largest in the deep South with a Catholic population of 524,157. About 25 per cent are Negroes.

It was the first time New Orleans Catholics heard integration plans discussed in a public letter from the Archbishop. The readings at most churches commanded rapt attention.

Archdiocesan spokesmen previously announced that plans were under way to integrate the Catholic schools sometime after 1956, but this was the Archbishop's first public denunciation of segregation as a sin.

The New Orleans parochial school system is the state's largest single school unit. New Orleans is one of the few cities in the country where more children attend parochial than public schools.

Archbishop Rummel did not say when integration would come but pleaded "that the decision when made will be accepted in the spirit of Christian charity and justice . . ."

The New Orleans public school system is already under Federal District Court order to begin carrying out the 1954 U. S. Supreme Court decision ending public school segregation.

Elsewhere on the segregation front:

• Louisiana State University rejected a proposed "color" clause that would have prevented LSU teams from playing against Negro athletes. The University Board of Supervisors also voted not to tighten entrance requirements, suggested by segregation leaders in an effort to head off more Negro students. LSU has admitted Negro graduate students under court order for several years.

• Two Negro students—subject of a bitter controversy within the national fraternity of Sigma Phi—were initiated into the Williams College chapter.

• At Atlanta, Negro leaders agreed to bring new court action before June in eight Southern states they said were in open rebellion against the United States in the matter of school desegregation. They are: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

Alumnus up in arms—

Flare-up boils as Loyola invites Negro to speak

News Mon. 2-27-56 P. 15

Birmingham Ala.

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 27 (AP) —An Orleans Parish (county) school board member who is pledged to maintain racial segregation has accused Roman Catholic institutions of perhaps "unwittingly aligning themselves with sinister forces."

Emile A. Wagner Jr. made the assertion yesterday following a non-segregated interracial meeting at Loyola of the South, a Catholic University. Hulan E. Jack, Negro president of New York City's borough of Manhattan, shared the speakers' platform with Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel.

Wagner, a Catholic and Loyola alumnus, said in a statement criticizing the university that "certain institutions and agencies in their zeal to foist racial integration upon an unwilling and intellectually sincere majority may be unwittingly aligning themselves with sinister forces which are working to bring about . . . the destruction of the democratic way of life."

RUMMEL, IN HIS speech, had similar charges to make of segregation defenders. The archbishop said they may be "doing the work of those striving to introduce the principles of atheism and infidelity and the principles of communism in the United States."

Wagner strongly objected to the appearance of the New York speaker. "I am not going to say Mr. Jack is a Communist or anything like that—I don't know," he said. "But the public is entitled to know the facts."

The school board member released to the press four typewritten pages allegedly containing information associating Jack with organizations listed as subversive.

JACK, CATEGORICALLY denying the associations, said, "I never had any activities with these organizations of any nature."

The typewritten pages, undated and unsigned, were marked "information from the files of the committee on un-American activities, U. S. House of Representatives."

Jack, who came to this country from the British West Indies 49 years ago, praised the archbishop and said Rummel has "stimulated the admiration of every right-thinking citizen in every corner of our country."

Rummel is an outspoken opponent of racial segregation.

Last week he approved an editorial in the archdiocesan newspaper which warned Catholic lawmakers against attempting to include private schools in Louisiana's segregation laws.

Priest Favoring Integration Gets Telephone Threat

Call Herald Shreveport, La. Fri. 3-30-56

NEW ORLEANS — (INS) — A pro-integration Catholic priest said Thursday, March 22, that he considers a telephoned threat on his life as "unrepresentative of the feelings of the better people of the South."

The Rev. Eugene McManus, 31, was threatened after he appeared as a speaker at a meeting on integration. He said the anonymous caller used "unprintable" language.

He said at the meeting that fear over the segregation issue has turned "the fair-minded people of our city into blinded, frenzied bigots."

He added that these fair-minded people are afraid to express their true feelings for fear "the fury of the mob will be turned against them."

RACIAL PROBLEM STUDY TO BE AIM

Times-Picayune Sun. 3-18-56

Catholic Group to Probe 'Compulsory Integration'

Thirty New Orleans area men have formed a corporation of Catholic laymen to investigate and study "compulsory integration" of the races. They aim at an area membership of 25,000. P. 19

Emile A. Wagner Jr., New Orleans attorney and a sharp critic of proposals calling for the integration of the races in the Catholic parochial schools in the archdiocese of New Orleans, announced the incorporation Saturday.

New Orleans La.

The organization's name is Association of Catholic Laymen. Wagner is its president.

Announced purposes of the association, as specified in the articles of incorporation, are:

"To foster, promote and protect the moral, physical, cultural and educational welfare and the general interests of all the people by an investigation and study, in all of its aspects, of the problem of compulsory integration of the black and white races.

Would Bar Red Infiltration

"To keep the public fully informed and alerted on all matters related thereto.

"To seek out, make known and denounce Communist infiltration, if any there be in the integration movements.

"To unite thoughtful and sincere persons in an organization which seeks to attain a prudent, just and peaceful solution to this racial problem.

"And to unite all Catholics in daily prayer to the end that the Holy Spirit may enlighten and guide this association, its members, and all other persons concerned with the issue of racial integration."

The articles of incorporation state that membership is open only to "persons of the Caucasian race who profess the faith of the Holy Roman Catholic church."

In addition to Wagner, other officers of the association are James Everett Brown, attorney, vice-president; William E. Blake Jr., food company executive, secretary and Henry L. Mason, finance corporation president, treasurer.

The articles further state that the corporation is organized without capital stock and is a non-profit organization.

Viewed as Detrimental

Commenting on the incorporation, Wagner said: "We feel that compulsory integration at this time would be detrimental to both races. It is a problem that needs a great deal more study."

Both Wagner and Brown, the vice-president, are former presidents of the Loyola university alumni association. Wagner recently rebuked Loyola officials for having Hulan E. Jack, Negro president of the borough of Manhattan, appear on the Loyola campus to speak in behalf of racial integration.

Asked to estimate the future size of the association, Wagner said, "Twenty-five thousand is not beyond the realm of possibility." That is the number of membership applications the corporation's founders plan to distribute, Wagner said.

He said the association will operate in the metropolitan New Orleans area, including the parishes of Orleans, St. Bernard, Jefferson and possibly Plaquemines.

"We intend to work within the framework of the dogmas and the established principles of the Catholic church," Wagner emphasized.

He said the charter members, who also constitute the association's first board of directors, elected their officers at a meeting last Monday. The same group, Wagner said, will meet again at 8 p. m. Monday in the New Orleans Atheltic Club "to develop further plans."

A seven-member executive committee consists of the four officers and A. R. Childress Jr., A. K. Lagarde and Daniel J. Lyons, Wagner said.

Other Charter Members

Other charter members named in the articles of incorporation are Donald J. Duclaux, H. D. Eaton Lloyd J. Fitzpatrick, Vincent C Jennaro, F. Lloyd Monroe, R. Allen Pendleton Jr., Gerard A. Rault, Jackson G. Ricau, James H. Rooney Jr., Raymond J. Salassi, James T. Skelly, James E. Steiner, Charles A. Bourgeois, J. Louie Boyer, Patrick W. Browne, Edward J. Cambre, Joseph S. Casey, Lucien C. Delery, Charles T. deMahy, C. C. Viguerie, Albert A. Demarest, Albert J. Derbes Jr., and Joseph E. Viguerie.

Their approach to the problem of "compulsory integration," Wagner went on, will be on an "intellectual and restrained basis without emotionalism." They will also "insure ourselves and the community that compulsory integration is free of Communist taint."

This function, Wagner said, would also be "for the protection of the integrationists themselves."

"We will investigate thoroughly," he continued, "all persons who head the integration movement insofar as its affects on the local level are concerned. Or on a national level, if that is indicated.

"We will also investigate all those brought to New Orleans as part of the integration movement. Many well-intentioned people have been duped by persons aligned with sinister interests."

Interst in the association, Wagner said, has been expressed elsewhere. In this connection he named Baton Rouge and Covington. He predicted similar associations will be formed in those communities.

Letters, Calls Bring Action

Wagner said the idea for such an organization came after he received "over 500 letters, not to mention long-distance and local telephone calls," praising him in his stand on the Jack appearance at Loyola.

"These people," he said, "were requesting leadership of some type to fairly clarify the question of compulsory integration." The Association of Catholic Laymen, he said, was the result of this expressed interest.

Asked whether the association would confer with church officials, Wagner answered: "On questions of dogmas we would certainly consult with a spiritual advisor."

The application for membership sets forth the association's announced objectives. Annual minimum membership dues are $1, according to the application.

A meeting of the general membership will be called "when the numbers warrant," Wagner said.

Second Major Movement

The association's registered office is in Room 702 of the Cigali building, and the corporation's mailing address is Post Office Box 1258, Zone 10, New Orleans, Wagner said.

Announcement of the incorporation of the association constitutes the second major organizing movement in the New Orleans area among foes of integration. Last week the Citizens' Council of New Orleans drew up plans for a mass meeting of area citizens councils at 8 p. m. Tuesday in Municipal Auditorium.

The reference to communism in the corporation's articles continues the stand Wagner made earlier in the Jack case. After Jack addressed a nonsegregated group, Wagner produced copies of files of the United States House of Representatives' committee on un-American activities which linked Jack, in the early 1940s, with a number of organizations declared in the later 1940s by the attorney general's office to be Communist and subversive. Jack has since denied any membership in the organizations.

Pro-Integration Priest Gets Threat

Herald 4-3-54

NEW ORLEANS — (UP) — A Roman Catholic priest revealed Thursday that an anonymous telephone caller threatened his life after the priest took part in a panel discussion on integration.

Miami, Fla.

The Rev. Eugene McManus labeled the caller a "crackpot" and said he was not frightened.

The caller, a man, called him a Communist and a Negro lover, Father McManus said. The caller also threatened his life, the clergyman said, and warned, "I'm going to get you."

Father McManus served on a panel Tuesday night at a meeting of the Citizens' Forum on Integration while cross-town some 8,000 persons attended a white citizens' council gathering of pro-segregationists.

T.P. 4-23-54

The threat, Father McManus said, apparently arose from newspaper accounts of his remarks at the forum.

"The quotations were incomplete, although the account was accurate," he said.

He was quoted as saying that the people of the South are afraid of their neighbors and that it "took courage" for some of the audience to tell their neighbors they were going to the forum.

"Many people are afraid of their neighbors. They are afraid of being called 'Negro lovers'."

Even the sincere desire of parents to protect their children has been perverted into hatred for Negroes, he said.

"Fair-minded people have been told by questionably sincere doctors, who know better, that Negroes in the classroom will transmit venereal diseases to their children.

"If we let threats . . . silence us, we are unworthy to be called Americans — unworthy to be called followers of Christ."

Interposition Cited in Quiz

Post + Times Herald

Washington, D. C.

NEW ORLEANS, April 5 (UP) — One of six witnesses summoned before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee today invoked the doctrine of interposition in refusing to answer questions about possible Communist activities.

T.P. 4-5-54

Richard Feise, former director of a travel service, told Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), chairman of the Subcommittee, he should know what interposition is "because you have taken the position yourself on another matter."

Eastland has urged that Southern States adopt interposition as a means of combatting court-enforced integration, contending that a state can interpose its sovereignty to halt any Federal invasion of powers reserved to the states until the dispute can be settled by the several states.

All six witnesses in the first of two days of open hearings refused to give more than bare identification facts about themselves.

Pauline Feuer, a widow and admitted former English teacher at a school in Moscow, was the only one who refused to cite the Fifth Amendment concerning self-incrimination. She was also the only one to say that she is not a Communist. But she would not answer questions about her affiliations while teaching in Moscow or on the day before she was subpenaed to appear before the Committee.

Sen. William Jenner (R-Ind.) and Sen. Arthur Watkins (R-Utah) sat on the Subcommittee with Eastland.

Eastland overruled all reasons for refusing to answer questions except the Fifth Amendment. Mrs. Feuer was warned she could be held in contempt of the Senate for refusing to answer questions on any other grounds.

Others who testified today were Mrs. Feise, a girl's school librarian; Mr. and Mrs. Grady Jenkins, and Mrs. Betty Liveright, wife of Herman Liveright, who was dismissed two weeks ago by WDSU-TV here after refusing to answer questions at a Subcommittee hearing at Washington.

All of the women witnesses were asked about their affiliation with the Parent-Teacher Association. Subcommittee Counsel Robert Morris indicated the Senators felt there was an organized attempt to infiltrate the PTA.

Fired Because He Opposed Segregation

Call P.I. Fri. 4-2-54

Times City

By PAUL BURTON

NEW ORLEANS. — (INS) — A New Orleans Chamber of Commerce executive charged this week he was fired from his job because he opposes segregation.

T.P.

Robert D. Barnes, former editor of the Chamber of Commerce weekly news bulletin, said another factor in his dismissal was his membership on the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The fund, directed by James Dombrowski, has been investigated by Congressional committees for possible Communist ties.

Barnes said in a statement that the fund has been "cleared of any evidence of wrongdoing" each time it has been investigated.

He added: "This dismissal is a blow at the basic right of every individual to think for himself—an effort to intimidate those who sincerely believe that the days of segregation and discrimination are numbered."

Whittaker Riggs, executive vice president of the Chamber of Commerce, said it was "damn presumptive" of anyone to think Barnes was fired for any of the reasons listed in the statement. He said, "Mr. Barnes left this morning by mutual consent." Riggs refused to comment further.

Robert W. Elsasser, president of the Chamber of Commerce, said he had no comment and referred newsmen to Riggs.

Barnes is the second man in recent days to charge that his dismissal resulted from the heated segregation controversy.

Herman Liveright was fired as program director for WDSU-TV on March 20 after he refused to tell the senate subcommittee on internal security whether or not he is or ever has been a communist.

Liveright, who refused to reply on the grounds that the committee had no right to pry into his personal beliefs, said he believed prosegregation forces in the New Orleans area engineered his appearance before the committee.

3 Whites Lose Jobs Because Of Integration Ideas

Times-Picayune New Orleans, La.

Sat. 4-3-54

New Orleans (ANP) — Three Louisiana officals have lost their jobs because of their statments favoring racial integration.

In Shreveport, a Caddo Parish juvenile probation officers, Louis Rains, was fired because he told a newspaper that the paper was biased in its stand against segregation and criticized the police jury on the same grounds.

In New Orleans, Robert D. Barnes, editor of the News, bulletin of the Chamber of Commerce, was dismissed because of his racial attitudes.

Barnes frankly admitted being against segregation, which he said is outmoded, and admitted being a member of the Southern Conference Education Fund, which has actively supported integration.

He said his dismissal was a "great blow at the basic right of every individual to think for himself" and was an effort to intimidate those who sincerely believe that the days of segregation and discrimination are numbered.

In Shreveport, Police Jury Member Thomas P. Fitzgerald was asked for his resignation after refusing to support a resolution calling for an act in interposition against integration rulings.

Doctors, Teachers Leaving

Courier P.2

Economic Squeeze Upsets Louisiana

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sep. 7-14-56

38a

NEW ORLEANS (ANP)—Economic pressure has spread from Mississippi to Louisiana.

Negroes all over the state are beginning to feel this pressure. It is not so evident in the large cities, but in the rural sections it is most visible.

Negro teachers are told frankly that they must not attempt to attend Louisiana State University, lest they lose their jobs. Negro doctors are refused opportunity to practice in hospitals of the state. Bankers are frankly asking those seeking loans to show their White Citizens' Council cards before the loan is made.

As a result, many top Negro teachers are leaving the state. Many doctors are also leaving and absolutely refusing to go into the rural sections where gold mines await them if they want to remain mere pill-pushers. Top teachers refuse to come to Louisiana, fearful of punitive legislation against their profession. A steady movement of Negro citizens to out of state locations is reported constantly.

Segregation laws passed in Legislature and declared unconstitutional are still being put into effect by school boards of the state. Negro Mardi Gras clubs are declaring a recess for the 1957 Mardi Gras season, many of them saying they will use the funds to help a "liberty pot."

■

The NAACP has been outlawed, and as yet no other organization or movement has been organized to take its place.

Economic pressure has really spread from Mississippi to Louisiana.

LOUISIANA HOUSES IN ROUSING FINISH

Times P.4-C

Governor Long Heckles and Shouts at Wild Session—New Tax Bills Beaten

New York

BATON ROUGE, La., July 12 (AP)—The Louisiana Legislature early today completed the wildest session in many years. Gov. Earl Long caused most of the uproar.

The lawmakers brushed aside new taxes but set spending records. They repealed the right-to-work law but reinstated it for agricultural workers. They voted a big pay rise for teachers but killed the tax measure providing the funds.

Governor Long, younger brother of the late Senator Huey P. Long, carried on a running feud with anyone who opposed his program.

The 60-year-old Governor stalked the House and Senate floor, buttonholing members, heckling opponents and shouting instructions to his leaders.

He touched off a lusty name-calling feud with Wade Martin Jr., Secretary of State, and his father, chairman of the Louisiana Public Service Commission. Then he spurred legislation that stripped the younger Martin of his duties as State Insumance Commissioner and custodian of voting machines.

Mr. Long held the spotlight to the end, going before a joint meeting of the House and Senate shortly after midnight to talk more than one hour. He defended his actions during the session and bitterly attacked newspapers and foes of his tax program.

The House earlier had killed Mr. Long's tax bills. Each fell short, by a narrow margin, of the sixty-eight votes needed for two-thirds approval required under a constitutional amendment.

In a last-ditch effort, the Governor put through a constitutional amendment to repeal the two-thirds requirement.

However, it must be ratified by popular vote in November. Mr. Long predicts voter approval. Some thirty-seven legislators already have organized a state-wide fight to keep the two-thirds requirement.

Segregation, expected by many to be the top issue of the session, stirred little controversy.

The lawmakers gave quick approval to the twelve-measure program sponsored by the legislative "watchdog" committee on segregation.

These included:

¶An interposition resolution declaring unconstitutional the United States Supreme Court's segregation decisions.

¶Measures permitting the dismissal of teachers and school employes who advocate racial integration or belong to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, outlawed under state court order.

¶A series of bills designed to throw a legal tangle about segregation in recreation and parks facilities, schools and colleges and travel waiting rooms.

Both House and Senate also approved measures that would do these things:

¶Outlaw racially mixed social and athletic events.

¶Require employers to furnish separate sanitary facilities for white and Negro employes.

LONG URGED TO VETO SPORT SEGREGATION

Times P.31-2

NEW ORLEANS, July 14 (AP)—The Mid-Winter Sports Association, which sponsors the Sugar Bowl, and the president of the Texas League today asked Gov. Earl Long to veto a bill banning athletic competition between Negroes and whites in Louisiana.

New York

The association said the proposed law, which would become effective Oct. 15, would seriously handicap it in its New Year's sports festival.

Dick Butler, head of the Texas League, told Governor Long in a telegram that the bill probably would knock Shreveport out of the league.

Shreveport is the only Louisiana team in the Texas League.

The segregation bill was passed two weeks ago by the legislature. It would:

"Prohibit all interracial dancing, social functions, entertainments, athletic training, games, sports or contests and other activities * * * ."

It would require segregated seating and "separate sanitary drinking water and other facilities for members of the white and Negro races * * *."

The Governor has until Tuesday to sign or veto the bill. He has not indicated when he will act or what action he will take. If he takes no action the bill becomes law.

Before the 1955 Navy-Mississippi game and the 1956 Georgia Tech-Pittsburgh game, the Sugar Bowl announced the Northern schools' stands would not be segregated.

Ministers Ask Audience With 'Governor Of All The People'

Weekly P.1 New Orleans, La.

Sept. 7-56

Gov. Earl Long was urged to fulfill his pledge of being governor of all the people of Louisiana by vetoing segregation bills which "are manifestly designed to destroy the basic legal rights of a substantial minority of the people."

The plea was made by the Rev. A. L. Davis, president, Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance.

Text of Dr. Davis' letter follows:

"We have noted with growing apprehension the passage of bills by the State Legislature designed to deprive Louisiana Negroes of certain basic rights. We especially deplore the approval of H1447, H1449 and H1450 which, in effect, destroys the constitutional freedom of belief and action of Louisiana teachers.

"Surely you will agree that for a teacher to advocate compliance with the highest law of the land merits approval, not persecution.

"You have announced that you intend to be governor of all the people of Louisiana. We believe that in order to fulfill that pledge you must veto these bills which are manifestly designed to destroy the basic legal rights of a substantial minority of the people.

"We would appreciate an opportunity to discuss this legislation with you. May a delegation of our members meet with you at your convenience?"

Meanwhile opposition to a bill to ban all racially mixed athletics in Louisiana continued to mount over the state. Near-sighted pro-seg lobbyists in the state capitol refusing to see the effect of such a measure clamored for its passage.

However, the senate judiciary committee delayed final action in order to permit others to speak in opposition to the measure in a public hearing Tuesday.

Mrs. Teresa R. Charles Wiltz, a registered nurse, took exception to comments voiced by J. B. Easterly, head of the Southern Gentlemen group, in his attempt to have the bill passed.

Weekly P.3

Said she: "Hell, too, has a mixture of races and for such reason I disagree with you that your 'mamas and papas' recognition for all college and university teams."

Verdun Woods, an insurance man, said: "Just how far will our elected officials venture to insure the strangulation of the rights of the Negro down below."

Sept. 1-56

"With the aid of our National Government and our state, I personally know that integration of the races has continued successfully for over thirty years in a productive way right here in Louisiana, which is recognized and listed in the Registration Area. Then too, some of the 'White mamas and papas' have handed down to us before death, legal justice which we are now enjoying.

"What about trying to follow in the footsteps of our good White predecessors and help bring peace to the world?"

St. John Wigley, an automobile mechanic, said that favorable action on the bill is equivalent to a turncoat stand. And immediately wipes out all the vestiges of democracy and fair play. Such a measure would hasten the death of the New Orleans Pelicans, already being plagued by little or no Negro attendance, the Evangeline League, the Shreveport baseball team of the Texas League, and nagro population? I thought our state was flying the flag of our country . . . not a rose under a different name. It is more than obvious that the lack of Negro support of white sports activities throughout the South has caused the dissolution of quite a few organizations . . . certainly such a bill would increase the number.

"It is a pity that a Willie Mays or a Charlie Joseph have

to leave home in order to get a democratic 'break' in their particular fields of sports . . . is this Southern decency?

"Perhaps the voting and buying power of the southern Negro does not give cause for alarm among the lily-white political machines, but time will be an important factor in this matter. Democracy will eventually fight its way into the impenetrable South, and the sentence will be pronounced on deserving heads."

James Garner, a student, stated: "This bill is an indication that diehards suffer ego complexes when Negro athletes outstar whites in competition and such occurrences deal setbacks to those promoting racial superiority. Obviously they are fearful that too many Jackie Robinsons will spring up causing many 'so-called' baseball players to seek other means of making a livelihood. If democracy had functioned the same in other sections of the United States as it does in the South, many top-named Negro athletes forced to leave their native South in quest of opportunity would never have been known."

School Integration Or Blood Integration-Which?

Weekly New Orleans La.

Sat. 7-14-56

By Marcus Christian

Poet, Writer and Historian. Unit Supervisor, Federal Writers' Project, 1939-42; Rosenwald Fellow, 1943-44; University Librarian, 1944-50.

Shortly after the Supreme Court's decision of 1954, two white men were talking together in a store just off Canal street. The blond, studious-looking clerk was saying to a darker white customer: "They're talking about integration, integration, but from the way I look at it integration has already been with us for some time." A few months later two bus conductors on a City Park bus were talking to each other. The driver had just made a remark concerning the handsome-looking colored girls who boarded his bus in the Orleans-Dumaine street section of the city. "Man!" said his co-worker, "talking about good-lookers! They got two of them who get on my bus about the same time every day, and I'm telling you they don't come any finer than that! They're as fine as they make 'em!"

Several years back a white Harvard-trained professor, teaching on the campus of a local Negro university, was heard to remark in admiration: "Frankly, I see a couple of them around here that I could go for myself!" The amusing thing about this situation was that quite a few of the co-eds—bright, brown and black—who attended his lectures, were just as frank in their statements that not one of them was willing to "go" for the prof. This, despite the fact that his family received flattering notice in the society columns of such newspapers as The New York Times.

The fact that we are attempting to stress here and in most of our articles is that for nearly two hundred and fifty years blood integration has been going on in this state between the high and the low of both races and that all of the laws enacted on the subject and penalties involved have failed to stop it. Further, many of the leading whites and Negroes who speak out against it or condemn it are themselves ensnared in this great circle of miscegenation and powerless to restrict it. Here the guilt-complexes of both groups manifest themselves in strange ways. For example, it is alleged that a Louisiana governor who took a leading part in the miscegenation drive of the early 1900s was himself the father of a colored family bearing his name. He and his administration made one of the most vicious drives against miscegenation ever recorded in the history of the state. Yet, forty years later we find scarcely a Negro among us who has not some degree of white blood, and in the meantime, Negroes and whites are still being charged with violating the anti-miscegenation laws first enacted during his tenure. Recently, Edwin R. Embree, writing a book about us, entitled it: "Brown Americans," but the diffusion of white blood is even more widespread than his title indicates. Recently, one of the heads of the Citizens Councils said to me: "Oh, I admit that some of the best white blood has passed over into the 'nigra' race." (And vice versa.)

I once sat in the pit of Jerusalem Temple's auditorium and, looking up for a moment into the balcony above, saw a veritable garden of colors in the faces of those above me. For once, a pride—not of race, but of being—swept over me at that flash of kaleidoscopic human coloring, the bright stage lights below reflected in their multi-hued faces and upon the rich clothing they wore. I half prayed that the whites below would only turn and look up, feeling sure that this sight would not be forgotten in a lifetime. Even a Dixiecrat would have been impressed! I thought of how colorless and prosaic the word, "melting-pot," seemed when placed beside this magic spectacle of beauty. Not the American melting-pot, but the American race-garden. A melting-pot of one color, one type, we never could be, but a racial garden we are already and will remain within the life-span of all now living.

Therefore, whether public school integration proves a success or failure at this point, a more subtle and intimate integration along blood lines will go on as effortlessly as the swing of a pendulum. Because the strongest natural force in all beings is the drive in a man for the woman he wants most and the drive in a woman for the man she loves best—all laws and taboos notwithstanding. This fact is ably illustrated in the scores of antebellum miscegenation cases in which the action of Negro slaves and free men and white men, women and girls make our so-called freedom of today seem ridiculous. There were literally scores of instances in which Negro slaves underwent lashings to be with white women of their choice in which free colored men were often jailed for living with white women; in which young white girls openly defied family, civil authority and friends to be with colored men of their choice; instances in which white men "went down the line" to jail, ostracism, and assorted taboos in order to be with the women they loved—whether those women were highly colored or colorless. All of these things happened within the confines of a slavocracy which was then the most autocratic ruling power on earth; a power which boasted that it, and it alone ruled the nation. There was Augustin F. Macarty, member of one of the oldest and distinguished white families, who served as Mayor of New Orleans on so many occasions that he declined further nomination. He lived with a free colored woman as her common-law husband for forty years, and in a church wedding married off one of his daughters to a Spaniard named Tio. He left his large fortune to his children and grandchildren, naming his son-in-law as universal legatee.

Now, in this modern day, the "little men of small repute" in our state capitol would rear up a great bastion of racial laws like the little men of Hitler's Germany. Have they forgotten so soon? They would go farther than anyone else has ever gone since the Ursulines first set up their inter-racial convent in 1727. They would ban interracial instruction for the first time on Louisiana soil. One of the outstanding provisions of the notorious Black Code of slavery days was that a slave who had served as tutor to his master's children was thereby automatically freed. But our modern lawmakers would proscribe this type of instruction. Even an utter fool can see the futility of telling a hungry white man that he must eat only the bread held out to him by white hands, or of telling a Negro child that he must eat of the bread of knowledge only at the feet of teachers of his own race. When any hunger is great enough the eyes are blind.

May the lawmakers at Baton Rouge, who are supposed to represent their Negro constituents as well, also realize that there are forces in life far stronger than prejudices, taboos and segregation laws, and that these forces, dammed today, may on the morrow gather the necessary power to wreck them one and all.

Senate Committee Okays Athletic Segregation Bill

Times-Picayune

New Orleans La.

BATON ROUGE, July 2 (AP)—A Senate committee Monday voted unanimous approval of a bill outlawing athletic contests in Louisiana between Negroes and whites.

Times 7-3-56

The action by Senate judiciary "A" committee cleared the way for a floor vote on the House-passed bill ~~later~~ this week. The bill passed the House without opposition.

The bill would prohibit "dancing, social functions, entertainments, athletic training, games, sports or contests and other such activities involving personal and social contacts in which the participants or contestants are members of the white and Negro races."

The measure further requires segregated seatings and "separate sanitary, drinking water and other facilities for members of the white and Negro races . . ."

Before committee action, Sen. W. M. Rainach, legislative segregation leader, amended the bill so that it would not take effect until Oct. 15.

This, Rainach said, would permit the Shreveport baseball team to complete the Texas league season. The Class AA baseball league has had Negro players for several seasons.

Sen. J. D. DeBlieux of Baton Rouge contended the bill would hurt the Louisiana State university athletic program.

Committee members complained that LSU had not come before the committee to oppose the bill, although the chairman of the LSU board of supervisors had been present last Tuesday when a public hearing was held.

DeBlieux also asked if the segregated seating requirement would affect the Negro students attending LSU's graduate schools under court order.

Sen. Rex McCullough of Lafayette also asked how it would affect Southwestern Louisiana Institute, where Negroes attend as undergraduates under federal court order.

"They may sit in the student section," Gibbs said, "provided the section is segregated. The Negro students can't sit with the white students."

Sen. Ted Hickey of New Orleans said this was the only segregation measure of the session he had been asked to oppose.

"I have been tormented by this one," he said, adding, "this would prohibit any major league exhibitions in New Orleans. It would hurt the Sugar Bowl and prevent Negro and white boxers from working out together."

The measure also would affect the Sugar Bowl athletic events. The Sugar Bowl ended segregated seating for the New Year's day football game at New Orleans in 1955 when Mississippi met Navy and last Jan. 1 Pittsburgh played the first Negro in Sugar Bowl history against Georgia Tech.

And Loyola of New Orleans has scheduled topflight teams from all sections for several years with no segregated seats in its field house. Last season, the New Orleans team played host to San Francisco with three Negro regulars.

Louisianans Seek to Ban Parochial Integration

Evening Star p. 1
Washington, D.C.
Feb. 17, 1956

Move Launched After U. S. Court Rules 'Police Power' Segregation Invalid

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 16 (AP).—A hot legislative fight was expected today between the Roman Catholic Church and segregation leaders seeking a law that would halt church plans for integration in Catholic schools.

Four State representatives asked last night for measures to prevent mixing races in private schools. The request came less than a month after Catholic Church officials said integration in their schools may come by September.

The four legislators were from the New Orleans area, where more than half of the school children attend Catholic schools.

The request came shortly after a special three-judge Federal court threw out State laws aimed at retaining segregation under the State's police powers.

Wording Was Revised

The law created a controversy when passed four years ago. The Louisiana House originally passed a bill banning integration in all schools, but later changed the wording to make the ban apply to public schools.

The revision came after Archbishop Joseph Rummel of New Orleans intervened and the question brought up the United States constitutional guarantee of separation of church and state.

The request last night came from Representatives Cyril Broussard, Joseph Casey and Frank Huerstel of New Orleans and E. W. Gravolet, jr., of adjacent Plaquemines Parish (county). It was made in a letter to State Senator W. M. Rainach, segregation leader in the Legislature.

They urged the 1954 laws be amended to include private schools.

Assail Integration

Their statement said, "It is unthinkable that the State of Louisiana would not afford the same protection to the children in its private schools that it affords to the children in its public schools."

They predicted the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People would try to force Negro children into white private schools. They said integration would be disastrous to both types of schools.

Mr. Rainach yesterday criticized the three-man court which gave yesterday's desegregation ruling and the Orleans Parish (county) School Board said the next step would be to appeal the ruling.

Mr. Rainach, who is head of the Legislature's Committee on Segregation, said the three judges "took an oath of office to uphold the Constitution of the United States, not an oath to uphold the palpably unconstitutional decision of the (United States Supreme Court) justices."

The court tossed out Louisiana segregation laws as unconstitutional.

In the wake of yesterday's decision, United States District Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered New Orleans to end racial segregation in its public schools "with all deliberate speed." He was quick to point out, however, that this did not mean the mixing of classes would come "overnight or even in a year or more."

Judge Wright directed the School Board to integrate classes "after such time as may be necessary to make arrangements for admission of children to such schools on a radically nondiscriminatory basis."

Mr. Rainach aimed his criticism at Judge Wright and his two fellow jurists, all natives of Louisiana. Judge Wayne G. Borah of the 5th Circuit and United States District Judge Herbert Christenberry shared in the ruling.

Evening Star

Words of Caution

Judge Wright cautioned that "the problem of changing a people's mores, particularly those with an emotional overlay, is not to be taken lightly."

He said the problem would require "the utmost patience, understanding, generosity and forbearance from all of us whatsover."

p. 4-A

After the Supreme Court decision in 1954 abolishing segregation in public schools, the Legislature passed a series of laws placing segregated schools under the State's inherent police powers.

One of the measures ordered separate white and Negro schools "to promote and protect public health, morals, better education and the peace and good order of the State."

But the District Court ruled that the laws were unconstitutional.

N.O. Archbishop Hits Segregation as 'Sinful'

Constitution p. 3
Atlanta, Ga.

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 19 (AP)—Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel in a strongly worded pastoral letter today denounced racial segregations as "morally wrong and sinful" and gave clear indication he intends to integrate New Orleans parochial schools.

His letter was read at all Masses in all churches throughout the archdiocese, largest in the Deep South with a Catholic population of 524,157. About 25 per cent are Negroes.

C/Post, 2-20.56

It was the first time New Orleans Catholics heard integration plans discussed in a public letter from the archbishop. The reading at most churches commanded rapt attention.

Archdiocesan spokesmen previously have announced that plans are under way to integrate the Catholic schools sometime after 1956, but this was the archbishop's first public denunciation of segregation as a sin.

The New Orleans parochial school system is the state's largest single school unit. New Orleans is one of the few cities in the country where more children attend parochial than public schools.

Archbishop Rummel did not say when integration would come but pleaded "that the decision when made will be accepted in the spirit of Christian charity and justice.

"This is a problem which should be worked out not in an atmosphere of wrangling or contention or discord or hatred but in a spirit of conciliation and with a desire to achieve peace through justice and charity."

He said the plans are still under study.

The New Orleans public school system is already under U.S. District Court order to begin carrying out the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision ending public school segregation.

The court order came Wednesday after a special three-man federal court declared all Louisiana school segregation laws unconstitutional.

RACE LAW WON'T INTERFERE, VIEW

Times-Picayune p. 1
Mon. 2-27-56

Legislators Assert Canon Doesn't Cover Proposal

Three state legislators Sunday declared proposed legislation to bring private schools under state segregation laws does not come within the purview of the Canon cited in the last issue of Catholic Action of the South as basis for automatic excommunication from the Catholic Church.

New Orleans, La.

The editorial by M. F. Everett, which had the approval of Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel, said that Catholics who work for and vote for passage of state laws that would interfere with the operation of Catholic schools might incur automatic excommunication.

The editorial was in connection with previously announced plans of a four man-group, headed by Rep. E. W. Gravolet Jr., Plaquemines parish, to propose legislation to bring private schools under the state's segregation laws.

'Explanation of One Man'

Rep. Joseph S. Casey, New Orleans, said he was joined in the statement Sunday criticizing the editorial by Rep. Frank X. "Mike" Huerstel, New Orleans, and Gravolet. Casey and Huerstel, members of the four-man group, were defeated in their bid for re-election. Gravolet was re-elected.

Their statement said, "the Catholic Church has not required and does not require integration under penalty of censure" and that the interpretation of the Canon in the editorial "is the explanation of one man who seeks first integration and not the free exercise of religion towards which the Canon of the Church is directed."

The statement said "the legislation proposed is intended to accord to the children attending private schools the same protection as those attending public schools."

Joint Statement

The joint statement said:

"We have read with dismay and deep concern the editorial by Mr. M. F. Everett in the February 26 issue of Catholic Action, wherein he states that proposed legislative measures by the undersigned threatened the rights of the Catholic Church and that for Catholic legislators excommunication latae sententiae could result. The proposed legislation would preserve and maintain racial segregation in the private schools as well as in the public schools. Mr. Everett, as his authority uses Canon 2334 which reads as follows: "The following incur an excommunication latae sententiae especially reserved to the Holy See: 1. Those who issue laws, mandates, or decrees contrary to the freedom or rights of the Church; 2. Those who directly or indirectly impede the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction either of the internal or of the external forum, and for this purpose have recourse to any lay authority."

Times-Picayune

"In his encyclical on Christian Education of Youth, Pope Pius XI sets forth the rights and duties of the church, the family and the state with respect to Christian Education, from which in part Mr. Everett quotes at length. It is obvious from the encyclical that the proposed legislation does not in any manner impede the Church in the free and full exercise of the education of youth. It follows therefore that Canon 2334 is not applicable, so obviously the mention of excommunication by Mr. Everett is more of an unfounded threat than a proven fact. Legislation that would require the separation of the races in a school would not in any manner prevent the Church from educating Negroes just as she educates whites — the education can be identical despite the fact that the races may be under separate roofs.

"Mr. Everett would give the impression that we would legislate the Catholic schools out of existence, whereas the legislation proposed is intended to accord to children attending private schools the same protection as those attending public schools.

"We are amazed to read Mr. Everett's statement that 'control of education of youth and suppression of religious activities have always been among the first steps toward a dictator state.' There is absolutely no relationship whatsoever between this statement of Mr. Everett and the proposed legislation.

"With reference to Canon 2334 suffice it to say that the proposed legislation does not come within the purview of said Canon. Firstly, it is not a law or decree contrary to the freedom of the rights of the Church; secondly, the proposed legislation in no way impedes the Church in the exercise of its ecclesiastical jur-

sdiction with respect to education. If the proposed legislation became law it would not interfere with the freedom of the Church to educate nor the rights of individuals to receive a Catholic education. Certainly the Church as it has in the past and as it does presently, may educate the races separately and continue to conduct separate schools for both the white and colored alike. The Church has not been impeded nor hindered in the free exercise of its teachings nor the conduct of its parochial school system, yet to date it has maintained its schools with the races separated. The proposed legislation intends to maintain the system in its present form.

"The legislation and the proponents thereof have no intention to enter into a further public debate or discussion with Mr. Everett or with the hierarchy if he represents their point of view, but suffice it to say that it will in no way interfere with the freedom of the church but only to maintain the social regulations as they presently exist within the state, under the police power of the state to protect all of its citizens. It should not be denied that when state laws are not in opposition to or conflict with the free exercise of the church to educate, the hierarchy should then recognize the state laws and co-operate with civil authority.

"The compulsory integration of the races in the private schools could not under existing conditions promote the common good but to the contrary would lead to a state of unrest, disorder, would not be conducive to the best interest of either race and under the circumstances it is incumbent upon the state to protect its present way of life.

"The editorial states that the 'proposed laws . . . would be the first step toward serious interference with the operation' of private schools and would force a 'standardized education in private as well as in public schools.' This we deny most emphatically. It is merely an assumption on the part of the writer of the editorial. This is not an attempt at standardization of a school system and the editorial writer should be reminded that the church has already submitted to and acquiesced in laws standardizing transportation of children, lunch programs, qualification of teachers, compulsory attendance of students, regulations of the fire marshal and the board of health, all laws for the common good and general welfare.

"Were former legislators and law-makers subjected to a threat of excommunication for passing such laws without being apprised of their interference with the freedom of education by the church? Why now should legislators be so threatened because, as has been demonstrated, there has been no attempt whatsoever to impede or in any way interfere.

"It cannot be denied that the Catholic church has not and does not require integration under penalty of censure and that the interpretation of Canon 2334 as appears in the editorial is the explanation of one man who seeks first integration and not the free exercise of religion towards which the Canon of the church is directed.

"We cannot close this statement without the observation that the editorial is most injudicious, imprudent and untimely, coming as it does with the approval of the archbishop and in our estimation contrary to the best interests of the Catholic church."

JOSEPH S. CASEY,
E. W. GRAVOLET JR.,
FRANK X. "MIKE" HUERSTEL.

RACE ISSUE MAY AID REDS, SAYS RUMMEL

Urges Pro-Segregationists Consider Effects

Mon. 2-27-56

Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel said Sunday that pro-segregationists may be "doing the work of those striving to introduce the principles . . . of Communism into the United States." P. 1

Addressing a non-segregated group of an estimated 850 at eighth annual Catholic Interracial Sunday observances in the Holy Name of Jesus school auditorium, Archbishop Rummel said:

"Sometimes I wonder who is doing the work of the Communists . . . whether it is we who assert the rights of all the citizens or whether it is those who are striving to maintain segregation."

New Orleans, La.

The archbishop went on:

"I think it would be well for the gentlemen loudest in their advocacy of continued segregation, contrary to the Supreme Court and the district courts, to ask themselves whether or not they are really acting as genuine Americans or whether they are doing the work of those striving to introduce the principles of atheism and infidelity and the principles of communism into the United States."

Archbishop Rummel's remarks constituted the third major Catholic pronouncement on segregation in eight days. A week ago Sunday he denounced segregation in a pastoral letter read from the pulpits of the Catholic churches of the archdiocese of New Orleans.

Last Friday the Catholic Action of the South, official Catholic newspaper of the archdiocese, published an editorial suggesting that legislators preparing laws calculated to continue segregation in Catholic schools might face automatic excommunication.

'True Principles Involved'

Sunday the archbishop continued his attack on segregation and indicated the campaign will continue.

"Catholics," he said in his remarks delivered extemporaneously, "have reached a state of obstinacy which makes them almost repudiate . . . the true principles involved."

He urged Catholics to "strive to accept the teachings of the Church" and said Catholic doctrine will be "exposed more in days to come."

The archbishop spoke at a program presented by the Southeastern Regional Inter-racial Commission of the National Federation of Catholic College Students.

Principal speaker was Hulan E. Jack, president of the borough of Manhattan in New York city, "the highest elective office ever attained by a Negro in the history of the United States," according to Jack.

At the outset of his address, Jack hailed what he termed the "courageous leadership" of the archbishop and said the archbishop has "stimulated the admiration of every right-thinking citizen in every corner of our country."

Times-Picayune

Recounting his birth 49 years ago in the British West Indies and of his coming to the United States at the age of 16, Jack said his election to the presidency of Manhattan was a "practical demonstration of democracy in action which the Communists can never challenge." P. 16

He recalled that for 13 consecutive years he served as a legislator in the New York state assembly in Albany.

'No Man Born with Prejudice'

"I believed then, as I do now," he continued, "that no man is free if all men are not free and that no one was ever born with a single grain of prejudice in his heart and soul."

He noted that on last Wednesday, Washington's Birthday, he led the annual Knights of Columbus parade up New York's Fifth ave. as grand marshal. This, he said, was proof "that it is possible for all people to dwell side by side as friendly neighbors."

"Are the opponents of equality in education sincere when they attempt to declare that the Bible is wrong, that the Vatican is wrong, that the three Southern members of the United States supreme court are also wrong in asserting that all men are children of God and born with the status of equality?" he asked.

Jack contended that when "tax-collected money is used for the purposes of inequality in any form," then the government has denied all citizens equal rights. "It is also a contradiction of our principles of American democracy and definitely furnishes ammunition for the propaganda guns of Communism," he said.

Jack said the entire world is watching the developments of the segregation issue in the United States.

"We cannot afford to disappoint them (the other nations) in their search for freedom, justice and equality for if we do so, the ugly forces of Communism will have gained a substantial victory."

Question-Answer Session

In a question-answer session following his address, Jack was asked whether integration has furthered intermarriage.

Not "on any large scale" in New York city, he replied. "Integration is not being sought for the purpose of intermarriage . . . people tend to gravitate among themselves."

On the subject of legislation to circumvent the US Supreme Court decisions, Jack said: "I know of no state that will be proud of a history of being in violation of the law."

"The greatest thing that has happened in the South," he went on, "is that for the first time the Negro has made it his business to stand up and say, 'I am an equal citizen and entitled to the same rights guaranteed by the Constitution.' "

He concluded by calling on Negroes to continue the move for integration but warned them, "Don't be bitter. Don't be belligerent or you may find yourselves in a position of being criticized."

Turning to face Archbishop Rummel, he said:

"Your work during the week has brought new hope and new courage to all parts of the United States."

The archbishop said Jack was "far too generous" in his praise. The archbishop then went on to praise Jack.

He also said that "We have received a great deal of attention from the press . . . throughout the world" in the last three months but that some of the messages have expressed the opinion that segregation in the United States in particular was inconsistent with the democratic way of life. "That's deplorable," said the archbishop.

Panel Discussion

The size of the audience was estimated by Donald Nicodemus, chairman of the program and president of the regional commission. Nicodemus further estimated that of the 850 in attendance, 20 to 25 per cent was white.

Preceding the addresses were five panel discussions on Catholic college integration, Catholic high school integration, parochial elementary school integration, integration of school athletics and integration of parish societies.

In the panel on college integration, Ernest Thomas, president of the student body at Xavier university, said integration will come eventually through "educational processes." Ollie Porche, a junior at Sacred Heart college, Grand Coteau, related how Negro students have integrated without incident in that institution.

The Rev. Vincent Miceli of Spring Hill college, Mobile, Ala., and formerly of the faculty at St. John's High school in Shreveport, said the supreme court decision was a "social action," a "breakthrough." He urged Catholics to challenge arguments for segregation.

In the elementary school integration panel, Winter Trapolin, New Orleans insurance man, said: "When we're dealing with emotion, we've got to approach it slowly . . . the children will integrate simply into the schools." He called for a program of gradual integration.

Integration of school athletics was discussed by Elliot Willard, head basketball coach and assistant football coach at Xavier Preparatory school. It is the responsibility of the parents to encourage integration on the playing fields, he said. "They (the parents) had better recognize the authority of the archbishop," he said.

Insofar as integration of parish societies is concerned, John P. Nelson Jr., New Orleans attorney, said: "There is no such thing as a private Catholic organization" in the meaning that it can establish its own rules. He said parish societies can help bring together the two races inasmuch as such societies "provide the only opportunity outside the church for getting acquainted."

Archbishop Rummel Flay Segregation

Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel Sunday denounced racial segregation as "morally wrong and sinful," and indicated that he will order integration of New Orleans parochial schools.

His strongly worded pastoral letter was read at all masses in churches throughout the archdiocese, largest in the Deep South. The reading at most churches commanded rapt attention.

Archbishop Rummel said racial segregation "is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial of the unity and solidarity of the human race as conceived by God in the creation of man in Adam and Eve."

He did not say when integration would come, but pleaded that "the decision when made will be accepted in the spirit of Christian charity and justice. . .

"This is a problem which should be worked out not in an atmosphere of wrangling or contention or discord or hatred, but in a spirit of conciliation and with a desire to achieve peace through justice and charity."

Archdiocesan spokesmen recently announced that Catholic schools would be integrated some time in 1956, but this was the archbishop's first public denunciation of segregation as a sin.

The New Orleans archdiocese has a Catholic population of 524,-157, about 25 percent of whom are Negroes.

The New Orleans parochial school system is the state's largest single school unit. The city is one of the few in the country where more children attend parochial than public school.

At present, the New Orleans public school system is under federal District Court order to begin carrying out the Supreme Court's desegregation decree.

The Archbishop's letter in part said, difficult indeed is the approach to a propitious solution according to Christian principles of justice and charity of the problem of racial integration in our schools, especially in the Deep South where for more than a century and a half segregation has been accepted without serious question or challenge.

For months we have prayed, studied and consulted about the cause it is a denial of the unity and solidarity of the human race as conceived by God in the creation of man in Adam and Eve. . .

2. Racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial of the unity and universality of the Redemption. . .

3. Racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful because it is basically a violation of the dictates of justice and the mandate of love, which is obedience to problem with a sense of our responsibility for the welfare of all souls that constitutes the spiritual family for which in virtue of our office as Archbishop we are responsible before God. With an appeal to the Holy Spirit we now submit for careful consideration the following results, especially regarding the moral difficulties which segregation presents.

1. Racial segregation as such is morally wrong and sinful be- God's will must regulate the relations between all men. To deny to members of a certain race, just because they are members of that race, certain rights and opportunities, civic or economic, educational or religious, recreational or social, imposes upon them definite hardships and humiliations, frustrations and impediments to progress which condemn them to perpetual degradation which is only a step removed from slavery. Such indignities are grievous violations of Christian justic and charity, which cannot be justi- lations of Christian justice and fied in this modern age of enlightenment and loudly proclaimed de- mo-

4. Because the emancipation during the War between the States involved certain physical and economic hardships, Racial segregation was regarded with toleration but never justifiable as a permanent racial adjustment. Even the Catholic church considered it wise and necessary to give separate church and school facilities to Negroes to afford them the opportunity to practice their faith more freely and educate their children more fully than was often possible in mixed congregations, but this arrangement was never intended to be permanent. This is attested by Most Reverend Archbishop Francis Janssens, D.D. who initiated the program with the remark that he did so very reluctantly and in the hope that it would be possible after a brief period to have all Catholics worship under the same roof. . .

We come now to the reasons for segregation at least in the school. These reasons are for the most part unwarranted generalizations in which it is aimed to give the impression that all members of the Negro race and especially all Negro children are tainted with virtually all the alleged defects. The amazing fact is that "as a race" they are not still more generally lacking in mental ability, culture, moral self-control, immunity from social diseases, criminal propensities, etc., when you consider the neglect and barriers to which they have been exposed in education, general culture, economic opportunities, respectable housing facilities, contact with stable social institutions and the more dignified ways of life. Although living and moving in the maelstrom of city or rural life, the laws and customs built up around the mystic term "segregation" have practically relegated Negroes to an island-like existence. They emerge to work, toil and serve even in the intimacy of the white home and family, but "segregation" cuts off the free avenues to progress in the better things of life that are synonymous with Christian civilization. This condition in itself is an indictment against continuing segregation 'indefinitely' as its advocates envision. . .

Hence, we plead with all of you for perseverance in prayer in order that the final decision may be in conformity with the will of Christ and the highest interest of souls according to the mind of Holy Mother Church. May we likewise unite in prayer that the decision, when made, will be accepted in the spirit of Christian charity and justice and in that unity of mind, heart and will which must always characterize the family of God. This is a problem which should be worked out not in an atmosphere of wrangling or contention or discord or hatred but in a spirit of conciliation and with a desire to achieve peace through justice and charity.

Pro-Segregation Legislators Are Hit Again By CAS

A statement by three Louisiana men who advocate new laws making segregation mandatory for private schools in the state was termed "unfortunate in its implications and fallacious in its conclusions," in probing front-page editorial by M. F. Everett in last week's edition of Catholic Action of the South.

The editorial crystalized that such action "places the men in the position of deciding what is best for the Catholic Church—laymen usurping the functions of theologians, cannonists, administrators, and teachers of the Church."

The editorial was a follow-up of one of the previous week in which it clearly pointed out that lay interference with ecclesiastical jurisdiction would lead to ex communication by the church. The state legislators who took issue with the editorial on ex-communication were Joseph S. Casey, and Frank X. Huerstel, both of Orleans and recently defeated in election run-offs and E. W. Gravolet, Jr., Plaquemines.

The thought-provoking editorial declared: "The Church, established to lead all men to heaven, sees no distinction of color or other accident among them as children of God. As St. Paul wrote: 'There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus.' . . .

"The proponents of the new laws revert to the theory of 'separate but equal facilities' in attempting to prove that Catholic education can be carried on separately according to race. This theory, adopted temporarily to meet a specific situation, was thrown out by the US Supreme Court in its historic decision of May 17, 1954.

"Human beings are social creatures made to live together for the common good. 'Separate but equal' is contrary to human needs, democratic justice and Christian ideals. People cannot work together, live in the same community, and be separated by artificial barriers. A device that submerges one group defeats human brotherhood and cannot continue indefinitely without hurting all groups."

Concerning segregation presently in force, the editorial took the view: "Segregation was never at any time favored by the Church. It has been reluctantly tolerated in this country simply to avoid the possibility of a greater evil. The Church's teaching on integration is clear. It is the grave obligation of every Ordinary (head of a diocese) to determine by practical judgment when the teaching of the Church can and should be put into effect for the good of souls. It should be obvious to anyone reading the pastoral letters of Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel of New Orleans particularly the one printed in this paper last week, that he regards most seriously his duty of care of souls and is making every effort to arrive at a solution in the spirit of Christian justice and charity and in the unity and peace Christ asked of His followers."

The editorial said that prophesized statement that chaos would follow integration is without foundation "in face of proven experience. Integration has been affected in both private and public schools in many districts of the south, largely without incident. The only incidents that have occurred were due to emotion and strife stirred up by misguided zealots. Even in Louisiana there has been integration in both state and private colleges and universities without incident or excitement."

It explained that Church "recognize state laws and cooperate with civil authority. . . . The proposed laws, however, are not only un-

just but are invalid before they are even passed."

Police power does not wipe out the stigma attached to the proposed laws, the editorial noted.

In conclusion the soul-searching article added:

"We do not suggest that the proponents of the laws under discussion wish directly to interfere with the operation of the Church and her schools or that they are looking toward a dictator state. We insist that legislation of this nature could be the first step toward domination of religion by the state and even toward totalitarianism if the precedent they would set were allowed to stand and if it were seized upon by completely unscrupulous political leaders as the basis for further steps. This procedure has been followed elsewhere, and it can happen here if the rights of religion can be violated with impunity."

SENATORS VOTE ON SEGREGATION

Times-Picayune

Bills Permit Firing Teachers Favoring Integration

Fri. 6-22-56

BATON ROUGE, June 21 (AP) — The Louisiana Senate, without debate or opposition Thursday voted final legislative passage to four bills to permit firing of teachers who advocate racial integration.

The bills now go to Gov. Earl Long for his signature.

The four proposals involving teacher tenure are the last major items of a 12-measure legislative program sponsored by the joint legislative segregation committee.

Preventions Cited

They would prevent teachers, statewide and in New Orleans, school bus drivers and other school employes from:

1. Belonging or contributing to groups like the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, now outlawed in Louisiana under a state court injunction.

2. Advocating or helping to bring about integration in public schools or state colleges.

Gov. Long Wednesday signed two segregation bills passed by the Legislature which would place segregation in recreation and parks under the state's police power and require certificates of moral character and eligibility from school principals and superintendents for applicants to colleges and universities.

Other segregation proposals passed by the Legislature include:

1. An interposition resolution declaring the US Supreme Court segregation decisions in violation of the Constitution.

2. A resolution re-establishing the segregation committee, set up as a "watch dog" group after the 1954 Supreme Court school decision.

3. A constitutional amendment which would force legislative approval of integration suits filed against local school boards, recreation and parks commissions and other state and local agencies.

4. A legislative act ending compulsory school attendance if schools are forced to integrate.

5. A legislative act requiring segregation in travel waiting rooms.

Dispute Over Mardi Gras

NEW ORLEANS, Feb. 3 (UP) —A California band canceled today its trip to the Mardi Gras spectacle because its two Negro members would not be allowed to perform with the whites.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sought to prevent the holding of the boisterous Zulu king parade, the big carnival event for Negroes, unless it was "toned up."

Gordon Carmen, director of the Long Beach, Calif., Marching Band, said he had rejected an invitation for the group to appear in the parade of King Rex after a carnival official had tol dhim that the Negroes could participate only in the Zulu parade.

Clarence Laws, field secretary for the N. A. A. C. P. said the Zulu parade had been "degrading and depressing" in past years.

Irwin, Gamble Urge Long to Sign Interracial Bill

Times-Picayune

De Blanc Asks Veto for Sports Association

New Orleans, La.

Telegrams urging Gov. Earl K Long to sign into law HB1412 which prohibits interracial social and sports activities, were sent to the governor Saturday following a request of the New Orleans Mid Winter Sports Association that he veto the bill.

Sponsors of the two telegrams were Dr. Emmett L. Irwin, chairman of the Citizens' Council of New Orleans, and Harry P. Gamble Sr., president of the Association of the Preservation of State Government and Social Integrity.

The Sugar Bowlers in their veto appeal said that the status of the Sugar Bowl football and basketball classics would be seriously affected and such outstanding teams as Army, Navy, Notre Dame and Kentucky would be excluded from the competition if the bill becomes law.

In a supplementary statement issued Saturday afternoon, Paul DeBlanc, president of the Mid-Winter Sports Association, said that the association opposes the bill because it recognizes "an obligation to do whatever is possible to preserve the ideals of American sportsmanship."

DeBlanc said, too, that the bill would bar all of the athletes of the state's universities "from the Olympic games and all national collegiate championships."

Deadline for vetoing of bills by Gov. Long is Sunday. If he does not veto a measure by that time, it automatically becomes law.

Dr. Irwin's telegram to the governor said:

"As chairman of the Citizens Council of New Orleans, representing some 40,000 citizens, urgently request you sign into law House Bill 1412, which passed House and Senate without a dissenting vote. The people of Louisiana want this law insuring separation of the races for it is the heart of the entire plan of all segregation measures passed by the recent Legislature. It is by far the most momentous and valuable accomplishment of this session of the Legislature.

"Am sure your check will show untrue the last minute statement of the bowl group that they have always "segregated its stands." Real motivating powers behind bowl group are integrationists. The Senate committee twice postponed action on this bill so any and all opponents might be heard and not one person appeared.

"This law is most important for both white and Negro races. Urgently request your approval.

Gamble's telegram reads as follows:

Times-Picayune

"The morning press reports that at what appears to have been a hurriedly called special meeting of the executive committee of the New Orleans Mid-Winter Sports Association last night, a request was made of you in substance to veto HB 1412, prohibiting social and athletic integration, passed unanimously along with other bills which you have approved establishing a segregation pattern for Louisiana.

"This, you and the Legislature have done, we are sure, in the sincere belief that this is in the best interest of maintaining good relations between the races and continuing the progress which has been made by Negroes on their own. The committee requests you to make an exception in this pattern and lend your endorsement to social as well as sports integration.

"You are no doubt aware of certain undercover influences interested only in making money, regardless of the effect on our already too tense racial situation promoted by outsiders. A man of your experience in life with your fellow citizens, political and otherwise, well knows what these Mid-Winter sportsmen seem to ignore; namely, that to use their only phrase, taking rails off the fence one at a time finally lowers it to where stock of every breed have access.

"We raise no objection to integrated social and sports activities in the North, but they are hell-bent on regulating ours. And the committee's request to integrate can only lend support to their effort to impose their will on us. We urge you to go along with the Legislature and refuse this suspiciously belated request of the executive committee whose names do not appear in support of this camel's-head in the tent move."

DeBlanc Statement

Meanwhile, president Paul DeBlanc, of the New Orleans Mid-winter Sports Association, Saturday pointed out the obligations that prompted the Sugar Bowl's action in asking Gov. Long to veto the bill.

"We recognize an obligation to do whatever is possible to preserve the ideals of American sportsmanship," he said.

"We desire for the good of our state to continue the high standard of our Mid-Winter program: To keep it as an event of national significance.

"We feel duty bound to guard the interests of the 11,000 men and women bondholders who have invested $1,250,000 to enlarge the Tulane Sugar Bowl Stadium.

Joins Stand

"We believe we have an obligation, as citizens to lend our support to Louisiana State university, Tulane and Loyola of the South, all great educational institutions to the end that they be permitted to conduct their athletic programs without interference.

"This bill would bar all of the athletes of these universities from the Olympic games and all national collegiate championships.

"We believe these are good and valid reasons for our appeal to Gov. Long to veto this bill.

Long Asked Calmness

"Gov. Long, asked by the press on June 17 for comment on the bill had this to say:

"'I wish the people would be calm and not too hasty about these things. They might learn too late how far-reaching the effects would be.'

"With this statement of our governor we are in hearty agreement. This bill, if signed, will indeed have far reaching effects. All bad."

Explaining why the Sugar Bowl had not entered protest against the measure when it was before the Legislature, DeBlanc said that it had been inconceivable to him and his associates that such a bill would be passed.

LOUISIANA NEGROES MAY CONTEST LAW

Commercial Appeal 8-20

It Requires College Students Get Recommendation

Memphis, Tenn.

BATON ROUGE, La., Aug. 18. —A weekly Louisiana Negro newspaper Saturday said a new law requiring college students to obtain certificates attesting to moral character will be contested in court.

The News-Leader, published in Baton Rouge, said in an editorial entitled "You Choke on Your Own Hate," said, however, Negroes may not contest immediately the law banning racially mixed athletic events.

"Negro leaders say the law deprives us of nothing and on the other hand serves as a sharp reminder that segregation is a two-edged sword whose bite can be painful and costly," the editorial said.

The 1956 Legislature passed a law requiring all college students to get certificates of eligibility from their high school principals and superintendents.

Pro-segregation leaders said another 1956 law would place in jeopardy the jobs of principals and superintendents who signed certificates for Negroes to enter white colleges.

The law banning mixed athletic events will prevent the New Orleans Sugar Bowl from inviting Negro teams to any of its events.

Three out-of-state teams already have dropped out of the Sugar Bowl tournament because of the law.

News-Leader editor Leslie Barnum is a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and has been active in fighting segregation policies of Louisiana.

Louisiana Law May Be Delay By Legislature

Advertiser 8-22-56

News, 8-25-56

Montgomery, Ala.

BATON ROUGE, La., Aug. 22 (AP) —The Louisiana Legislature may be called into special session to suspend effectiveness of a new law banning interracial athletics, a source close to the governor said today.

The source said if the special session is called, it would be asked to approve the delay so the law would not hit the Sugar Bowl athletic events.

The law, which is scheduled to go into effect Oct. 15, has caused three teams to drop out of the Sugar Bowl Basketball Tournament, leaving only Kentucky.

Pittsburgh, which brought the first Negro player to the Sugar Bowl last Jan. 2, already has rejected any possible repeat bids to the football game, basing the rejection on the new law.

In New Orleans, Paul DeBlanc, president of the Midwinter Sports Assn., Sugar Bowl sponsor, said, if the law was suspended, Notre Dame, St. Louis and Dayton, which dropped out of the basketball tournament, may be invited again.

Avoid violence, Sen. Ellender warns South

News
Sun. 3-18-56
P. 7

WASHINGTON, March 17—(AP)—A Southern senator cautioned his people Saturday night to avoid any show of violence in resisting school integration lest they invite a return of "reconstruction" government and rule by "carpetbaggers."

Sen. Ellender (D., La.) told a Louisiana radio audience in an address recorded in Washington that he and other congressional signers of last Sunday's "manifesto" against integration are committed to resistance by "any lawful means." He added:

"What the South must avoid at all costs is violence, lawlessness, hatred and bloodshed. The outside agitators who seek the subjugation of both the white and Negro races in the South are hovering like greedy vultures for the time when racial antagonisms lead to chaos, the breakdown of governmental authority and general lawlessness.

South would suffer

"IF THIS CONDITION should occur, then I fear they will not hesitate to press for the use of force. If this should occur, then all our people could look forward to would be a repetition of the reconstruction regimes which brought the South only oppression and self-seeking exploitation."

In "our fight to maintain the basic principle of our federal constitutional system," Ellender said, "we must not open our gates to an invasion of our states by a new and even hungrier breed of carpetbaggers."

Carpetbaggers were Northern politicians who invaded the South after the Civil War.

By the Supreme Court decision calling for desegregation of the public schools, Ellender said, "Nine men have made it possible for 165 million Americans to be made subject to a new and powerful kind of despotism."

The "declaration of constitutional principles" signed by the Southern congressmen, he said, "is a sober warning" to the American people that the Supreme Court "has laid the foundation for what may yet prove to be a complete destruction of our constitutional system of checks and balances."

Notice served

"WE HAVE served notice that the people of the South, both white and Negro, are not going to be used as either whipping boys or political pawns in order to fulfill the Supreme Court's new doctrine of sociological justice," Ellender declared.

He added that the South has been invaded by "unprincipled, self-seeking, outside agitators—I refer primarily to the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)."

Up until the Supreme Court decision and this invasion, Ellender added, "relationships between the white and Negro races had been constantly improving."

LUMBEE INDIAN (NEW TRIBE) ROVESON COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

New Tribe of Indians Is Approved by Senate

Times p 33-C
Tues. 5-22-56

WASHINGTON, May 21 (UP)—The Senate voted today to create a new Indian tribe.

It decided unanimously that some 4,000 Indians around Robeson County, N. C., should be known officially as the Lumbee Indians. They are descendants of early English settlers and coastal Indians.

Some historical speculation in North Carolina links the Robeson County Indians with Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony, the first English settlement in North America, which vanished in 1584.

The bill now goes back to the house for concurrence in a Senate amendment. This stipulates that the Indians' new status will not get them anything from the Government.

Kefauver explains snub of 'manifesto'

Afro-American p. 5 Sat 4-28-56 Baltimore, Md.

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—"My position may have cost some political support in the South, but I think it is right, and that is that."

This declaration of Sen Estes Kefauver was made while he was here late last week resting from his strenuous campaign for the Democratic party presidential nomination.

He said that the Supreme Court segregation ruling is "the law of the land" and must be obeyed. He referred specifically to his refusal to sign the "southern manifesto" against the court decision.

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TWO OTHER southerners who refused to sign were Sen. Albert Gore, Tenn., and Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson, Texas, Senate majority leader.

Senator Kefauver said the manifesto "can only result in increased bitterness and hard feelings and add confusion to an already difficult situation.

"It is important that the issue be kept in calm, intelligent hands," he said

* * *

NONE OF THE city's 6,000 colored voters was invited to the reception in his honor, but the Tennesseean shook hands with all he met, including bellhops and elevator operators.

He told interviewers that he thought New York's Mayor Robert Wagner would be an ideal vice presidential candidate to team with him.

FIX PRISON TERMS FOR INTERRACIAL LOVEMAKING

JACKSON, Miss.—The Mississippi House of Representatives unanimously passed a bill last week providing 10-year prison terms for sex acts between the races.

STEVENSON OPPOSED TO 'DIXIE MANIFESTO'

Commercial Appeal

Doesn't Believe Supreme Court Exceeded Power

Wed. 3-14-56

CHICAGO, March 13.—(UP)—Adlai E. Stevenson disagreed with the recent segregation manifesto of Southern congressmen Tuesday, declaring he does not believe the United States Supreme Court exceeded its "proper authority" in the controversial school case.

Mr. Stevenson issued a statement which said the nation "must proceed along the course" charted by the high court.

"I do not agree that the Supreme Court exceeded its proper authority in its rulings on school segregation," the Democratic presidential hopeful said.

"I think rather that these rulings are correct interpretations of the Constitution and the conscience of the nation," he said.

Ninety-six Southern senators and representatives last Saturday signed a proclamation condemning the "unwarranted exercise of power" by the Supreme Court in the case. Since then more have signed.

Mr. Stevenson said the fact that the list of signers included "distinguished, responsible leaders of a great region of our country is a reflection of the gravity of the racial tensions that have arisen in the South."

He also said "It is very important to recognize that these Southern leaders urge that violence and extreme measures be avoided."

Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. Stevenson said it is his own belief that differences in the South can be resolved through legal processes.

Stevenson Denounces Mob Violence in Dixie

Inquirer P. 3

Sat. 3-3-56

Ties Civil Rights To U.S. Security

Philadelphia

MINNEAPOLIS, March 2 (AP). Adlai E. Stevenson told a University of Minnesota audience today that the Nation could not ever be secure until the liberties of every individual were secure.

He came to Minnesota for a five-day campaign for Minnesota's delegates to the Democratic national convention. He will contest with Sen. Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.) in the State's March 20 Presidential primary.

DEPLORES 'CONFUSION'

In his prepared talk at the university, Stevenson discussed civil rights and assailed "confusion and contradiction" in the Eisenhower Administration's foreign policy.

The former Illinois Governor said civil rights were "a matter of grave national concern when a girl in Alabama is denied her constitutional rights by mob violence or subterfuge, or when murder goes unpunished in Mississippi, or when American citizens are denied peaceful occupancy of their homes in my own State of Illinois."

REBUKE TO NORTH

"Before we cast a stone at Alabama," he continued, "it might be well for those of us who live in some of the great northern cities to ask ourselves in candor how the Negro minority is faring in our own communities."

He said progress was being made toward reduction of race prejudice, but less "in reducing the unreasoning fear which has stampeded so many Americans into demanding the denial of the essential liberties of many of our fellow citizens as a necessary safeguard against subversion."

KEFAUVER BLASTS GOP

HANOVER, N. H., March 2 (AP). — Denouncing the Republican Party's domestic and foreign programs as failures, Sen. Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn) said tonight the Eisenhower Administration was responsible for "one of the darkest periods of American governmental history."

"With its methods of propaganda, procrastination and postponement, it has waited until its final year in office, and under the pressure of the coming election, before pretending to fulfill its campaign promises," Kefauver said.

In an address to a Dartmouth College political affairs conference, the tall Tennesseean said "disorder and irresponsibility" would "wreck the Federal Government" if the GOP won next November.

The tall Tennessean, seeking another triumph in New Hampshire's Presidential primary a week from Tuesday, visited five factories here today—the second day of a five-day campaign swing.

In Trenton, N. J., the president of the Kefauver for President Club, Martin J. Rafferty, formally entered Kefauver in that State's April 17 preferential primary. Rafferty predicted the Tennessee Senator would do "exceptionally well" in the State.

Criticizes Manifesto

Stevenson Defends High Court Ruling

Herald Wed. 3-14-56

Miami, Fla. 38a P. 1

CHICAGO — (UP) — Adlai E. Stevenson disagreed with the recent segregation manifesto of Southern congressmen Tuesday, declaring he does not believe the U. S. Supreme Court exceeded its "proper authority" in the controversial school case.

Stevenson issued a statement which said the nation "must proceed along the course" charted by the high court.

"I do not agree that the Supreme Court exceeded its proper authority in its rulings on school segregation," the Democratic presidential hopeful said.

"I think rather that these rulings are correct interpretations of the Constitution and the conscience of the nation," he said.

One hundred and one Southern senators and representatives have signed a proclamation condemning the "unwarranted exercise of power" by the Supreme Court in the case.

Stevenson said the fact that the list of signers included "distinguished, responsible leaders of a great region of our country is a reflection of the gravity of the racial tensions that have arisen in the South."

He also said "it is very important to recognize that these Southern leaders urge that violence and extreme measures be avoided."

Stevenson said it is his own belief that differences in the South can be resolved through legal processes.

"It is noteworthy in this connection that today no single school district in the South stands in defiance of the order of the land, and therefore could not oppose it.

of any federal court," Stevenson said.

"We must proceed along the course that has been so clearly marked out.

"The immediate task is to reduce the tensions that have already produced such shameful consequences. Stevenson said. "That burden rests on all of us, North and South, white and Negro, Republican and Democrat."

Sen. Paul Douglas, Illinois Democrat, said Tuesday the "manifesto" will stimulate resistance to the Supreme Court school segregation decision.

"I fear its effect will be to discourage those who were willing to cooperate in making the adjustments to the law in reason and friendliness," Douglas told the Senate.

He acknowledged the Southerners' right to issue their statement but said, "I deeply regret the action."

Two Southern congressmen, Reps. Harold D. Cooley, and Thurmond Chatham, both North Carolina Democrats, sharply questioned the wisdom of the declaration.

Cooley termed the manifesto "a dangerous document," and Chatham said he considers the Supreme Court decision the law

MANIFESTO
N A A C P

Anti-court 'manifesto' criticized

Afro-American, Baltimore, Md. Oct. 3-27-56

WASHINGTON

"When you tear down respect for law and order, the hoodlums are going to be violent.

"Everybody knows that. And they know it, and they are doing it deliberately to make it possible for the hoodlums to do it."

These words were used by Thurgood Marshall to describe the motive of the 96 Southern Congressmen who over the weekend denounced the United States Supreme Court's school decision.

• • •

THE DIXIE BLOC, composed of 19 Senators and 77 members of the House, issued a so-called "manifesto" describing the court's ruling as a "clear case of judicial power."

They argue in the statement that the decision has fanned the flames of hatred and suspicion in the South.

They term the statement a "declaration of constitutional principles" and pledged themselves "to use all lawful means" to reverse the decision.

• • •

MR. MARSHALL'S criticism of the action of the Congressmen was made during an address, Friday at Vermont Avenue Baptist Church.

The occasion was the official kick-off of the NAACP's annual membership drive which has a goal of 15,000 members and $15,000.

The lawmakers' document, the NAACP chief counsel declared, contains a "lot of filthy language."

• • •

"THEY CONDEMN the Supreme Court. They condemn our government. They say the Supreme Court isn't entitled to respect and support, and they say they are against violence.

"How can Congressmen counsel and breed disrespect for law and order and then contend they are against violence?" he asked.

"When you tear down respect for law and order, the hoodlums are going to be violent," Mr. Marshall declared.

HE ADDED: "They can't fool anybody by saying, 'we will take all lawful means to reverse the decision.'

"There are no lawful means to upset the Constitution of the United States except to amend it," he concluded.

These are 'manifesto' signers

WASHINGTON

The following Southern Senators and Congressmen are those who signed the southern states' anti-integration "manifesto" opposing the granting of equal rights to colored citizens and pledging every effort to overthrow Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation.

SENATORS

ALABAMA—Lister Hill, John Sparkman.

ARKANSAS — John L McClellan, J. William Fulbright.

FLORIDA — Spessard L. Holland, George A. Smathers.

GEORGIA — Walter F. George, Richard B. Russell.

LOUISIANA — Allen J. Ellender, Russell B. Long.

MISSISSIPPI — James O. Eastland, John C. Stennis.

NORTH CAROLINA — Samuel J. Ervin Jr., W. Kerr Scott.

SOUTH CAROLINA — J. Strom Thurmand, Olin D. Johnston.

TEXAS—Price Daniel.

VIRGINIA — Harry Flood Byrd, A. Willis Robinson.

REPRESENTATIVES

These House members, all Democrats except where indicated, also signed the statement:

ALABAMA — Boykin, Grant, Andrews, Roberts, Rains, Selden, Elliott, Robert Jones and Huddleston.

ARKANSAS — Gathings, Mills, Trimble, Harris, Brooks Hays and Norrell.

FLORIDA — Charles Bennett, Sikes, Herlong, Paul Rogers, Haley and Matthews.

GEORGIA — Preston, Pilcher, Forrester, Flynt, James Davis Vinson, Lanham, Blitch, Landrum and Paul Brown.

LOUISIANA — Herbert, Boggs. Willis, Overton Brooks, Passman, Morrison, T. A. Thompson and George Long.

MISSISSIPPI — Abernathy, Whitten, Frank Smith, John Bell Williams, Winstead and Colmer.

NORTH CAROLINA — Bonner, Fountain, Barden, Durham, Carlyle, Alexander, Woodrow Jones and Shuford.

SOUTH CAROLINA — Rivers, Riley, Bryan Dorn, Ashmore, Richards and McMillan.

TENNESSEE — Frazier, Tom Murray, Cooper and Clifford Davis.

TEXAS—Patman, Dowdy, Walter Rogers and Fisher.

VIRGINIA — Robeson, Hardy, Gary, Abbitt, Tuck, Poff (R), Burr Harrison, Howard Smith, Jennings and Broyhill (R).

'All-American' town stages cross burning

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. 38a Oct. 2-18-56

By LARRY STILL

WASHINGTON

"I am going to get me a gun. I'll be ready if they come back."

Frank Dove was looking at charred remains of a six-foot cross he found in his front yard—not in Mississippi or Alabama, but near Rockville, Md., just 20 miles from the nation's capital.

"I was sitting there looking at television and I heard the kids scream. We ran outside and saw this wooden cross sticking in a pan of sand and gravel. It was burning so I kicked it over on the ground and put it out.

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Oct. 2-18-56

"I SAW somebody looking like a boy running down the road. The kids said he had knocked on the window before they saw the fire. He got into a car with some other men and drove away. It was a light Ford, about 1950. I didn't get the license.

"The Rockville fire department and police came but the fire was out. The police said it was just a prank, but somebody muttered something about the Ku Klux Klan."

Mr. Dove, a pleasant-face construction worker, calmly related the details of this flaming incident which had been kept hush-hush for over a month in this suburban community of colored Maryland settlers.

* * *

THE CROSS burning occurred at the beginning of the year in front of Mr. Doves' modest four-room brick cottage on Seven Locks Rd. in a fruit growing section of prosperous Montgomery County called Scotland.

Details of the act leaked out through one of the many relatives of the Dove family in Washington. The family has lived in the area for generations. Frank rents his home from his brother, Leroy, a cement finisher in D.C.

Mr. Dove, who lives with his wife and two stepchildren in the suburban cottage, said he had not even talked to his brother about the disturbance.

"I wasn't worried. I'm going to get me a gun and be ready when they come back," he declared.

* * *

THE INCIDENT has been reported to Montgomery County NAACP executive secretary Alphonso Lee who asked the Rockville officials to determine if the act is a part of a campaign to drive colored residents out of the area.

"There is an awful lot of building going on in this town and certain real estate dealers have said they don't want too many colored citizens in the area," Mr. Lee declared.

Mr. Dove and several neighbors in the area said they have been approached by salesmen constantly within the past year trying to get them to sell their property. One member of the family has already sold a section of the estate.

"THEY'VE BEEN worrying me to death so much I don't even answer the door, now" says Mrs. Matilda Ruffin, whose house sits back up on a picturesque hill next door to the scene of the cross burning.

In the meantime, back in Rockville, fire department and police officials don't think there is anything to the incident.

"We just found some sand and gasoline in a can," said T. M. Slater, assistant fire marshal.

"I didn't know anything about the Cross," said Capt. Richard Linthicum of the county detective bureau. We don't have any racial trouble like that out here. It was probably some kid," the officer said.

ROCKVILLE was recently cited by Look magazine as one of the nation's All-American towns and has signs to this effect posted throughout the city. Less than three blocks from one of the signs in front of the court house is another sign reading "White Trade Only."

The community's NAACP and Civic Unity Committee has been waging a campaign for more integration of public facilities and has reported progress in several areas. The county recently began integration of its school system.

EXAMPLE OF ALL-AMERICAN city traditions can be seen by citizens of Rockville area daily in Middle Lane section near heart of city. Although community is made up of predominantly colored citizens, their trade is not welcome in booming area. Rockville sign is at Montgomery and Washington streets in front of Montgomery County Court House, Md.

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 2-18-56
L20 P.20
38a
Md

CROSS BURNED in front of home of Frank Dove of Route 2, Sevenlocks Rd., Rockville, Md., is shown to Alphonso Lee, executive secretary of Montgomery County NAACP. Mr. Dove said he found improvised sign setting in can of gasoline late one evening. Real estate interests have been trying to buy homes of colored property owners in Scotland, Md., area.

8 Public Swimming Pools In Baltimore End Segregation

Weekly New Orleans, La.
Sat. 7-14-56
P.3

Baltimore (ANP)- An integrated recreational program, in operation here less than two weeks, is working out to the satisfaction of public and civic leaders in Baltimore.

For the first time in history, Negroes and whites are swimming together in Baltimore's 8 public pools.

Although there have been several minor incidents, the program is considered a success.

"we've had some name-calling and that sort of thing in a few of the pools, but nothing serious and there has been no violence of any kind, " said L. Edgar Myerly, assistant superintendent of parks.

Dr. Furman L. Templeton, executive director of the city's Urban League, said the entire project, admittedly complicated in a city which geographically and historically has existed on a segregated basis, has been approached in a "healthy air.'

"Ihave personally inspected the pools," Templeton stated, "and have ben in the pools with my two sons and I am pleased to report that there has been no difficulty with the exception of two minor incidents.

"Ihave observed a wonderful morale and espirit de corps among park personnel and the only disturbing thing I have noticed is a pronounced drop off in white attendance, but we're hopeful that will build itself up quickly."

Baltimore has dropped the color bar not only in pools, but has also integrated the life guard and attendant personnel.

Negroes Welcomed To Baltimore Swimming Pools

Call P.3
Kansas City, Mo.
Fri. 7-6-56

BALTIMORE, Md. — (ANP) — "No incidents were reported," according to Charles A. Hook, city superintendent of parks, when Baltimore opened its swimming pools last week to persons of all races on an integrated basis.

The opening had been delayed a week for special training of pool personnel, Hook said, adding: "I feel that the two-day course had a great effect on how our personnel operated."

Hook related that Negroes came to the pool expecting to be stopped or asked questions, "but found that they were treated with courtesy," and as the day progressed gained confidence and enything."

Negroes Begin Using Beaches

Star P. 26-A
Thurs. 5-31-56

BALTIMORE, May 31 (AP).—Maryland's two main publicly owned beaches opened yesterday for the first time on an unsegregated basis. No incidents were reported.

Negroes availed themselves of the opportunity to use unsegregated bathing facilities in only one of the two areas, however. At Sandy Point State Park on the Chesapeake Bay about 15 miles south of here, what was described as a "handful" of Negroes used a beach which had formerly been for whites only.

The area is divided by a natural land jetty, and in the past one beach was all-white and one all-Negro. The small group of Negroes was part of a crowd of about 500 whites.

At Fort Smallwood Beach, just south of the city and operated by it, no Negroes used the bathing facilities newly opened to them, but in the general park area, as has been the practice in the past, Negroes used the playgrounds and picnic tables along with whites.

Desegregation of the beaches stemmed from a Supreme Court opinion in November, 1955, barring segregation in public parks

Integrated Pools Opened In Baltimore

Post + Times Herald P. 7
Tue. 6-26-56

BALTIMORE, June 25 (AP) Two white youths were given suspended fines today after being charged with disorderly conduct at one of Baltimore's newly integrated swimming pools.

It was the only incident reported as the five pools opened on an integrated basis for the first time Saturday.

Magistrate Henry L. Rogers suspended $25 fines imposed on Edward Peddicord, 17, and Charles M. Appleby, 16, and put the youths on probation. Both were said to have gotten in the way of swimmers going to and from a locker room.

Peddicord told the magistrate he stood at the edge of the pool counting the number of Negro swimmers entering and said he planned to stay out if too many went in. Rogers reminded the youths the Supreme Court had banned segregation at the municipally-owned recreation facilities.

Meanwhile, in Annapolis, Joseph F. Kaylor, Director of Forests and Parks, said there had been no problems with integration at Sandy Point State Park, which is the only bayside resort operated by the State. He said full use is being made of both swimming beaches which before this year were segregated.

Pools integrated

Afro-American

BALTIMORE—All city swimming pools opened here Saturday on an integrated basis for the first time. Attendance at the pools was average and some colored persons were on hand at most of the pools.

No incidents were reported and no difficulties experienced by recreation department workers or police. Recreation department and police authorities had planned the opening for six months, with orientation courses for workers and officers assigned to the pools.

Colored guards were employed at most of the pools.

They Won't Forget

Afro-American

The arrest last week of James D. Urey, secretary to President Tubman of Liberia and Anthony B. Gray, a Liberian student at Temple University, was probably only a minor incident to Baltimore police.

They were detained at police headquarters pending the arrival of U.S. immigration officials.

Their arrest followed their entrance into a downtown restaurant at 10:30 a.m. for breakfast.

Said the waitress: "We don't serve colored persons here." And the proprietor backed up his employee.

Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah (pronounced En-kroomah) of Gold Coast, West Africa, visited Baltimore, while a student at Lincoln University 20 years ago.

At a bus station, he asked where he could get a drink of water. The white attendant, a sneer on his face, pointed to a spittoon.

He's never forgotten, nor forgiven Baltimore's rudeness.

Nor will the Liberians who are guests in our country ever forget our violation of the elemental question that tests decency and Christianity: "When I was hungry, did you feed me?"

No meals for visitors at City Hall

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 8-18-56

BALTIMORE

"In our restaurants in other parts of the country we serve colored people but here in Baltimore the public sentiment is against it.

"If there was a law on the books which said restaurants should serve all, we'd go along with it. We'd be happy to stop all this trouble . . ."

These were highlights of the comments made by John J. Russell, vice president and general manager of the Bickford Restaurants on Thursday.

Mr. Russell was asked to comment on the refusal of the Bickford Restaurant at 3 N. Holliday St., to serve a mixed group of Nashville, Tenn., city councilmen on Tuesday.

In the group which was refused service was Z. Alexander Looby, Nashville city councilman and well-known Republican leader, and a member of the NAACP's national legal committee.

He reported that an employe of the restaurant told him, "We will serve you, but you will have to eat in the kitchen."

The restaurant in question is across the street from the City Hall where the visitors were guests of Baltimore's Mayor D'Alesandro.

* * *

WITH MR. LOOBY at the time of the refusal, were Councilman Robert E. Lilliard and Patrolman Clay Dowdy of Nashville, and two white Nashville councilmen, Wesley Dixon and Walter Morgan. All left the restaurant without being served.

After the restaurant incident, Mr. Looby did not rejoin the 40-man caravan for a tour of the city's redevelopment and low-cost housing projects, but went on to Washington, where he rejoined the group.

Nashville's Mayor Benjamin West, another member of the party, told the AFRO in Washington that the refusal 'upset Mr. Looby and upset me too.'

NEWS OF THE treatment of the Nashville visitors was front page news in the Nashville Tennessean on Wednesday.

Mayor West and members of his municipal staff were on a three-city tour to observe the functioning of municipal governments.

"We were treated with much courtesy in both Philadelphia and Washington," Mr. Looby commented later.

He said that his efforts to apprise Baltimore's Mayor D'Alesandro of the treatment proved futile.

Mr. Looby did not attend the Mayor's luncheon for the visitors in a downtown hotel later on Tuesday, although the two other colored members of the delegation did.

On Wednesday, the group toured Washington and on Wednesday evening returned to Nashville.

HERE IS THE full conversation with Mr. Russell, general manager of the Bickford Restaurants:

Afro-American

Q—We understand that a group of city councilmen and other officials who were here as guests of the city of Baltimore, on Tuesday, entered your Holliday St. restaurant and that the colored members were stopped by an employee and told they would have to eat in the kitchen. Has this matter come to your attention, sir?

A—I didn't hear anything about it, but I believe it could happen. It does happen. You see we're victims of the community standing and that kind of thing.

We don't take sides because we employ a great number of colored people, and we get along with them all right ourselves as business.

But you see, your condition here in Baltimore just simply—we can't go against the public sentiment. We're victims of circumstances in a case like that. It has come up once in a while.

Q—Have you ever allowed mixed groups to eat in your restaurants?

A—No. It never has happened in Baltimore. In our other restaurants in other parts of the country it is all right, but here in Baltimore it's the public sentiment that's against it.

We have done it, when people would be passing through, say for instance with a family and they'd have a colored maid, and they'd all sit down.

But I'd get a half dozen letters criticizing us whenever it happened. We still do it. But it isn't us against it, it's the community people.

Q—In view of the fact that the community is changing — we have mixed housing projects and integrated schools — and in view of the fact that we have city councilmen of both races who would be looking for a restaurant nearby City Hall, has it occurred to Bickford's that it might take the leadership in breaking this down?

A—The people who should take the leadership are the city councilmen and all of those people, they're the ones to do it. A business can't do it. We're helpless.

You have colored city councilmen and one in the House of Delegates (there are 3), they are the ones who should pursue that and change the ways here and then we'd be all right.

Q—In this instance, the people who were refused service were guests of our city.

A—Yes, well we wouldn't know the difference. As a matter of fact, we wouldn't be able to discriminate, because we wouldn't know.

Q—But you would accept and serve a colored maid with a white family?

A—We have done so, yes.

Q—Has she had to eat in the kitchen?

A—No. We just close our eyes, but then we get a volume of criticism. So we're victims of circumstances. It's not anything that's a policy of ours, you see.

Q—When you say the City Councilmen should be the ones to take the leadership and make the change, since they are not businessmen and don't own restaurants like Bickford's, how can they take the leadership?

A—Make them change the rules and regulations in Baltimore.

Q—Haven't they taken that step in passing the FEPC law?

A—They haven't done anything in Baltimore.

Q—The FEPC is the law in Baltimore now.

A—I know that, but why don't they change the whole thing, and then we'd be all right. We'd go along with anything if it is universal.

Q—In other words, if there were a law on the books which said that all restaurants and hotels should. . .

A—We have FEPC. We have

MAYOR WEST
'It upset Mr. Looby and upset me too . . .'

colored people working in our stores.

Q—If there were a law on the books which said that hotels and restaurants like Bickford's should serve all who come, you would be willing to do so?

A—We'd go along with it. Sure. What else could we do? We'd be happy to stop all this trouble.

Q—How many restaurants do you operate in the city?

A—Only six, here.

Q—How long have you been in business here?

A—35 years.

Q—Are you a native Baltimorean?

A—No, I'm not. I'm from Boston where we serve every-

body . . . Boston and San Francisco, but I've been here over 30 years.

Q—You don't think that you would like to take the leadership in ending this. . .

A—I wouldn't dare do it, because of public sentiment. There's nothing personal about it.

Q—Have you ever considered if you went ahead and opened your doors and said 'anybody who should like to eat may come in,' that maybe you would get one of two letters, as you say you're doing now, but in the long run people would soon accept it, just as they have accepted the integrated schools?

A—Well, I tell you that's putting it pretty stiff, that would be putting a responsibility on us that I don't think we ought to take.

Q—In view of the fact that it hasn't been tried, wouldn't you be willing to give it a chance?

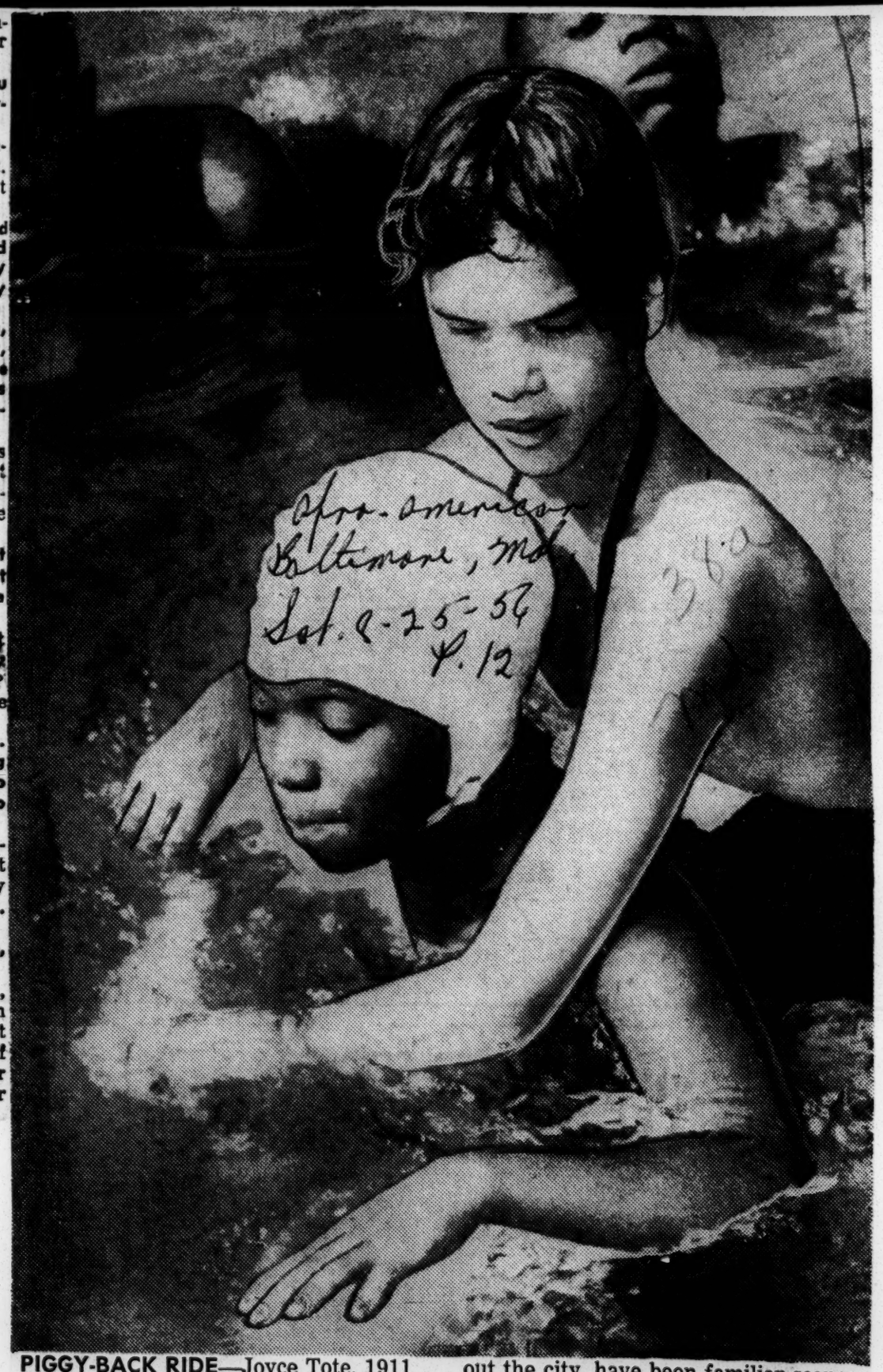
A—Oh, I'd rather not do that because after I once upset my business, what would I do? That's a risky thing, you're asking me.

Q—Well, it is unfortunate. The people had been traveling all night when they came to your restaurant. They were to be guests at City Hall.

A—Our restaurant you mention is right near City Hall. But it would have happened in any of our restaurants, you know. We can't help it.

Q—It is certainly unfortunate, don't you think?

A—Yes. I don't like the idea, and I don't want any confusion or conflict with anybody, but as I say, we're the victims of a condition. So is every other restaurant in Baltimore so far as that's concerned.



PIGGY-BACK RIDE—Joyce Tote, 1911 Eutaw Pl., "hops aboard" Jo Ann Reid, 1675 Bakerberry Ct., for a free cruise through the water at Druid Hill Park Pool No. 1. Childen of both races, playing together in the pools throughout the city, have been familiar scenes this summer. Without fanfare, or demonstration, integration has gone along smoothly since the pools were open to everyone last May.

Will sue for $100,000 singer says

Afro-American Sat. 4-28-56 Baltimore, Md.

BALTIMORE — "We are late this evening because the hotel where we were to stay decided not to accept us. That is a decision they will live to regret."

A standing-room-only crowd at Polytechnic Institute Auditorium to see Harry Belafonte and an interracial troupe in a musical revue Friday night listened momentarily in stunned indignation and then burst into wild applause when producer Jay Richard Kennedy gave this explanation 45 minutes after the performance was to begin.

"I do not feel guilty because the problem was not of our making," said the outspoken Mr. Kennedy, who arrived in Baltimore several hours after learning the troupe had been snobbed by the Stafford Hotel, when it was discovered there were colored members of the cast.

Ironically, the revue, "Sing, Man, Sing!" is a message show which musically traces the whole history of man to the present day, ending on a powerful note of freedom and brotherhood.

* * *

MR. BELAFONTE said reservations for the entire cast were made verbally by Emmett Callahan, company manager, and Kelvin O'Morrison, assistant stage manager, both white.

Reservations for the troupe were cancelled when the assistant hotel manager, a Mr. Piercy, learned the group was interracial, the popular actor and folk singer said.

"I walked up to the desk and asked for my keys and I was told (by Mr. Piercy) 'Mr. Belafonte is not in his room yet'." the singer said. "I told him I know I'm not in my room yet. I want my keys."

At this point, the balladier related, Mr. Piercy summoned Mr. Callahan and Mr. O'Morrison on the telephone and said, "We've run into a little situation."

"He wouldn't talk in front of me," he continued. "He called the two of them aside."

* * *

AFTER THE assistant manager explained to the white men he could not honor the reservations of the colored members of the cast, Mr. Belafonte said, the entire troupe stalked out of the hotel.

Mr. Belafonte told the AFRO that shortly after he suffered the discriminatory slap in the face he contacted his New York attorney, Sidney Kramer, relative to filing a damage suit.

"I'm filing suit against the hotel for possibly $100,000" he disclosed.

Mr. Kennedy, who wrote the screenplay for the movie, "I'll Cry Tomorrow," stated that he had cancelled the company's Southtrn tour because of the climate of racial tension below the "cotton curtain."

"If white people love this man's artistry, they have to show they respect Belafonte and my company before I'll perform," the producer said in reference to the cancellations.

Baltimore, Md.

ON THE STAFFORD Hotel incident, Mr. Kennedy said:

"They've made themselves a national mistake. They made this mistake with two people (he and Mr. Belafonte) who do not intend to let go."

Mr. Kennedy said three suites had been rented at the hotel, adding, "When the white people arrived they were admitted, but when the colored people arrived suddenly they had no room."

"I do not intend for this to happen again to this company," he declared.

The troupe, which has a four-month road tour before opening on Broadway in the fall, is composed of 23 colored members and 20 whites.

* * *

MR. O'MORRISON said "They're the most amiable group i've ever worked with or been around. The strangeness of it is they never thought of color difference.

"The whole company was humiliated," Mr. Belafonte explained. "We wanted a place for the kids to freshen up and a large room to rehearse some new numbers."

The company was given accomodations at the Madison Ave. branch YWCA to hold a rehearsal. They were directed by a colored hotel employee.

Mr. Belafonte, attired in a cap, trench coat, sports jacket and Levis, stayed at the Druid Hill YWCA until show time, following his appearance at the YWCA.

* * *

AN APPRECIATIVE audience gave a rousing ovation when, at the end of the show, Beafonte paid tribute to the NAACP and other militant groups fighting the sort of thing he encountered here in Baltimore.

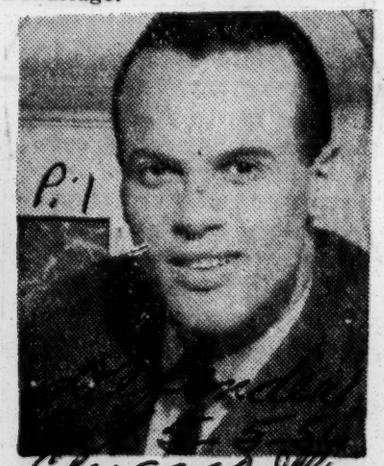
A Stafford Hotel official contacted by the AFRO for a statement on the Belafonte incident apparently had never heard of the popular entertainer who has performed on stage, screen and radio.

The official asked, "Who is this person?"

Mr. Belafonte's retort to this was:

"There are a lot of white people who wouldn't recognize my name. There are a lot of white people who wouldn't recognize Jackie Robinson or Ralph Bunche, Lena Horne or Dorothy Dandridge."

HARRY BELAFONTE
He'll sue for $100,000



HARRY BELAFONTE arriving 45 minutes late for a scheduled appearance in Baltimore explained to a restless audience that the delay had been caused by the refusal of a local hotel to accept him and his interracial party. The noted folk singer has not announced what action he plans as a result of the incident.

4 D.C. teachers refused service at Baltimore hotel

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 5-12-56

BALTIMORE

Four Washington teachers, attending the Saturday conference of the Classical Association of the Middle Atlantic States at the Lord Baltimore Hotel, were refused service in the hotel's coffee shop.

The teachers were Mesdames Beatrice M. Harvey, Anita F. LeMon, Laverne West and Miss Lena Toms. All except Miss Toms are teachers at Dunbar High School.

According to Mrs. West, the wife of Dr. Charles D. West, prominent physician of Alexandria:

"The association held two sessions Saturday, one at 10:30 in the morning, the other at 2:30 in the afternoon.

"There were four colored teachers in attendance. After th morning session, we went downstairs to the cafeteria and took a table.

"The cafeteria manager told us that the shop served only white people. He said 'I'm sorry but that happens to be the policy of the hotel."

She said that the manager and the two assistant managers were "out" when she sought them to register a protest.

"I just wanted to sit there in the lobby but the other three teachers decided that we should make our protest by leaving."

* * *

THE FOUR TEACHERS, the Classical Association and the Americans for Democratic Action are all protesting the incident.

In a letter to the Hotel Managers Association, the teachers said that "such a narrow, bigoted racial policy is a reflection on all that the American flag symbolizes."

The teachers asked the officials of the Classical Association to sponsor a provision which would prohibit the group from meeting in segregated hotels.

Mrs. West said that the association president, Dr. John Latimer of George Washington University, is also drafting a letter of protest to the Hotel Managers Association.

In the initial draft of its letter, not yet completed for release to the public, the Americans for Democratic Action said:

* * *

"WITHIN the compass of one week, the popular singer and actor, Harry Belafonte, was refused a room at one hotel and colored members of the Classical Association of the Middle Atlantic States, meeting at another hotel, were refused luncheon.

"While the community generally is moving toward greater equality, under the stimulus of the Supreme Court decision and the fine leadership of the school authorities, the hotels do not budge.

"The annual report of the Maryland Committee on interracial progress and relations puts the blame for the situation where it belongs — 'The hard core of resistance to breaking down discrimination in the hotels is the Hotel Association.'

"Governor McKeldin," the ADA letter continued, "has called the hotel situation one of the most important facing civic groups and has offered support in a campaign to end discrimination."

* * *

ALTHOUGH 14 Africans spent the weekend in the Lord Baltimore Hotel last September, they were not permitted to use the public dining room.

Two more groups dodge city's hotel jim crow

Afro-American 11/18 Baltimore Md.

BALTIMORE

"The executive board of our group voted to take the action on Nov. 21 which will carry the convention to Buffalo instead of Baltimore after being informed of the segregation which still exists in local hotels."

Gordon Manser, executive secretary of the Baltimore Council of Social Agencies, told the AFRO last Thursday why the Mid-East Conference of United Community Funds and Councils, scheduled to meet in Baltimore next February, changed its meeting site to Buffalo, N.Y.

While Mr. Manser was explaining his decision, the Maryland Industrial Union Council (CIO) was meeting in Washington for the third consecutive year because of the discriminatory policies of Baltimore hotels.

* *

IN A LETTER written Wednesday, Patrick E. Zembower, chairman of the civil rights committee of the organization, said:

"We are resolutely determined to continue to do so until we can get facilites here at home for all of our delegates under one roof.

"This week, the delegates to the MIUC Convention in Washington will spend approximately $15,000 on rooms, meals, entertainment, souvenirs, gifts for the family."

Sat. 12-8-56

THIS WAS THE third major convention that refused to come to the city because of jim crow hotels in less than a month.

Before the community organizations group took its stand, the National Council of Geography Teachers by-passed Baltimore and moved its convention to Atlantic City over the weekend.

And 26 organizations are on record as being opposed to holding national conventions in Baltimore or any other city where discriminatory policies in the hotel prevail.

The League of Women Voters, the American Health Association Inc., the League for Industrial Democracy Inc., the Child Welfare League of America Inc., and Camp Fire Girls Inc are among the large national groups which will not hold conventions in cities where equal accommodations are not given to all members regardless of race.

Others with this policy are: the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian Churches, Amvets, American Association of University Women, American Mathematical Society and the National Council of Teachers of English.

Also the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), American Veterans Committee and the American Association of University Professors.

* * *

ON TUESDAY Councilman Sol Liss (D-4th) successfully introduced a motion which will refer the whole question of jim crow in Baltimore hotels back to the Baltimore Hotel Association which is to confer with the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations and the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems.

A report is to be made by the organizations to the Council within 60 days.

Mr. Liss told the AFRO that an ordinance making hotel discrimination illegal in this city would be introduced in the City Council unless the hotel owners voluntarily decided to drop all racial bans.

the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations and the Governor's Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations, with a suggestion the two groups meet to seek a solution.

If no action is taken in 60 days, Councilman Solomon Liss said, he would introduce an ordinance to outlaw such discrimination. If he does, it would mark the first time a city lawmaker has taken a direct stand in opposing existing segregation policies of local hotels.

Harold I. Fink, president of the Hotel Association, said he was willing to cooperate with the legislative bodies, but said he did not think Baltimore was "ripe" for a policy which would erase racial bars in hotels.

Fink said, however, that he believed it would be only "a matter of time" before the segregation question was resolved.

Racial Ban In Baltimore Hotels Is Hit

Post & Times Herald P. 1-B Wed. 11-28-56 Washington, D.C.

BALTIMORE, Nov. 27 (AP)—A special City Council committee has threatened to introduce legislation to prohibit Baltimore hotels from practicing racial discrimination.

A resolution was introduced at yesterday's meeting of the public relations committee which would ask city hotels to "re-examine their position in the matter of refusing accommodations to certain groups of individuals."

The matter was referred to

Press Eyes 'Manifesto'

Afro-American Baltimore 3-24-56

BALTIMORE,

The so-called "manifesto" or "declaration of principles" issued by 100 southern congressmen recently was interpreted in various ways by the nation's newspapers.

Here are some of the editorial comments:

THE NEW YORK POST: — The declaration of war against the desegregation decision signed by 18 senators and 81 representatives is a challenge that the Democratic Party dare not evade.

All but two of the signatories were southern democrats; among those on the list were the party's 1952 candidate for Vice President —John Sparkman—and a number of others, like Senator Fulbright (D-Ark.) who have been mentioned for the second spot on the ticket this year.

For a long time liberal Democrats have been implored and cajoled to softpedal the civil rights issue in the interest of "party harmony."

Plainly, no such restraint inhibits most of the southern congressional delegation. Its manifesto is a blunt announcement that appeasement of the southern bloc has failed.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR: — Indeed, the manifesto reflects weakness as much as strength. For the forces there represented could hardly block a desegregation amendment — the method they say should have been used.

* * *

THE BALTIMORE EVENING SUN: — The difference between the southern and northern wings of the Democratic party on this issue has been there all along.

This particular document does not really widen the gap. It only underlines the gap's experience.

* * *

THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE: — Outside the Deep South and at points within it, the conviction of segregation's moral, social and legal wrong has been steadily growing.

This newspaper urges again, as it did editorially on Feb. 19: "We are all Americans, North and South, white and colored, and we must find, with reasonable dispatch, an American solution to our common problem."

* * *

THE RALEIGH NEWS AND OBSERVER: — But there should be an end to the pretense that the decision is illegal, and therefore not binding. And there should be no false hopes raised that the decision will be changed.

That will not happen and the people of the South must adjust themselves to it as best they can. That does not mean that the races will be mixed in all the schools overnight. It does mean that the law must be recognized and must not be flouted.

* * *

THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS:— We welcome the appeal of the southern congressmen to our people not to be provoked by agitators and troublemakers and to refrain from disorder and lawless acts.

We see no prospect of any early reversal of the decision, which was unanimous.

* *

THE MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER: — Our congressmen, as the Advertiser has often remarked, have held aloof from the southern rebellion, being content to leave resistance to state officials.

The Dixiecrats were an impotent wheeze and never had a chance. A third party erupting from the present rebellion might not be.

* * *

THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE: — As the debate grows, it is interesting to see how the Supreme Court is proceeding. Last week the court affirmed that the ban on segregation in public schools applied equally to all tax-supported institutions of higher learning. This was entirely logical.

* * *

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH: — For they (the southerners) neglected to mention in their manifesto one of the most important principles of any constitutional government.

This is the principle that the law as interpeted by duly constituted courts shall be obeyed until or unless the law as interpreted by these courts is changed. Without a general respect for this rule, you do not have constitutional government. You have anarchy or despotism.

THE WASHINGTON POST:— It is indubitably true, as Mr. Eisenhower pointed out, that the Supreme Court's reversal of long accepted constitutional doctrines poses for the South an extremely difficult problem of readjustment and that this readjustment "is going to take time."

It is of the utmost importance to recognize, we believe, that while the moral and constitutional issues involved in the extension of full civil rights and political equality to colored people, admit of no compromise, the tactics and timing of that extension need to be conditioned by wisdom and realism.

* *

THE BOSTON POST: — (We) remember that 18 years ago, FDR tried to "pack" the Supreme Court. Senator George (D-Ga.) was a leader in the fight against the move.

"The executive, legislative and judicial powers were ordained separate and independent of each other," thundered George.

Today George leads the southern move to override the same court's antisegregation decision. Period.

* * *

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION:—The split in the Democratic Party over the anti-segregation issue can benefit nobody but the Republicans who, because of it, hope to regain both White House and control of Congress.

Any serious talk of a third party should be classed as political irresponsibility.

In 1931, after a Negro was lynched in Maryland's Eastern Shore town of Salisbury, the late Baltimore Sage **H. L. Mencken**, exploding in Baltimore's *Evening Sun*, hurled a carboy of acid across Chesapeake Bay at the lynchers and their ilk. Sample corrosives: "The Eastern Shore *Kultur* . . . an Alsatia of morons . . . ignorant and ignoble minds." Maryland's state senate recently held a roll call on a resolution expressing "the sorrow of the General Assembly of Maryland over the passing of Henry Louis Mencken." It passed, not unanimously as such resolutions usually do, but by a vote of 22 to 5. Among the five nay-sayers: four long-memoried Eastern Shoremen. Last week Maryland's house of delegates did better by H.L., shouted through the resolution with no nays recorded.

Bias In Public Places Being Corrected In Mass.

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Sept. 1-13-56

BOSTON, Mass — Discrimination in places of public accomodation is being corrected and a degree of integration is now being shown in public housing, the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination revealed today in its tenth annual report to Governor Herter.

The report was signed by Mildred H. Mahoney, chairman, George W. Cashman and William D. Washington, commissioners. It covers a one year period ending November 30, 1955. During thsi time the Commission initiated received and processed 284 matters involving unlawful discrimination in employment because of race, color, religious creed, national origin age or ancestory.

During this past year the Commission has not had to refer a single case for hearing. It has been able to accomplish everything it could accomplish in the informal conference period - complainants have received positions, have upgraded and have been returned to employment if unjustly discarged.

The Commission carried out surveys of State and Federal housing developments in Boston, Cambridge Holyoke, Worchester, Lynn, New Bedford and Springfield.

During this past year the commission has not had to refer a single case for a hearing. It has been able to accomplish everything it accomplished in the informal conference period — complainants have received positions, have been upgraded and have been returned to employment if unjustly discharged.

The commission carried out surveys of state and federal housing developments in Boston, Cambridge, Holyoke, Worcester, Lynn, New Bedford and Springfield. It was pointed out that no case involving public housing has as yet been presented to the commission.

* * *

AT THE SAME time it was revealed that during this year it has processed 27 matters pertaining to discrimination in public places of accommodation because of religion, color or race and had reviewed the advertising brochures of 335 Massachusetts resort hotels, all of which were found to be in compliance with the law.

The commission's field representatives carried out an extensive educational program in order to explain in more detail the operation of the public accommodation law.

Since this law is relatively new, the commission was pleased with the degree of understanding and cooperation which was revealed by these visits.

* * *

THE REPORT indicated increased activities in the enforcement of the age amendment. Field representatives of the commission called upon 35 companies in selected parts of Massachusetts to explain the age amendment in greater detail.

Of this number it was necessary for 12 companies to change their application for employment forms.

Earlier, notices had been sent to 786 employers and employment agencies, bringing to their attention specific violations in help wanted advertising and requesting a statement as to the reasons for specifying age directly or indirectly.

Some 735 of those cited pleaded ignorance of the law, 51 business organizations requested exemption based on the premise that age constituted a bonafide occupational qualification, five of which requests were approved.

* * *

THE HELP and interest of civic minded people who serve the commission without compensation on councils, which aid in the educational work of the MCAD, was acknowledged in the report.

These councils are located in Springfield, Boston, New Bedford, Worcester and Lynn. They have assisted the commission in conducting surveys, making inquiries as to the pattern of employment and cooperating in apprentice training opportunities.

The report states that the help of these councils introducing the commission to their communities and in enlisting the interest of cooperating groups has been incalculable.

Finally the report revealed that schools have been most helpful in the dissemination of the MCAD pamphlet, "Discrimination—Danger to Democracy," which was written for high school pupils and is widely used throughout the state.

Discrimination now on way out, Mass. commission declares

Afro-American Sat. 1-28-56 P. 13 Baltimore, Md.

38a

BOSTON — The Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination revealed in its 10th annual report to Gov. Christian Herter that discrimination in places of public accommodation is being corrected and a degree of integration is now being shown in public housing.

The report was signed by Mildred H. Mahoney, chairman, George W. Cashman and William D. Washington, commissioners.

It covers a one-year period ending Nov. 30, 1955. During this time the commission initiated, received and processed 28 matters involving unlawful discrimination in employment because of race, color, religious creed, national origin, age or ancestry.

Teacher Out: He's Negro

38a

GLOUCESTER, Mass., Sept. 13 (UP).—An Oregon man who was hired by mail to teach school here was given $1,000 and sent home when he proved to be a Negro, it was disclosed today.

City Councilor Manuel F. Lewis called for a "complete public investigation" into the payment made a week ago for transportation of the teacher, Warren McClure, thirty-four, from his Eugene, Ore., home to Gloucester and back.

No school official would say that Mr. McClure's color influenced the decision to terminate his contract. However, Superintendent of Schools L. Munro Grandy acknowledged that he did not know Mr. McClure was a Negro until the teacher arrived here.

Mr. McClure was hired by the school department at $4,200 a year. Because of Massachusetts' anti-discrimination laws, the department could not request information as to his color on the application form. On Aug. 27, Mr. Grandy announced that Mr. McClure would teach the sixth grade at Babson School.

Mr. McClure arrived here last Thursday and, after talking with school officials, agreed to accept $1,000 for transportation and termination of his contract. He spent that night in the Gloucester Y. M. C. A. and left for home next day.

New York Times 9-14-56

Michigan Governor Hits Racial Discrimination

Chicago Defender P. 6
Atlanta, Ga.

LOS ANGELES — (ANP) — Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan said in a speech here last week that discrimination of any kind against any citizen is a time bomb placed in the hands of America's enemies.

Williams said discrimination is repugnant to democracy. It generates friction and resentments which gravely damage the unity of our people.

Wed. 1-11-56

"The denial of equal opportunity to racial, nationality and religious groups plays directly into the hands of those who would destroy us."

Williams spoke at an affair given under auspices of the Democratic National Committee in the Golden State Auditorium. He said:

"The recognition of human equality, since we are all children of God, has been one of the most important facets of our national policy as well as of our democratic integrity.

"There are neighborhoods in every community in this nation of ours — north, west, south, east — in which some of our citizens are not permitted to live for no other reason than their color, their nationality or their religion.

"There are schools their children are not permitted to attend despite the recent Supreme Court decision."

The Democratic governor, who has been mentioned as a possible presidential candidate, offered a four-point program to eliminate discrimination:

1. Abolish all distinctions between naturalized citizens and American born.

2. Repeal the McCarran-Walter Act and substitute for it the Lehman bill.

3. Revise and expand refugee legislation to give effective aid to the victims of Communist enslavement.

4. Eliminate all barriers to the fullest possible participation by all of our citizens in all things it is the nation's power to confer.

No color bar in Wyandotte—mayor

Afro-American P. 16
Sat. 4-28-56
Baltimore, Md.

WYANDOTTE, Mich. — "I would certainly have no part in that kind of thing."

That was the reaction of Mayor William Kreger to a query last week concerning whether it was true that there was "a concerted effort" to keep colored persons from residing in Wyandotte.

According to an article in the Montgomery (daily) Advertiser, Wyandotte is a Detroit suburb in which colored persons are not allowed to live.

* * *

MAYOR KREGER said that he told a reporter for the Alabama paper "No" to a point-blank question of whether Wyandotte which is close to both River Rouge and Ecorse where colored persons to live. — makes a concerted effort to bar colored person.

"I am in business (wholesale) and I could not afford to do anything like that.

"I told the (Montgomery reporter) that I would not like to be quoted and would not have any part in that propaganda they are trying to spread.

The Alabama paper has been doing a series on Northern communities designed "to jam home —our (the Montgomery Advertiser's) sorrowful contention that wherever the colored person migrates in significant numbers, he encounters rejection."

Anti-White Charge Gets Nurse Fired

Advertiser
Tues. 9-25-56
Montgomery

LANSING, Mich., Sept. 24 (AP)— A white employe who complained that her superiors at a state mental institution discriminated in favor of Negroes has been fired as a "trouble-maker."

The complaint was the first of its kind in nearly a year's operation of the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Charles F. Wagg, state mental health director, denied the woman's charges and disclosed over the weekend that she had been dismissed.

Wagg said Mrs. Cledah Sundwall, classified as a nurse attendant "B", was dropped because she failed to "fit in" after three months employment at the Farmington State Children's Home.

Mrs. Dundwall has 15 days to appeal her dismissal. If she does so, she will receive a Civil Service hearing.

Her complaint was addressed to the Fair Employment Practices Commission, which turned it over to the Civil Service Commission.

Floyd Hamacher, chief Civil Service investigator who checked it said Mrs. Sundwall's complaint was aimed at both white supervisory personnel and Negro "charge attendants."

The latter are employes of the same nurse attendant classification who temporarily are placed in charge of their fellow workers. Often, Negroes have been designated in this capacity, Hamacher said.

'Michigan Declaration' Strikes at Segregation

Star Sat. 6-2-56
Washington D.C.
P.3-A

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich., June 2 (AP).—A "Michigan declaration" urging quick progress "to the day when segregation in practice is as rare as human slavery" was scheduled to go before the Michigan Democratic Convention today with the blessing of State party leaders.

The declaration is destined, according to sponsors, for wide circulation over the country. It is also to go to the Democratic Party's National Platform Committee at the Chicago convention in August.

The document was circulated among delegates last night. It had indorsement of virtually the entire State leadership, including key aides to Gov. G. Mennen Williams.

Recall Loyalty Fight

Gov. Williams and the late Senator Blair Moody, Democrat of Michigan, led an unsuccessful fight in the 1952 Democratic National Convention to require anyone participating therein to agree to a "loyalty pledge" binding them to support the party's nominees. Southern delegates defeated it.

The so-called "Michigan declaration" describes what it terms "the revolution of integration" as the "evil pattern of segregation yielding to the hammer blows of justice."

Other civil rights resolutions scheduled for action today would:

Recommend that Congress refuse to seat candidates whose elections "are obtained by unconstitutional and illegal denials of the right to vote; withhold Federal school aid from districts practicing segregation; eliminate discrimination in interstate travel, and abolish unlimited debate in the Senate.

Other Resolutions

Resolutions awaiting action also called for a Federal anti-lynching law, abolition of the poll tax and creation of a civil rights division of the Department of Justice.

It has been certain for weeks that the party's State convention would be asked to adopt "a very strong" civil rights program as a move to calm unrest among Negro voters, especially in Detroit.

Negroes have made a discrimination issue of the 1st congressional district's refusal to give State Senator Cora Brown, a Negro, and her supporters, at least half of that district's delegates to the national convention. Miss Brown is an announced candidate against Representative Thaddeus M. Machrowicz, Democrat of Michigan, whose supporters nominated the delegates and alternates. These include Negro representation but not from the Brown camp.

The 1st district is about evenly divided between white Polish elements of Hamtramck and adjoining Negro populated areas.

Convention Keynoter

Representative Charles C. Diggs, Democrat of Michigan, was chosen as the convention's keynoter after the 1st district political ruckus erupted into an issue of alleged discrimination. Mr. Diggs was the first Negro ever chosen for the honor.

The 44-vote delegation to the national convention was expected to receive instructions to support Gov. Williams for the presidential nomination. He has announced for a fifth term as Governor and said he was a candidate for neither the presidential nor vice presidential nomination.

Integration In Detroit Rated 'Best'

Sun. Sun. 4-12-56
P.24

Negroes in City Are Prosperous

DETROIT. (UP).—This city probably deserves to be rated the nation's best in the field of Negro integration.

The Negro in Detroit has an air of prosperity. Wages are high here and the Negro gets a good share of well-paying jobs.

Homes in many Negro areas are expensive, neat and well-kept. Negro children, most of them well-dressed walk along the sidewalks with white children, en route to the same schools in mixed neighborhoods.

There are Negroes in important public offices. Circuit Judge Wade McCree is a Negro. So is Dr. Remus Robinson, a member of the Board of Education. There are nine Negro state legislators and a Negro Congressman—Rep. Charles S. Riggs jr.

Negroes work in the stores and banks. They drive many of the city's buses, sell stamps in the postoffice and deliver mail. They read meters in homes throughout the city, eat in the best restaurants and stay in the best hotels. There are public housing projects where Negroes and whites live together.

The United Auto Workers union has been a big factor. It has fought against discrimination in the big car factories and other industries. But it cannot dictate hiring, and some of the smaller manufacturing concerns resist hiring Negroes. The union's main success has been in preventing discrimination once the Negro is on the job, in promotions and other matters.

But Detroit is no perfect model of absorbing the Negro. The Negro here has problems, too.

Housing appears to be the most serious. Negro leaders complain that public projects don't operate o na "first come, first served basis." The battles to open the projects to Negroes had to be fought, one by one. The latest was won in March.

In private homes Negroes still are segregated, in fact, into sections of the city. Racial covenants are illegal but there are areas with "understandings" that white homeowners will not sell to Negroes.

Such segregation has brought "all-Negro" schools, not as a matter of policy but as a matter of fact. In fringe areas, Negro leaders say there is evidence of subterfuge to juggle the white-Negro balance to keep some schools mostly Negro or white.

They face a segregation problem in most private hospitals, being forced into non-white wards. The churches in the area have slowly increased desegregation. There are some mixed congregations in Detroit. A few have Negro clergymen.

There are Negroes on the police force, although none ranks as high as lieutenant.

One of the best known Negro spokesmen is Charles Wartman, who edits the largest Negro weekly in Michigan, "The Michigan Chronicle." Mr. Wartman feels the Negro has made substantial progress. He points to segregated housing and the run-down condition of Negro schools as among the big problems yet.

Arthur Johnson of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People points out that there is still a policy of assigning Negro school teachers in all or mainly Negro schools. He also doesn't feel that progress has been good in opening better jobs or "white collar" positions.

But there is substantial agreement that the Negro has made big and rapid gains in Detroit—particularly in the last thirteen years. Because of his relative prosperity, racial tensions are not high.

The last big flareup cme in June, 1943. Thirty were killed and 700 injured in race riots which lasted a week.

Since then, there has been no major trouble. Things have changed and are still changing.

Economic discrimination mars high Detroit income

Afro American Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 8-4-56

By RITA SHAW

DETROIT — Statistics show that colored persons earn higher incomes in the Detroit area than anywhere else in the country. But on the other hand, economic discrimination is still in evidence in the Motor City.

Proof of the above statements is contained in the annual reports of the University of Michigan's "Detroit Area Study" published recently. The study is based on 1955 incomes and the following table, based on these reports, has been converted from annual to weekly figures:

IT IS NOTED in the report that with the exception of 1954, which was marked by widespread unemployment, colored family income, like white family income, steadily increased during the five-year period.

Weekly income of colored families rose $12 during the five years, but at the same time, white family income increased by $25 weekly pointing to inequality of income opportunity or progress.

The "differential" between the two groups in 1951 was $25 a week. In 1952, the gap widened to $31; and in 1953, to $40;

In 1954, a year of recession, the incomes of **both** groups **declined** and the gap was reduced for the first time to $39; and again in 1955 to $38.

* * *

ACCORDING TO these figures, while colored income has been rising, the differential with white income is much larger now than it was five years ago.

Finally, the ratio between the two groups, giving colored family income as a proportion of white family income, shows more inequality.

The university study noted that for every $1 a white family got in 1951, a colored family received only 73 cents. In 1952 the colored figure fell to 70 cents.

And in 1953 it dropped to 66 cents; a penny less in 1954 and up to 68 cents in 1955. But even then, lower than in the first two years of the period surveyed.

* * *

IN CONCLUSION the study shows that the average white family in the Detroit area has an income one and one-half times larger than the average colored family and the differential is still rising.

This points out that discrimination against colored wage and salary earners is still very much alive here.

The differential is believed the results of the existence of biased employment policies that bar colored people from most of the better-paying jobs and occupations.

Which means also that those who want economic equality still have a big fight on their hands—not only in Mississippi but in Michigan too.

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOMES
WEEKLY, 1951-1955

Year	White Families	Colored Families	Differential	Ratio
1951	$ 92	$67	$25	73%
1952	102	71	31	70
1953	117	77	40	66
1954	110	71	39	65
1955	117	79	38	68

(*"Median" as used in this table means that one-half of the families covered in the reports earned more than this amount, and one-half earned less.)

Violence In Detroit

Editor, The Advertiser:

In reference to your editorial of March 10, "Montgomery Calling Detroit," you fail to mention one act of violence so brutal as to make Hitler look like a Boy Scout.

I refer to the horrible murder of the young white doctor on the night of July 5, 1943, at 11 p.m. The doctor was pulled from his car onto a bridge and methodically and unmercifully beaten to death by a mad, howling, savage mob of Negroes. Their excuse for this useless murder — he was white. Therefore he was their enemy. The ironical twist of this story of horror is the doctor was on a mission of mercy, racing to a seriously ill child—a Negro.

Ask your friends the Detroit editors to look in their paper morgues and they will find this story on Pg. 1; ask them too, before they try to wash Alabama's dirty linens, to wash some of their own first.

MRS. MARY L. KELLEY,
1018 S. Main St., Tuskegee, Ala.

Countermove To Southerners' Manifesto Seen

Evening Star
Tues. 3-13-56
Washington, D.C.

Humphrey Backs Senate Action to Uphold High Court

P.1 By JACK BELL
Associated Press Staff Writer

Senator Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, talked today of circulating a declaration supporting the Supreme Court's school integration decision to counter a Southern "manifesto" attacking the ruling.

Senator Humphrey said "it certainly seems to me that a statement of support for the decision of the court is valid and desirable." He told an interviewer he thinks some action of that kind may be taken.

The Minnesota Senator added he believes far more than the 19 Senators and 81 House members who signed the Southern document would be willing to sign a declaration that the court's order outlawing the segregation of white and Negro public school pupils is the law of the land and should be enforced.

However, Senator George, Democrat of Georgia, said in a separate interview that "if any vigorous effort is made to use force to carry into action the Supreme Court's decree, it is going to result in a desperate situation."

Fears End to Schools

"If this matter is pressed it will result in some States going out of the public school business. Unless there is a reasonable approach to this problem by men and women of good will that may be the result," Senator George added.

Senator Russell, Democrat of Georgia, who directed drafting of the manifesto, said he knows of no organized plan to use the Southerners' power in Congress in efforts to reverse the Supreme Court's ruling.

"However," he said "I think we will do anything legal that we can to mitigate this situation."

The manifesto was signed by four Republicans, Representatives Jonas of North Carolina, Cramer of Florida and Poff and Broyhill of Virginia. But not all southern Democrats were for it.

More Harm than Good

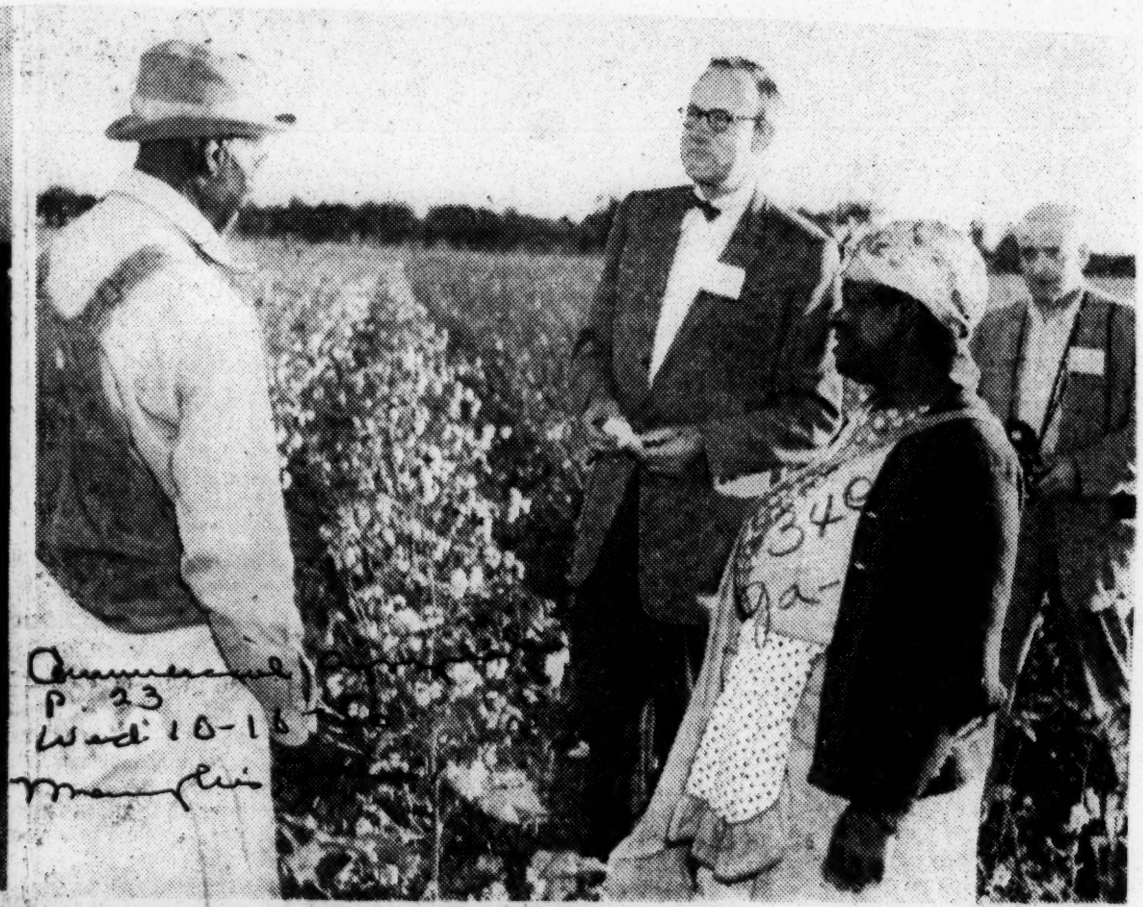
Representative Chatham, Democrat of North Carolina, said he thinks the resolution "may do more harm than good."

Representative Fascell, Democrat of Florida, said he wouldn't sign "a statement of open defiance of the Supreme Court of the United States which in itself accomplishes nothing and to which I cannot subscribe."

A side controversy developed last night when Representative Bass, Democrat of Tennessee, a signer of the manifesto, said it was his impression from cloakroom talk that the document was "designed to re-elect Senator George." Mr. Bass attributed a similar point of view to Senator Russell, but Senator Russell said later: "I never made any such statement."

A veteran of more than 33 years in the Senate, Senator George may run into stiff primary opposition this year. Former Gov. Herman Talmadge is expected to be his opponent. Mr. Talmadge is an outspoken advocate of racial segregation.

VISITING EDITORS—Three Eastern editors stroll down a Columbus, Miss., street during their tour of the state to study segregation firsthand. Among 20 visiting newsmen, they are (left to right) William B. Rotch of Milford, N.J., and Richard J. Robertson and Charles Mitchell, both of Darien, Conn.



COTTON FIELD INTERVIEW—Paul C. Cummings Jr. (second from left) of Peterborough, N.H., and Sidney L. Cullen (right) of Rockland, Maine, chat with Edmond Dillard and Jane Rose, Negro cotton pickers, near Columbus. The group visited Columbus and that area Monday and yesterday before going to Aberdeen and then to the Delta.

Editors Claim Negroes Seek Citizenship Without Strings

By KENNETH TOLER
Staff Writer

MOUND BAYOU, Miss., Oct. 9.—Segregation "in reverse" was observed Tuesday in this all-Negro town by a group of New England editors and publishers studying Mississippi's way of life.

Designed to give the newsmen an opportunity to see first hand the position of Mississippians on the controversial segregation issue, the week long tour is sponsored by the state and local communities.

Here in the heavily Negro populated area of Mississippi, the New Englanders were given some of the racial history of the state. Buried here is the only Negro delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1890.

During interviews Tuesday at Mississippi Vocational College for Negroes at Itta Bena, and here in this one-race town, the editors said they were told that Negroes look for the opportunity "and day" to attain full citizenship without any of the segregation "strings attached."

Wants Right To Vote

One of the Negroes in a large group of students interviewed by the New Englanders said he did not want to be a white man "All I want is to be treated as a man." He said one of those attainments is the ballot.

A Negro minister, visiting on the college campus, told one of the editors he feels that Negroes will not gain their full rights if left up to Mississippians.

"The minister told me that the

SHOP TALK—The conversation was about newspaper work when this foursome got together at Columbus. They are (left to right) John Henry, Columbus banker and farmer who formerly was with International News Service; Richard P. Lewis of Franklin, N. H.; Randle Henkle, president of the Lowndes County Board of Supervisors, and Howard N. Fowler of Mansfield, Mass.

—Photos by James Kingsley

job must be done from the outside," one of the editors said.

The New Englander also said the Negro minister told him he had suffered as a result of the voting in 1953.

"I was told by the Negro minister that after he had voted his house was burned, he was put in jail and his license to operate several small businesses was withdrawn," the visiting newsman said. "He said his white friends had urged him to try to vote again for his own good."

The New Englander said "it seems to me that fear is the basis of all legislation and efforts to prevent Negroes from gaining the rights to which they are entitled."

Dr. J. H. White, college president, told the New Englanders his major interest "is the 360,000 Negroes in the Delta." He is in his sixth year at the college built in a cotton field which opened with seven students. It now has more than 400.

Citizens along the route of the tour continued the round of hospitality to the New Englanders.

Stopping at Aberdeen after nighting at Columbus, the editors Tuesday morning had coffee and cake with citizens there, headed by Mayor George Howell. They lunched at Hugh White State Park near Grenada as guests of Grenada Countians.

Before going to Mound Bayou late Tuesday, the touring editors stopped at Delta State College at Cleveland where coffee and cake were served and welcoming messages given by President James Ewing and Mayor F. W Bishop.

The days finale was a dinner at the Mississippi Power Light Co. Lodge near Cleveland.

Wednesday they go to Vicksburg, stopping en route at Rolling Fork.

Yankee Editors' Opinions Split After Miss. 'Integration Tour'

Journal + Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. P. 7-F

Segregation Will End 'in Time,' Consensus Among Visiting Newsmen

Sun. 10-14-56

38a

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 13—A group of 20 New England editors and publishers have found that Mississippi has a major racial segregation problem at all levels, but disagree as to its solution.

A majority of the newsmen, who Sunday conclude a week of observation of the problem as guests of a state commission created for the purpose of preserving segregation through lawful and peaceful means, feel that integration will come to Mississippi "in time."

None feels that it can be settled "overnight," and a minority of the visitors believe Mississippi will be able to maintain its way of life indefinitely.

The New Englanders are divided on the question whether the Federal Government should step in with force and settle the issue. Some take the position that integration in the schools and acquirement of voting rights by Negroes will come only through federal intervention.

'Mississippi Problem'

Others, and they make up not quite half of the party, take the position that it is a Mississippi problem and should be settled by Mississippians. One admitted: "We have our problems and do not want them handled by outsiders."

All of the New Englanders admit there are few, if any, Negroes in their areas. However, those who insist that integration be invoked do not take into account the population ratio as between whites and Negroes in Mississippi. About 45 per cent of the state's two million inhabitants are Negroes.

In a statement which covers the position of a majority of the visiting New England weekly newspaper editors and publishers, Richard J. Robertson, publisher of the Darien (Conn.) Review and possibly the wealthiest editor in the group, said:

"Integration must eventually come despite Gov. J. P. Coleman's positive statement to the opposite. That does not mean it must be done immediately. We of the North, I do not believe, would insist on that."

Publisher's Viewpoint

Mr. Robertson feels that the resistance centers in the older citizens and not the younger generation.

"Certainly, the adamant attitude on the part of many of the older conservative minds of the South is not conducive to any solution or even beginning of a solution or attempt at a solution," he said.

Mr. Robertson, like many of the conservative Negroes in Mississippi, feels "there must be a meeting of minds and a meeting of races to discuss this problem and thereby bring about a solution which I feel many of the younger white people want, too, as well as the colored." A meeting of the New Englanders with Negro leaders in the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou took place.

MISSISSIPPI

In that interview, several of the Negro leaders pointed to an "unwritten and unseen" hand in pressuring Negroes and causing discriminations.

That statement was made in the face of one by the Rev. H. H. Hume, Negro editor and minister of Greenville, that much progress has been made by Negroes in his home town. The Rev. Mr. Hume is president of a national Baptist association with nearly 400,000 members.

The Rev. Mr. Hume's statement to the editors that Negroes are employed on the police force in his home town, that almost 1,500 vote and that schools have been "almost" equalized, was brushed aside for the more sensational charges of those interviewed.

Favors Outside Action

Another of the group who feels that outside action is necessary if Negroes are to gain "equal justice," was Paul C. Cummings Jr., editor and publisher of the Peterborough (NH) Transcript.

"I am sure integration will come either through evolution or revolution," he said. "I think it will be through evolution, although begrudgingly on the part of Southerners."

On the other hand, J. Clark Samuel, president of the Massachusetts Press Assn. and editor of the Foxboro (Mass.) Reporter, does not believe Mississippi's way of life will be changed.

"There never will be integration in Mississippi and its way of life will remain as it is," he said. "After my visit, I am convinced there have been distorted views expressed on the situation here by national publications."

Gordon Seavey, publisher of the Belmont, (Mass.) Citizen, takes the position that the New Englanders have problems of their own to worry about and to solve.

"We have our problems and do not want outsiders to come in and tell us how to handle them," he said. "On the other hand, I do not think it is up to us or other outsiders to come in and tell Mississippi how to handle its affairs."

Howard N. Fowler, editor of the Mansfield (Mass.) News, likewise looks on the problem as one for local settlement. He said that some of the charges being made as to conditions have been "trumped-up affairs."

Charges 'Brainwashing'

Some of the New Englanders said they could not understand why there is no segregation in the stores and other business establishments, yet it is maintained socially and in the schools. One of the visiting editors, John P. Kelly of the Bridgeport, (Conn.) Sunday Herald, after being in Mississippi less than 48 hours and after visiting only one Mississippi city, charged that "Mississippi Negroes have apparently been so brainwashed by generations of white supremacy that they don't care if they go to schools with white people or not—and preferably not."

"I will admit that I am an idealist who believes that all men are created equal in the eyes of God," he said. "To that extent I am biased myself."

He said "From what I have heard and seen in the short time I have been here, Mississippi and Georgia will remain the last bastions of segregation."

"Political demagoguery is in control," Mr. Kelly said. "The stronger a politician is against integration, the more certain he is of reelection."

Considerable concern was expressed by some of the visitors in Mississippi's absence of a compulsory school attendance law. Such an act, long on the statute books, was repealed at the 1956 session where other laws to tighten Mississippi's hold on segregation were enacted.

Those opinions were expressed by the New Englanders after Gov. Coleman told them frankly, "Segregation will be maintained in Mississippi for at least 50 years and possibly longer."

Select Own Itinerary

Fears of some of the editors that the tour had been "rigged" were dispelled when Hal DeCell public relations officer of the sponsoring Sovereignty Commission, asked the visitors to "pick" the places to visit and to "go on their own and interview the man in the street or in the field."

That procedure was followed and the New Englanders held private interviews and conferences with the Negroes.

New Aspect Of The Mississippi Negro Problem

Advocate Jackson Miss. Sat. 8-11-56

A rapidly developing condition is putting a new aspect on the Mississippi Negro problem which to some may appear as of far greater importance than the current argument and controversy over the issue of civil rights.

According to a well informed source there are some 350,000 Negroes in the 18 cotton producing counties comprising what is known as the Mississippi delta. The mechanization of cotton production has already reduced the demand for farm labor, generally supplied by Negro workers to the point where it is estimated that some 200,000 of delta Negro farmer workers are now only able to look forward to about four months work in the year hoeing cotton, with nothing but the income from the four months work to live on during the entire year.

According to a well informed source studies of mechanized methods and the use of chemicals will in about the next five years, according to advances already made, reduce drastically, if not altogether, the need for the hoe hand in the production of cotton.

What will become of this estimated 200,000 Negro workers no longer able to obtain the megre livelihood of four months work as hoe hands is already looming up as a major social as well as economic problem of vital concern to the future of the delta section and of the entire state.

Well informed business men as well as large cotton planters do not see, and are not urging Negro migration as a solution to this growing aspect of the Negro problem.

Some notable efforts are being made in an effort to attract industry to the delta section of the state, which at first view would seem to be attracted by the growing surplus of tractable labor. However this at present is not the view of the industrial employers looking for locations in the south, according to the best available information.

According to reports the large number of available Negro workers in the delta area has hindered rather than helped the location of new industries in the delta section of the state, as recent reports show, of some 40-odd new industries that have come to the state, only four have located in the delta section of the state.

The main reason that the large supply of Negro labor is failing to help in attracting new industries to the delta section, according to reports, is because of the present inability of the delta Negro Farm worker to qualify as an industrial worker, which is primarily due to his long induced habits as a cotton plantation worker.

To overcome this handicap of the Negro farm worker, and in order to hold him in the delta as a future industrial worker is one of the great challenges to Delta Leadership both white and Negro, for as we see it, there is nothing inherent in the Delta Negro Farm Worker that will prevent his becoming, with the proper opportunity for training, as good an industrial worker as can be found anywhere else in the nation

Woman Gets Land Back From Sheriff But Has To Pay

Commercial Appeal Memphis Tenn. Sat. 8-18-56

MENDENHALL, Miss. — (ANP) — A long, drawn-out court battle between a Jackson Negro woman and a former sheriff over a piece of land which she says he stole from her ended last week with the land going back to her.

The case was settled when Mrs. Irene Bethea paid $110 to Garrett P. Mullins of Mendenhall and he signed a quit claim deed over to her.

In her original complaint, which has been tried in Simpson county chancery court and later appealed to the state supreme court, she had claimed that she borrowed $100 from Mullins while he was sheriff of Simpson county and signed what she thought was a promisory note. Later, she said, she learned it was a deed to her land.

The case was due to come up again in chancery court here after the supreme court had reversed the original decision in favor of Mullins.

Last week's agreement ended with Mullins paying the court costs

'White foes of Miss. gov. intimidated'

Baltimore Md. Sat. 8-18-56

CHICAGO—Whites in Mississippi who oppose the political regime of Gov. James P. Coleman are subjected to threats and economic pressure comparable to that levied against colored citizens, Dr. Charles Hamilton, leader of a contesting delegation for that state's convention seats, said today.

Dr. Hamilton made his plea before the Credentials Committee and charged that the Coleman group stood ready to hold a second state convention and bolt the party over the civil rights question.

* * *

DR. HAMILTON admitted that his group had no colored members and said "it would not be healthy for a colored citizen to be a member."

The three-time loser in a convention-contested seat fight declared that members of his group are subjected to economic threats and have been fired from their jobs.

If successful, his group will replace the 22-man delegation headed by James Coleman, also a member of the Platform Committee.

Dr. Hamilton, who is also an Episcopal minister, refused to say what civil rights attitude his group would take if seated.

—LOUIS E. LOMAX.

RETRACTION IS ASKED BY NEGRO PHYSICIAN

'Swamp Beating' Story Called Untrue By 'Victim'

PUBLISHED AT CHICAGO

By WILLIAM BOOZER
Staff Writer

INDIANOLA, Miss., Nov. 1.—A story in a Chicago Negro newspaper that an Indianola Negro physician was "lured into a swamp" and "manhandled by a mob of white men" has been labeled "completely untrue" in a letter by the physician demanding a retraction of the story.

Commercial Appeal

A group of white residents Thursday, expressing alarm over the newspaper account made public the letter of retraction "in the interest of continuing fine, harmonious race relations here."

Memphis, Tenn. Sat. 11-2-56

The physician, 29-year-old Clinton C. Battle, was arrested by city police Sept. 16 and charged with driving while intoxicated. Almost a month later, on Oct 13, the Chicago Defender carried a Page One story that Dr. Battle's auto had been forced from a road and that he had been attacked by several white men.

No Mention Of Charge

The story, under a headline reading "FBI Asked to Probe Attack In Mississippi," states that Dr. Battle "was lured into (a) swamp by a phone call that claimed a Negro woman was in need of medical assistance." The article made no mention of the DWI charge.

P. 51

The FBI had been "asked to determine if Dr. Battle's rights were not violated by jail officials" after he had been "thrown in county jail and held incommunicado for several hours," the article adds.

In Washington, the FBI informed The Commercial Appeal it has received no complaint regarding the case.

Dr. Battle has received national publicity for his endorsements of the Supreme Court desegregation decisions, for urging Negroes to vote, and for charges of economic pressure from white Citizens Councils. He has been active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

'Not Mistreated'

"I was not mistreated by the officers," Dr. Battle said Thursday. "I don't like that kind of journalism."

But he added: "Some city officials did tell me it was a miscarriage of justice." He would not name the "officials."

The young physician pleaded not guilty to the DWI charge before Mayor T. M. Pitts in City Court the day following his arrest, and was fined $102. By appealing the case to Circuit Court which meets in March, he has recovered his revoked driver's license.

A police report on the case states Dr. Battle was arrested at 1:30 a.m. after two motorists had complained he almost ran them off Highway 82, east of Indianola.

Waiting for his auto at the intersections of Highways 82 and 49-W were Police Sgt. Billy Fulton and Patrolman Ernest Sharp Jr. and Herman Steed. They followed the car to a point on Main Street within the city limits, where they made the arrest.

Comment Refused

Dr. Battle agrees with police statements that he was not unruly and was not mistreated. He insists, however, he was not inside the city when arrested, as police say.

The physician said he does not know where the Chicago newspaper, which sends 30 copies here weekly for street sales, obtained its story. No one from that publication contacted him, he said.

"A man did call me and say he was a reporter for the Chicago American and National Broadcasting Co., but I told him 'no comment.' And a man from a Chicago (Negro) magazine came here, and I told him the same thing."

He said the magazine writer told him, "Well, doctor, if you don't tell us what happened, the boys will fix it up like they want it to sound." He has seen no story on the case in that magazine, he said.

Mayor Pitts said the case as reported in the Chicago press "has set good feelings back considerably, in my opinion. Not too many white residents of Indianola, birthplace of the white Citizens Councils, are aware of the Chicago story, however.

John H. Hough, who owns 51 pieces of Negro property, including the Church Street office occupied by Dr. Battle, demanded the letter asking retraction of the article.

No Retraction Yet

"Our motive was simply to brand it for the lie that it is," said Mr. Hough, a planter and civic leader. "It's the most flagrant example of reckless, irresponsible, dangerous journalism I know of."

Dr. Battle wrote the Chicago newspaper that its story ". . . can only have the effect of creating ill-will between the races in the community in which I live.

"It is true that I was arrested, charged with a minor offense, but it is also true that I was accorded the same treatment given to any other citizen, under similar circumstances.

"In view of the foregoing, I hereby demand that you print a complete retraction in the next issue of your paper."

Two issues of the newspaper have been printed since the letter was written. There has been no retraction.

Story Is Denied By Negro Doctor

INDIANOLA, Nov. 2 (U.P.)—A pro-integration Negro physician said today he has demanded that a Chicago Negro newspaper retract a story that he was lured into a swamp and "manhandled by a mob of white men."

Post Herald

Dr. Clinton C. Battle, 29, called the story "completely untrue" and said he had no idea where the paper (The Chicago Defender) got its story.

Sat. 11-3-56

It appeared Oct. 13, nearly one months after Battle was arrested here on a drunken driving charge. He appealed his conviction.

Birmingham

The story said Battle was "lured" into the swamp by a

phone call saying a Negro woman was in need of medical assistance and that his car was forced off the road and that Battle was attacked by several white men.

Headlined "FBI Asked to Probe Attack in Mississippi," the story said the FBI was asked to determine if Dr. Battle's "rights were not violated by jail officials" after he was "thrown in county jail and held incommunicado for several hours."

Battle said "I was not mistreated by the officers."

Battle said he had written the Chicago newspaper that the story "can only have the effect of creating ill-will between the races in the community in which I live" and demanded that the newspaper print a retraction.

The doctor said two Negro reporters from Chicago contacted him, but neither said he represented the paper that carried the story. Battle said he replied "no comment" to both reporters.

Battle said one reporter told him: "Well, doctor, if you don't tell us what happened, the boys will fix it up like they want it to sound."

Dr. Clinton C. Battle Demands Chicago Defender Retract That He Was Lured Into Woods And Beaten By White Men

Advocate Sat 11-10-56

Jackson, Miss. P. 1

Young Indianola Physician Says Story Is Completely Untrue

Indianola, Miss., Nov. 5 (DSN)—Dr. Clinton C. Battle, popular young Negro physician here last week demanded that the Chicago Defender, one of the nations top Negro newspapers which recently added a daily edition to its long published weekly newspaper, retract the story printed in its October 13th edition which said that Dr. Battle had been lured into a swamp and beaten by a mob of white men.

Dr. Battle in demanding that the paper retract the story labeled it as "completely untrue and said he had no idea whatever as to where the paper got the story.

The story was published some three weeks after Dr. Battle was arrested here and convicted on a drunken driving charge, with a new trial now pending after his appeal of the conviction.

The story said that Dr. Battle was lured into the swamps by a phone call saying that a woman in an isolated section was in need of medical assistance and that his car was forced off the road where he was seized and taken into the woods and "manhandled" by a mob of White men.

Advocate P. 6

The young physician has long been an active member of the NAACP and was at one time one of the appointive officers in the Regional Council of Negro Leadership the organization founded by Dr. T. R. M. Howard at Mound Bayou, which exerted while influence among Negroes of the State

Man Exiled For Whistling At White Teacher

Commercial & Guide Norfolk, Va. Sat. 10-20-56

TUPELO, Miss. — A colored man had the choice of leaving town or face a sentence of thirty days in jail and a $100 fine for whistling at a young white school teacher. He left town last week.

P. 1

James Darden, 30, was arrested after the woman complained to police. He was originally charged with vagrancy, later changed to conduct calculated to cause a breach of the peace.

Darden admitted the offense and Judge Charles Hutchinson passed sentence. The judge suspended the sentence on condition that Darden leave Tupelo by midnight last Tuesday.

SEGREATION VICTORY IS SEEN BY STENNIS

Commercial Appeal Memphis Tenn.

Raps Tribunal As Self-Styled Social Engineers

Times 10-23-56

CITES 'HOLES' IN RULING

P. 21

By RACHEL SHUTE

Special to The Commercial Appeal

COLUMBUS, Miss., Oct. 22.—Senator John Stennis (D., Miss.) Monday described the Supreme Court justices as a group of self-organized "social engineers" and emphasized that Mississippi schools will never be integrated.

"Our schools belong to our children and our plain path of duty is to keep them separate. Such a course benefits both groups," he said.

The senator spoke Monday night at a meeting of the Lowndes County Citizens Council in the City Auditorium. About 2,000 persons heard him discuss problems created by the decision of the Supreme Court.

"I believe we can win on the law and on the facts of the case," he said, "and I believe we can win the forum of national public opinion."

He pointed out that there is no Federal court decision requiring a state to operate a public school; nor a decision requiring a child to attend a state school.

A logical reason, other than color, could provide for permanent separation that would be valid. "The court has granted a generation of lawsuits," he declared, "but we have plenty of room left to fight within the confines of their decision."

He brought up the recent stories on Washington schools, and pointed out that such "trickling" would in time win our cause for us. "eW must appeal to reason and judgment of fair-minded people and convince the nation we are sincere and sound in our knowledge that integration will destroy our institutions."

The senator declared, in discussing the Suez Canal situation, "I believe a 12-month economic boycott of the Suez Canal will clear up the situation. Nasser needs us more than we need him."

He added, "eW have the money to ship materials around the southern tip of Africa and avoid the canal."

With Nasser over the barrel, economically, "there will be no need to send soldiers to fight it out. Egypt could not support a modern war for more than a few days," he said, pointing out that the per capita income in Egypt last year was $80.

Noted Miss. Editor Cites Increasing Racial Tension

Herald Tues. 12-27-55 P. 4

Birmingham, Ala.

Hodding Carter, editor of Greenville, Miss., Delta Democrat-Times, sees the racial situation in Mississippi as bad and ever worsening, but not as hopeless.

Carter, Pulitzer prize winner, former Nieman fellow, has an article in December 17 Saturday Evening Post, called "Racial Crisis in the Deep South."

He says that "Mississippi is a besieged state, but not one inclined to surrender. No one should expect that a decision of a Supreme Court can soon or conslusively change a whole people's thinking. That must be understood."

Carter explains that his story is not a traditional warning to let the South determine its own destiny, but rather to let the nation know of the hardening of the hearts of white and black men in the Southern areas of greatest Negro ensity —and especially in Mississippi—and to know why this tragic dterioration in human relations is taking place.

Carter carefully gives arguments for both sides, says probably a majority of whites in Mississippi feel it is a beleaguered state, a surrounded island, is a sea of compromise or surrender to integration. He says other state universities have opened or are about to open their doors to Negro students, and the Mississippians are apprehensive about the Hoxie, Arkansas, situation where a few Negro children were permitted to attend the white schools. He tells of the NAACP's being hated worse than the Communist Party.

"This wrath is understandable in human terms," Carter writes: "It has been the NAACP which has bested the traditional South in every legal battle from the Negro's right to Democratic Party membership to the school-integration decision. It is the NAACP which comes to the aid of the Southern Negro accused of violent crime; which has called incendiary mass meetings throughout the North; which has mocked Southern attitudes with impunity, refused any compromise and employed the tools of ridicule, reverse racism and unending belligerence which the Southerner would resent from any source and especially from members of the racial group which in Mississippi generally keeps its collective mouth shut.

"The hatred that is concentrated upon the NAACP surpasses in its intensity any emotional reaction I have witnessed in my Southern lifetime. And it may be added that the hatred for the white South among NAACP members may well match it.

"So what now? I am trying to write measuredly. During the past summer I was absent from Mississippi and the South for some three months. Possibly because of this absence, I was not prepared for the deterioration which I found when I came home at September's end. From every person of both races to whom I have talked since — and they number many scores—I have had almost identical comment: There's going to be worse trouble, or it's going to get worse before it gets better."

"Save for a detestable handful, these dismayed yet determined people are not professional rabble-rousers or demagogs or chronic pessimists. Among them are ministers and priests and businessmen, large-scale planters, small farmers and embittered poor white, Negro tenants, life-long southerners and newcomers. They have one common denominator, their common infection with a sense of tragedy.

"Yet those white Mississippians who fear, and other Americans, white and black, who believe there is any chance for significant or even token integration in the black-belt schools need neither fear nor hope. There is no chance within the ascertainable future."

Carter says integration will not become a reality in the black belts of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana and Georgia or in many areas in other Southern states until and unless the whites of these states change their minds — which he says isn't likely for a long time.

He says there is not much likelihood of widespread assertion by the Negroes in Mississippi of their right to vote. He also says equal justice for all in Mississippi is unlikely.

"There are other forces at work in Mississippi which can temper and may eventually end this conflict, Carter says.

"Normal human revulsion against unfairness may be one such force. In the wake of the mass meeting in Holmes County, at which the doctor and plantation manager were told to leave the state, there came reports that at least a minority of those citizens present at the meeting were ashamed. There is also the very human difficulty to remain incensed and combative when no real enemy presents itself.

"Two other forces may become effective in time. One is economic the other spiritual. Many successful, business-minded Missippians know that the present situation can be greatly harmful to our state's worth-while and intelligently conceived program to balance our agricultural economy with industry. Already Mississippi has attracted since World War II nearly 100 major industries, some of them with branch plants and others which have completely rooted themselves in Mississippi.

"They have come for a number of reasons: a plentiful and willing labor supply, availability of raw materials, new markets, a cooperative plant-building program and so on. In many instances they have come in search of peace, for behind them were the memories and the realities of labor turmoil. These newcomers do not want to exchange one sort of turmoil for another. I think that our more responsible leaders are becoming aware of this. And there is a second, and potentially the most important factor, the spiritual force about which one speaks gingerly and even self-consciously. The South has a reputation for being religious. In the black-belt counties some of the clergy, especially the younger clergy, may be skeptical as to the depth and breadth of the South's religious impulses, for many of them have either been silenced or simply exited because they have spoken for man's unity. But this spiritual reservoir, nevertheless, exists. The Christian world knows that it will endure, despite the silencing or banishment of clergymen."

EDITOR HODDING CARTER SAYS SOUTH IGNORES BROTHERHOOD

Birmingham Ala. Post 9-24-56

West Harwich, Mass., Sept. 24—"The South is a land of churchgoers who pay little attention to the Christian concepts of the brotherhood of man", according to a Mississippi newspaper editor speaking last week to the fifth annual conference of the New England Weekly Press association.

The speaker was Hodding Carter, editor of the Delta Democrat Times, Greenville, Miss. He said "Southerners are easy mannered and yet the most violently behaved people in the U. S. He said they are the most patriotic, yet the most defiant of national authority.

They have used dishonorable means to control their own destiny," he said, adding that Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Virginia, and Arkansas have "no intent to allow integration."

Carter who won a Pulitzer prize for articles on the integration problem, said "you have only to read your newspapers to realize the deterioration of racial relations that has taken place since the Supreme Court ruling two years ago."

He said the South should be proud of the way the governors of Texas, Tennessee and Kentucky called upon law-enforcement agencies to quell racial outbreaks in their states.

Carter, who said he was speaking as a newspaperman interested in the South's problems rather than a southerner, suggested "voluntary resettlement' 'of Negroes throughout the nation as a step toward solving the integration problem.

"Nine out of ten Negroes live in the south," he said. "If the Negro population were split up more evenly we could talk integration on more sober terms.

In Deep South, No Acceptance Of Integration, Says Hodding Carter

Call Kansas City Mo. 7.20

Fri, 10-12-56

MANHATTAN, Kas. — There has been a "tragic deterioration in race relationships in the South" since the Supreme Court decision on integration two and a half years ago.

That is what Hodding Carter Pulitzer-prize winning editor of the Greenville, Miss., Delta Democrat Times told a Kansas State College student assembly Wednesday morning.

"The deterioration is real, and appears in every aspect of intergroup life," he stated.

"In the Deep South there is no acceptance of public school integration."

Carter commented that Southerners have developed many ways to subvert, combat, and thwart any meaningful integration. He added that he felt no good could come from immediate integration of public school children in areas with heavy Negro populations.

Despite what he termed "a new rebellion in the South," Carter finds some hopeful signs "that present conditions will not continue forever." Integration has been carried out, for the most part peacefully, in the bordor states. But he emphasized that the key here was that there were few Negroes. Negroes have been integrated by many colleges in the South without incident, and by some parochial schools. Churches have supported the moral rightness of integration. Diversification of agriculture and industrialization of the South provide other indexes for change. And attitudes of young people are not the same as those of their parents and garndparents.

Relocation of Negro populations from the Deep South — a quarter of a million Negroes have left Mississippi in the last 10 years — has helped reduce racial tensions and is an important key to integration.

But the southern editor called it "a national tragedy" that many of the immigrants have concentrated in industrialized areas of Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and New York City where they are little better off than they were before.

Carter suggested the rest of the nation could do their part in helping reduce racial tensions by continuing to relocate Negroes from the Deep (and rural) South, and pointed out that 24 states now had few Negroes.

"Disperal of the Negro no longer is purely a regional problem, but a national one."

Carter also addressed a faculty dinner Tuesday evening and met students in a question and answer session following his assembly speech.

AFTER HE AND FELLOW NEW ENGLANDERS GO SOUTH

Constitution Dec. 10-16-56 p. 31

Editor Can't See Mississippi Integrating

Atlanta, Ga.

By CLARK SAMUEL

Editor, The Foxboro (Mass.) Reporter

BOSTON, Oct. 15 (AP)—A group of weary New England newsmen, their minds filled with conflicting pictures of life in the Deep South, arrived last night at Logan airport in a special plane after a flight from Biloxi, Mississippi.

These were the editors and publishers of weekly papers who departed from Boston last Sunday and spent a week in Mississipp as guests of its State Sovereignty Commission created by Gov, J. P

This story was written for the Associated Press by Clark Samuel, editor of the Foxboro, Mass., Reporter and leader of a group of New England newspapermen who toured Mississippi at the invitation of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission.

Coleman to primarily interpret the state's official point of view in the segregation issue.

By bus and riverboat steamer, the newsmen were exposed to Mississippi's way of life. They talked to white and Negro leaders.

SOME LIKE ENVOYS

Traditional Southern hospitality was showered upon the visitors throughout the trip. Yet this writer must reluctantly report that in his opinion, this hospitality was abused by some of the members of the group who evidently had closed minds from the start on Mississippi's social and economic problems. Some acted and talked like northern ambassadors rather than students and observers.

However, in the group of 18, the majority were sincere in their efforts to learn, and as the day progressed they assembled a mass of factual material which they obtained by interviewing people of both colors in every walk of life—in the cotton fields and on the city streets.

I cannot see integregation happening in the state of Mississipp in my time. I believe I am in the minority among my collagues in saying this. There are too many complex problems, and the people of both races I have talked to do not seem to look forward to a mingling of Negroes and whites in the forseeable future.

On our trip we saw many new educational facilities for both white and Negro; we saw new industries obtained through "Southern" ingenuity such as tax concessions, choice locations, with ample water and transportation facilities and a compatible labor supply.

We were served in hotels and restaurants by cheerful Negroes who seemed as proud of the South and their way of life as we are of ours. They were not "Uncle Toms." They were merely people going about their daily work.

On the other hand, we talked with Negroes harvesting a bumper cotton crop whose ignorance was appalling and who appeared bewildered by our presence and our questions. Yet in their sorry plight they did not appear to be abused or underfed nor was there a Simon Legree lurking in the background.

MIXED NEIGHBORHOODS

In the cities—such as Natchez school facilities appeared to be superior, we found the homes of whites and blacks side by side on the same streets.

We can honestly report that we saw no signs of racial tension such as we have often observed in cities like Baltimore, Washington, New York and Boston. One evening we walked alone down several streets in a Negro section of a Mississippi city — something we would not dare to do as a white man in New York's Harlem. No one molested us, several said "good evnin'."

The problem as Southerners we talked to recognize it, is the continued expansion of the educational program so that both white and Negroes may be better equipped to take their places in society.

WOULD BE TRAGIC

There is no doubt in this writer's mind after many conversations with white Mississippians that these people will never accept the Supreme Court decision—they are so strong in their convictions that we can foresee only a tragic result if the decision is forced down their throats.

We talked to some highly intellectual and attractive Negro teachers at their new vocational school which was, incidentally, built before the Supreme Court decision. These teachers do not appear bitter nor unhappy. They are smartly dressed and speak with a sophistication and sense of humor which is refreshing in this troubled land. Their apartments are as well if not better furnished than our own little Cape Cod house and their libraries reveal a love of literature for its own sake.

If a comparable visit were made by a group of Southern newsmen to New England, we are confident they would find much to criticize and much to praise just as we did in the South.

EXCLUSIVE PROBLEM

The Negro in such large numbers, inconceivable to us in the North, is the exclusive problem of the Deep South in our opinion It would be hypocritical and foolhardy for any writer who has spent but a few days there to presume to tell these people how they ought to run their affairs and how to change their ways overnight.

One businessman told us that integration would increase rather than decrease their racial problem because it would completely change their entire way of living.

Perhaps we can foresee the day when by mutual agreement the two races with separate cultures and equal opportunities can live harmoniously with equal dignity upon a middle ground that recognizes human equality under our democratic system which does not force a man to break bread with anyone other than that of his own choosing regardless of whether the man is red, white, black or blue.

Ultimately I would like to see Negroes taking an active part in town, county and state government just as they now do in our federal government. Then you would have segregation with representation—just as our forefathers fought for their rights to be represented in government.

And with Mississippi's surging progress in education as well as economy, better times for both white and black are sure to come.

It will take time, patience and goodwill on four sides—Southern and Northern Negroes, Southern and Northern whites.

The Negro must be taught to accept his responsibilities as a citizen of the United States just as the white must be taught that the Negro has the right to full citizenship.

This ideal in the South can be accomplished by separate and segregated social life and a joint economic and administrative responsibility, we think.

SEGREGATION STAND COOLS ARDOR FOR JOB

Commercial Appeal

U.S. Attorneys In Mississippi Must Back Edict

p. 19 3-70

BROWNELL MOVES EYED

Memphis,

By JOHN HERBERS

United Press Staff Writer

JACKSON, Miss., Dec. 2.—How would you like to be a United States district attorney in Mississippi?

Mon 12-3-56

That question is being asked frequently over the state and unless United States Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. changes his ways the Republicans may be asking it seriously to fill the job—a post much in demand in the past.

Federal attorneys in the deep South are in a highly unenviable position. They have been called to Washington by Mr. Brownell to talk about forcing racial integration on buses and other common carriers.

Both In Legislature

The two United States attorneys in Mississippi—Robert Hauberg in the South District and Tom Ethridge in the North—and their several assistants are home-grown lawyers. The fact that both have been in the Mississippi Legislature speaks for itself.

In the past the Federal district attorney has been able to do his job in the South without being thrown into the segregation fight. Apparently Mr. Brownell's strategy plans will change that.

Mississippi officials pledged to maintain total segregation in defiance of Supreme Court rulings see in Mr. Brownell's plans a bold move to enforce those rulings. He contends state laws enforcing segregation of persons traveling within state lines are now "dead letters."

The bus companies, however are taking a different view.

One company official recently told the State Public Service Commission that his drivers had not been given any new instructions in light of the recent rulings from Washington. He said his company would continue to honor the state laws on intrastate travel.

New Order Instituted

Under the existing order of things it appeared the Supreme Court would go on ruling and the states would go on segregating. That, officials on this side of the struggle believe, was what caused Mr. Brownell to institute a new order.

In the past the way integration has been enforced was to let a Negro complaintant file suit in the courts which ordered him integrated. A slow process under any circumstances, it is highly unpractical in regard to transportation.

Mississippi officials believe Mr. Brownell will ask district attorneys to seek court injunctions requiring the transportation companies to ignore the state segregation laws and integrate their passengers in one grand swoop.

State leaders assume similar methods could be adopted for forcing segregation in other areas of public life.

At any rate, it would put the district attorneys in the position of either defying their boss, Mr. Brownell, or going into court and demanding segregation be ended.

Bishop Tucker Blasts Bias in Miss. Address

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 12-8-56

BATESVILLE, Miss.—One of the most blistering attacks ever heard in a public gathering in Mississippi against segregation and its advocates was delivered here Friday before an audience of 1,000 persons at the Georgia, West Tennessee and Mississippi annual conference by the Right Rev. C. Eubank Tucker, presiding Bishop of the Tenth Episcopal District of the AME Zion Church.

The diocese includes Tallahatchie County where Emmett Till was murdered.

The prelate, in delivering his episcopal address, spoke on "Civil Rights, Desegregation and the Prospect of Race Relations."

■

THE BISHOP traced the circumstances leading up to the formation of the NAACP—which grew out of the Springfield riots at the turn of the century. He spoke of the undeviating policy of this organization in fighting for justice and equality on behalf of Negroes in the United States.

Speaking of the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, the Bishop said: "No act of any state court, or of any state legislature, can alter, change or modify that decision in any way, shape or form.

He made a bitter attack on the Talmadges, the Eastlands, the Byrneses, the Johnsons of South Carolina, the Griffins of Georgia, the Byrds and Stanleys of Virginia, the Colemans of Mississippi, and others of their ilk, who are fighting the Supreme Law of the land— and stated that when the names of these men will be relegated into political oblivion—unwept, unhonored and unsung, the cause of freedom and equality of justice will go marching on.

He concluded his address, amidst shouts and tears, by exhorting his audience to send their dollars to the home office of the NAACP in New York.

■

THE BISHOP read the following appointments at the close of the conference:

MEMPHIS DISTRICT: Dr. J. M. Prater, presiding elder; Warner Temple, Dr. G. L. Fauntleroy; Ford Chapel, the Rev. E. S. Johnson; Princeton Chapel, the Rev. F. Shigog; Cooper's Chapel, O. F. Fisher; South Side Mission, the Rev. O. F. Fisher; West Memphis, to be supplied; St. Paul's, the Rev. E. J. Scott; William's Chapel, the Rev. L. R. Anderson; Sardis and Senatobia, the Rev. L. A. O'Bryant; Viola Spottswood Memorial, to be supplied, and Como Station, to be supplied.

MARKS DISTRICT: Dr. W. L. Humphrey, presiding elder; Eudoria Circuit, the Rev. H. L. Moore; Mount Zion Circuit, the Rev. C. A. Adams; Belen Temple, the Rev. C. B. Robertson; Petty Chapel Circuit, the Rev. A. B. Ford; Clement Chapel, the Rev. W. L. Humphrey Jr.; Willow Grove Circuit, the Rev. H. R. Reed; Lumpkin Circuit, the Rev. J. H. Hodges, and Hilts Chapel, the Rev. E. D. Campbell.

BATESVILLE DISTRICT: Dr. D. F. Martinez, presiding elder; Coleman Chapel and Wesley Chapel, the Rev. L. T. Caldwell; Mount Zion Circuit, the Rev. E. D. Smoke; Moore's and Harris Chapels, the Rev. S. H. Moore; Cotton Plant Circuit, the Rev. Z. Leland; Pope Circuit, the Rev. R. B. Dyson; Johnson Chapel, the Rev. W. J. Hood; Swingo Circuit, the Rev. T. E. Dudley; Brazel Chapel, the Rev. John Anderson; Granada, the Rev. G. Miller; Miller's Chapel Circuit, the Rev. J. C. Brooks, and Drind Hill Chapel, the Rev. P. J. Silas.

Santa Here By A Miracle

Defender Sat. 12-15-56

But for a miracle, the Santa Claus who gladdens the hearts of eager youngsters in the toy department of South Center department store would not be with them this year.

Behind the booming laugh, the white whiskers and the twinkling eyes lies a story of a hopeless struggle against hate, an heroic fight which nearly ended in death.

Chicago, Ill.

For the South Center Santa is Gus Courts, target of bullets fired by racist boodlums through the window of his small store in Belzoni, Miss.

Gus Courts, whose happy voice now urges "good will to all men" made national headlines by being the victim of bad will from a few men. The only thing he did to merit that hatred was to stand up for his rights.

STORY TOLD

His story has been told over and over again in the months since he was shot down while his horrified wife and a neighbor looked on helplessly. His name has been entered in the records of Congress and his courage has become a byword to people still oppressed.

Yet, such a story will bear retelling once more: How Gus Courts, a grocer in Belzoni, felt that he had an obligation to speak out for his rights and to urge other Negroes to join him by registering to vote.

Courts' activities found ill-favor with his white neighbors and they set out to "put him in his place."

First, they tried to ask him out of his beliefs, but to no avail. Then they tried a more powerful weapon — economic pressure. the rent on Courts' store was raised and finally he was forced to secure another location.

MARKED MAN

It is a testament to his courage that not once did he think of abandoning his efforts to exercise the right to vote — and he kept on trying despite the knowledge that he had become a marked man.

Then, one night Gus Courts' number came to the top. A car, bearing four or five still unidentified white men, drove past the store and a gun blast felled the brave grocer.

But Courts was not ready to die. Rushed to the hospital, he recovered while an inept and half-hearted attempt was made to discover the would-be assassins. They were never found.

GUS COURTS AS SANTA CLAUS

Today, Courts lives in Chicago He is constantly in demand as a speaker, letting all who would hear know the true story of racial tensions in Mississippi.

VICTIM OF HATRED

The little children who sit on his knee and ask for presents cannot know the horror through which their Santa has come; they could not comprehend the venom of the hatred unleased against him.

But Gus Courts knows. And he knows that something must be done to wipe out the conditions which caused him to flee Misissippi in fear of his life. He knows that the children who come to him must be protected from hate and fear.

In this Christmas season of 1956, Courts, like millions of others, extends to everyone a greeting for peace and happiness, but somehow there seems to be a special plea, born of bitter knowledge, in his voice when he sings out: "Good will to all."

Dr. Howard Sticks

Wilmington Journal P. 4

FBI Is Lax In Mississippi's Race Killings, Leader Says

Sat. 1-28-56 Wilmington, N.C.

384

LOS ANGELES (ANP) — Despite a protest from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Dr. T. R. M. Howard said he is sticking to his charges that the FBI has been lax in solving Mississippi racial killings.

"It is strange that Mr. Hoover instead of assuring the terroized Negroes in Dixie that they can receive protection and can get justice, prefers to make personal attack at me which seems to be politically during an interview."

nesday by the FBI office at Memphis, accused the Mound Bayou, Miss., physician of "false and irresponsible" statements against the FBI and demanded that he prove or retract them.

The FBI director particularly resented Dr. Howard's public statement, in regard to the recent slaying of three Negroes in Mississippi, that:

"We must find out why southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover denied the charge and said that his agents hold "full and impartial investigations" in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and found that no civil rights violations were involved.

Dr. Howard, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, insisted that FBI agent in Mississippi are from that state and naturally are partial to whites. He declared:

"I will stand on the national capitol and tell Hoover that we don't feel that to take a man who has been brought up in an environment such as we have in Mississippi and give him a few weeks or years of training is going to change the individual into a fair and impartial investigator where the two races are involved."

the peace and order of society. So the Commandment, "Thou shalt not steal" becomes basic to the peace and order of society, even to protection against murder itself.

In the third place, the URGE TO MAKE OF ONE'S LIFE SOMETHING AGREEABLE AND PLEASING TO THE INDIVIDUAL, necessitates harmony with in the group or society in which one lives. Hence, the Commandments, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor," and "Thou shalt not covet anything of thy neighbor's," indicate how mutual, personal relations are vital to socialized living.

It would take us too far into the history of the growth of the law to trace the variations of those basic ideas in all the peoples of the earth. Suffice it to say that from Babylon and Tyre, Ancient Persia, Egypt and the tribes of Africa, they are found in variations as to the punishments imposed as they were felt or known to affect the lives of the special people involved.

It is from Rome, Greece and Israel that we have inherited our law, both subjective or fundamental and adjective or the procedure by which the laws are operated. Democracy accepts the basic laws but imposes the will of the people in legislative assemblies, small and local, or large and sovereign as commonwealths and as a nation. The simplication of the rules of procedure announced by the Supreme Court of the United States, shows how the adjective law is modified by the people in their development, while the basic law remains as of divine origin to square with the Ten Commandments. It is not too much to say, that EVERY LAW IMPOSED BY ANY AUTHORITY,——that does not square with that basic law, is doomed to repeal, either by the mutations of time, the wisdom and courage of the courts, or a demand for a change by the people. ONE DOES NOT KNOW WHAT FACTOR MAY BE THE CAUSE OF A CHANGE OF SENTIMENT BY THE SOVEREIG PEOPLE IN WHOM HE LOVE OF JUSTICE, TRUTH AND FREEDOM SPRINGS ETERNAL AS FROM THEIR CREATOR.

IT IS AT THIS POINT, MY FRIENDS, THAT THE NEGRO HAS PLAYED SO IMPORTANT A PART IN AMERICAN JUDICIAL PROCEDURE. The harshness of the English law at the time when Africans were being kidnapped to be sold on this continent, at the close of the 16th and beginning of the 18th century,..——forced the people who had become familiar with the Bible, through its translation into English in 1538, to migrate to these barren shores. Hence, they were supplied with concrete instances of the principle of men of different hues, as children of a common God-Creator. It tested their sense of justice, right and truth, as no mere wordy argument could have done. It was the Quakers or Society of Friends who thus first became convinced of the work necessary to christianize their brothers in black and assert the oneness of humanity in 1688.

Clashes, so common an occurence in a new land, showed the essential human likeness in black and white. Heroisms, loyalties and sacrifices made by Negroes in the early and hard times of the American settlers, served to forge the chains of human brotherhood. Even slaveholders could not kill their chattel with impunity. As a preservation of the rights of the dominant class among themselves, the salveholders were held responsible for many acts of their blacks. Thus the Negro WAS UNKNOWINGLY REGISTERING in the minds of the judges, that justice was above the law. When the movement towards freedom came to a head in 1776, the more advanced states among the original thirteen, made no distinctions among free persons. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey and North Carolina,..——men of color meeting the requrements as to property, voted for the Constitution. Further, it is to be noted that in those states less religious, more greedy and less humane, founded largely by adventurers bent upon exploiting both nature and men, there was no such justice and there was no such enlightenment even in secular affairs.

It is historical that Queen Elizabeth was persuaded by John Hawkins to aid him in selling slaves to the colonies in 1562, because "He represented to her that they could be thus christianized," whereas Hawkins' real interest was in the great profit involved. Slaves were held valuable because of their capability as laborers at the lowest cost to themselves. Here, then we have the African an unconscious agent in the economic progress of the new nation, and modifying its judicial procedure because of his double status as thing and as human being. Such a dual status arose in drafting the Constitution of this country, and Hamilton's compromise, 1785, in calling them "persons of color," laid the basis for emancipation, and the 13th Amendment covering those not yet free at that time, 1862.

SUPPORT IS URGED FOR INTERPOSITION

Commercial Appeal P. 5

Action By Public Officials Asked In Mississippi

Memphis Press

OTHER BILLS STUDIED

Sat. 3-24-56

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., March 23.—The Mississippi Senate Friday approved a bill which calls on every public official to "give full force and effect" to the state's recently adopted resolution of interposition.

The bill enjoins every official, from governor to alderman, to "prohibit by any lawful, peaceful and constitutional means integration of the races in public schools, public parks, waiting rooms, amusement and recreational places and any public place."

Proposal Reconsidered

The House reconsidered Thursday's passage of a bill creating a board of water commissioners and accepted an amendment by Representatives John French of Panola County and Joe Wroten of Washington County to remove possible establishment of "vested rights" in water use.

Mr. French said the original measure allowed persons using water from public water sources at the time of its passage to continue using it forever.

Representative Maurice Black of Carroll County steered to passage a bill requiring persons voting in bond issue elections to present their poll tax receipts at the time of voting. It was objected to by Mr. Wroten on ground the bill's purpose is "to defeat bond issues."

Representative W. H. Johnson Jr. of Newton County gained passage of a bill raising salaries of county attorneys, while Representative James Baxter of Lauderdale County steered to passage a bill permitting school districts to acquire land and erect buildings outside their boundaries.

A Senate bill changing the board of trustees of a new hospital for aflicted children was handled by Representative Chris Faser of Montgomery County. It replaces a five-member layman board for the ex-officio group composed of the Governor, attorney general and secretary of state.

An amendment provides that there is to be no distinction between children afflicted with cerebral palsy and other crippling conditions.

Agency Name Changed

The name of the institution is being changed from the Mississippi Crippled Children's Hospital to the Mississippi Hospital School for Cerebral Palsy. Mrs. John Farese, state senator of Ashland, is author of the bill.

Senator Stanton Hall of Hattiesburg handled two juridiciary balls in that branch. One forces law enforcement officers to file charges against persons arrested within 72 hours or release them, and permits juries to fix punishment at less than life or death in rape cases.

Senator Hall said some juries are reluctant to convict rapists because of the life-or-death penalty.

Other Senate action included:

Permit use of recording machines by court reporters, authorize creation of a county court in

ee County (Tupelo) and raise state veterinarian's salaries.

Defender P. 10 Sat. 3-10-56 Chicago, Ill.

BUNDLES FOR THE SOUTH —NAACP officials and a Defender representative began sorting hundreds of garments which are flooding collecting station at 408 E. 47th st., where clothing and food for victims of pro-segregationist economic pressure is being assembled. Bundles will be distributed among hard pressed citizens in Mississippi first. Left to right M. L. Blanton, NAACP, Charles A. (Chuck) Davis, Defender, P Theron Townsend, NAACP, and Willoughby Abner, NAACP president. Defender and NAACP are sponsoring drive.

Symbol of Hope Seen in Career of Mississippi Negro

World Telegram & Sun Sat. 3-31-56 P. 2 New York, N. Y.

By ANDREW TULLY,
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer.

GREENVILLE, Miss., March 31.—In darkly segregationist Mississippi, Doctor Robertson, Negro, is a symbol of hope — a symbol of economic respectability that could lead his race to social acceptance.

Doctor is his given name—he is not a physician but an odd-job man who verges on being a contractor. He is 55, an amiably efficient individual, and an illustration of how conditions have improved for the Negro in the last 25 years, even in Mississippi.

"I'm doing all right," says Doctor. "I got no kicks. They let me alone." "They" are the white folks.

Northern Standards.

In this city of 35,000 which is half Negro, Doctor is doing all right even by some northern standards.

As a full-time gardener employed by a moderately well-to-do white family, Doctor earns $40 a week. He's paid an extra $3 weekly to chauffeur the family's cook to and from work. He buttles for $5 a night. He owns a small truck which he rents out during the cotton-cutting season. He owns a duplex home, and he rents out half of it.

Doctor Robertson figures he grosses $250 a month—whereas 25 years ago he would have had to struggle to earn $40 a month. Besides the truck, he owns a 1952 Chevrolet hardtop, and he has $800 in the bank.

Not Whole Story.

This is not the whole Negro story in Mississippi by a long shot. Scores of thousands of the 986,000 Negroes in the state still live in squalor in the towns and cities and in cotton-field shacks, sleeping three and four to a bed.

But Doctor Robertson is an illustration of the fact that all is not midnight bad in Mississippi. For he, with a number like him, has taken the first step toward winning acceptance from the whites—the maintenance of a decent, hygienic and moral standard of living. Things ARE better for the Negro, however scantily.

Doctor Robertson reads slowly, and he is a registered voter. He is one of 2000 Negroes on the voting lists of Washington County; 25 years ago there were not 2000 Negro voters in the entire state. Twenty years ago, the Greenville newspaper, the Delta Democrat, had only 500 Negro subscribers out of 4000. Today its circulation of 15,000 includes 6000 Negroes.

Unionized.

These days, a good proportion of skilled Negro workers are unionized. Negro carpenters and Negro bricklayers are paid the same scale as their white counterparts.

Hodding Carter, editor of the Democrat, will tell you that the life expectancy of the Negro in Mississippi has risen 10 years in the last 25.

More, the whites have recognized that the Negro must be consulted on certain things. Although biracial meetings are anathema to most white southerners, numerous sessions were held with Negro leaders to sell them on a bond issue to build a factory for a rug plant, which moved here from Yonkers, N. Y. Incidentally, 150 of the plant's 1000 employees are Negroes, drawing the same pay for the same job, and working in the same rooms with whites.

Mississippi's progress during the past 25 years is not much by Northern standards, or even by the standards of its more liberal Southern neighbors. Probably 90 percent of the whites still violently oppose integration, and the Negro is kept cruelly in his place.

But it is a start. And as one liberal planter put it, "after all, this IS Mississippi."

College Prexy Criticised By Southerner

Defender P. 3 Sat. 8-4-56 Chicago, Ill.

MARKS, Miss. — A college president here who recently scored Cong. Adam Clayton Powell (D, N. Y.) for refusing to pose with Maxine Perryman, representative of the Cotton Makers Jubilee, was heavily criticized for "being a Mississippi school-man in the most outlaw state in the union."

The criticism was leveled at Dr. J. H. White, president of Mississippi Vocational college.

Dr. White had charged previously that Cong. Powell had "insulted every Negro woman in the South" when he refused to pose for a picture with Miss Perryman.

Dr. White referred to an April 6 incident in Port au Prince, Haiti, where Powell and Miss Perryman, a representative of the Cotton Jubilee, were present together at the American embassy for tea.

Miss Perryman, a student at Mississippi Vocational college, reported to President White that Powell "signed my scroll, but refused to take a picture with me."

Shortly after Dr. White made public a letter in which he "scolded" the New York congressman, another Mississippi resident, Elex Johnson, accused Dr. White of being a "Mississippi school-man in the most outlaw state in the union.

"Dr. White has bowed to the lot," said Johnson. "He has, as have hundreds of Negro teachers in the South, forsaken the race.

"What type of children will they produce in the next generation?"

Union Aids Mississippi Undertaker

Defender P. 3 Sat. 2-25-56 Chicago, Ill.

NEW YORK — A Mississippi undertaker who is threatened with loss of his business because he signed an anti-segregation petition —which makes him target for the economic boycott by a White Citizens Council — received $5,000 last week as a loan from a New York trade union.

Local 1199, Retail Drug Employes Union, mailed the $5,000 check as a loan to R. D. Drew, of Clarksdale, Miss.

The union's loan will help Drew pay off a $3,000 loan from a Clarksdale bank. The bank loan was made several months ago. It was to be payable in three years, but after Drew signed a petition for integrated schools in Clarksdale, the bank demanded immediate payment on threat of foreclosure.

Drew is also chairman of the Clarksdale chapter of the NAACP.

Mississippi Unit Hits 'Falsehoods' On Segregation

Advertiser P.2-C Wed. 6-13-56

JACKSON, Miss., June 12 (AP)—The State Sovereignty Commission today made its first attempt to "explode the falsehoods that have grown to be accepted as truths" about segregation in Mississippi.

Hal DeCell, SSC public relations director, issued personal invitations to dozens of northern newspapermen to visit Mississippi and "see the situation for themselves."

DeCell, former editor of the Deer Creek Pilot and campaign manager for Gov. J. P. Coleman, said all Mississippi asks is "fairness and a chance to present its side of the case.

"We make no claim of being completely without fault — what state is?

"However, the continuation of utterly false accusations against our state and its people has led to the creation of a public relations department of the State Sovereignty Commission to aid in the dissemination of truth about Mississippi to fair-minded citizens of our nation."

They Banish One Of Their Own

Afro-American Sat. 3-10-56 P.B

In Mississippi these days, all you have to do is hint that you believe in justice and fair play, and you are subject to being run out of town—white and colored alike.

Baltimore, Md.

JACKSON, Miss.

I'm departing this sad country, and so, in a week or so, will the Rev. Marsh Calloway, 60, a Presbyterian minister in the cotton belt ever since his ordination; the last 15 years at Columbia and Shaw, Miss., and last of all at the First Presbyterian Church of Durant in Holmes County.

The white Citizens' Council of Holmes County is chasing the Rev. Mr. Calloway out. No one can count the number of colored persons he follows on this sad exodus.

But this time, the Citizens' Councils are turning on one of their own; the Rev. Mr. Calloway will depart still believing that segregation is just and proper and permanent for the Mississippi delta.

Marsh Calloway believed in all the traditions of the South, and he believed, too, that it was a man's duty to defend a friend in trouble. That is the crime for which he is being exiled.

* * *

HE FIRST met Dr. David Minter when Minter was 14 and his father was minister of a Presbyterian church in Austin, Texas. They did not become neighbors again until Mr. Calloway came to Durant last Easter and found David Minter operating a clinic at New Providence Farm in the wasteland near Tchula.

Last Sept. 26, the Citizens' Councils called a meeting of Tcula citizens to drive David Minter out of the county as a suspected integrationist.

Mr. Calloway went there and spoke just twice. The first time he asked just what moral and legal right those present had to conduct such a meeting.

The second time was near the end when he arose again to say that he had known David Minter longer than anyone present and that he was a fine Christian gentleman.

* * *

THREE DAYS later, Wilburn, Hooker, of the executive committee of the Citizens' Council of the Third Congressional District of Mississippi, went to Durant to seek out the elders of the First Presbyterian Church.

None of the elders had been present that night in Tchula; they met with Willburn Hooker and voted 5-1 to ask the congregation to rid itself of Marsh Calloway.

The charge was involving himself in politics. One elder told Mr. Calloway that Hooker had reported he had gone over to the n——rs.

The elders' decision was not, of course, controlling; they must first lay their charges before the congregation of First Presbyterian and then before a special meeting of the Presbytery of Central Mississippi.

* * *

THEN HOOKER was gone, and the elders were alone with themselves and some of them softened. They agreed not to call the congregation; Mr. Calloway could find another church and then depart gracefully.

As an honorable man, he began his hunt; Mississippi had nothing to offer; he was turning towards Tennessee or Texas when his period of grace was cut short.

A week or so later, the Durant elders had another visit from a Citizens' Council missionary. This one carried the autobiography of Sherwood Eddy, the churchman who had first brought David Minter to the delta.

It was all there in the book how this man—a friend of the pastor's—had come to Holmes County to whip up the colored people.

And so the elders called their congregation to meet just after Sunday School one week-end and moved to oust Mr. Calloway forthwith. The pastor could expect to see more of his flock together than had faced him over the last six weeks.

The First Presbyterian Church of Durant had 60 members; since he spoke out at Tchula, Mr. Calloway had never preached to a congregation of more than a dozen.

* * *

HE HAD BEEN in Texas visiting his son; he came back to Durant to face his condemnation.

"It won't be a hearing, just a vote. I'll be there for the church service afterwards. I won't say anything about the decision; "I'll just preach a gospel sermon."

He could not, he said over the telephone, find it in his heart to blame them. "I suppose they're skeered."

No, nothing that could happen would change his view of segregation.

"There shouldn't be integration down here. They are getting along all right."

And still, Mr. Calloway said, had he known the consequences, he would still have said what he said at Tchula: "I didn't sell my brithright as a citizen when I came here. They have to learn that every American has a certain amount of rights and privileges."

* * *

DR. J. W. HOWELL Durant's only druggist, was the leading spirit among the elders who began Marsh Calloway's process of banishment.

He answers any questions with: "Who're you? I have nothing to say one way or another." His is not a course a man can be asked to defend; the Citizens' Councils are not people happy in daylight.

No stranger can say how deep the passions that tear Mississippi must be. David Minter, facing exile, was commenting the other day about the Citizens' Council assertion that the colored persons are happy here.

He had been treating a 97-year-old colored woman As she lay in bed, she pronounced what were nearly her last words: "Doctor, do you think we'll ever get them civil rights?" David Minter lives by the rules; he probably did not feel even then that he could answer her.

* * *

THERE IS A cigarette machine in the cafe at Jackson Airport. Under its Phillip Morris slot someone has crayoned the letters "NAACP."

Packages of the Philip Morris Co.—boycotted without explanation by the white Citizens' Councils—run right to the top of the glass.

A colored porter cleans the surface of the machine every night; he would not, if he wanted, wipe off the crayoned warning.

This intruder put his 30 cents in, collected his Philip Morrises and went to the plane. The last thing you see in the way station for the fastest way out of Mississippi is that short message of hate.

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SEGREGATION BATTLE SEEN IN MISSISSIPPI

Commercial Appeal Mem. 4-22-56

Legal Action On Local Level Predicted This Year

Memphis Scim.

SCHOOLS IN LINE OF FIRE

P.17

By KEITH FULLER
Associated Press Staff Writer

JACKSON, Miss., April 22.—There is mounting evidence that Mississippi's segregation will be attacked in the courts, on the local level, before the year is out.

Just what the planners of litigation will consider the opportune time is not known.

NAACP Vows Integration

The NAACP, without stuttering, is vowed to break down the South's traditional separation of the races. Mississippi is among the last states to be challenged undoubtedly because of nearly unanimous opposition among its white people to integration. Also, the NAACP may be fighting a lack of interest among Mississippi Negroes.

But signs point to the possibility that Mississippi's turn is near at hand.

It is even safe to say that when a suit is filed it will be against the school districts of either Jackson, Clarksdale, Vicksburg, Natchez or Yazoo City—or any combination of them.

Medgar Evers, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that whenever suits are contemplated, in Mississippi or elsewhere, the information will be a "closely guarded secret known only to the people involved."

Volunteer Action Preferred

Evers said the NAACP prefers for a state to break down color barriers voluntarily but—failing in that — the organization will back Negro parents of any school district to win them the right to attend the best schools in the district.

Evers said contrary to popular belief, the NAACP does not institute a suit until the people of the district indicate their desire for it.

Then NAACP attorneys carry the ball.

He did say flatly, in answer to a question, there are many districts in Mississippi where Negro parents have this desire.

A number of legislators hinted that they knew of planned action regarding integration suits and hastened to produce legislation that would tend to arm the state against such action.

Asked if they could have information of this kind Evers said he doubted it unless it came from people within the NAACP who acted more or less as spies.

The projected sites of the suits is simple enough—the five Mississippi cities mentioned above are the only ones petitioned for integration. These petitions are a year old this fall and, of course, the cities have taken no steps toward integration of the white schools nor do they plan any.

Thus the clash is inevitable.

Ex-Detroit 'American' Gives His Views

Courier 2-7

White Northerner Goes South And Becomes a 'Southerner'

Pittsburgh Pa.

Sat. 2-25-56

By MARC CRAWFORD

DETROIT, Mich.—A Clarksdale (Miss.) grocer, defended the attitudes and action of his state's white supremacists in an interview with The Courier last week.

Philip Sawaya, 45, a former Detroit resident, was in the Motor City visiting relatives on Neal Street. Sawaya says he considers himself a Mississippian now, having lived there for fifteen years. The grocer also disclosed his complete accord with the way the Mississippi racial situation is handled.

Miss.

On the question of whether Negro veterans of the wars in defense of the United States deserved democracy in Mississippi, Sawaya said, "The 'Negras' have democracy in Mississippi, just like we do. They have theirs, and we have ours.

"All the trouble in Mississippi is the work of Northern 'Negra' agitators and Northern politicians. The 'Negras' and whites don't have any problem in Mississippi. They got their freedom, and we got ours. We like our 'Negras.'

* * *

"WHY, WHEN A 'Negra's' out of work and ain't got no money there, all he's got to do is go to his white boss who will give him $25. I bet no Northern 'Negras' can do that. Socially, the 'Negras' want to be left alone just like we do. The South's got its way to live and the North's got its way and ain's nobody got no right to try to change it.

"The reason we don't want N---rs going to our schools, for one thing, is they ain't got the money to keep their children there. Hell, it costs me $700 a year to keep my kid in school, and most 'Negras' don't make that much a year. They'd take em out of school anyway at plantin' and pickin' time.

"If they tell you 'Negras' can't vote in Mississippi, they're lying. Well any 'Negra' can vote there. I wish you'd come to Mississippi for a week to see for yourself. I'll sleep you and feed you for a week.

(The invitation was declined).

* * *

"AS TO THAT Till 'Negra,' what would you have done if he'd tried to rape your wife?

"No, we ain't got no 'Negras' in Clarksdale holding office or city office jobs. Well, there ain't one 'Negro' in Clarksdale got enough brains to hold the lowest office."

Sawaya, whose parents come from Syria, claimed to have been threatened by some Negroes since his visit here.

The house where Sawaya is visiting is in a so-called "mixed" neighborhood.

"This is a country of free speech and democracy. I'm a free-born American citizen and I'm entitled to that respect either in Mississippi or Michigan. I could call the law, but I ain't going to agitate like Northerners do. But I don't take nothing off nobody anywhere.

* * *

"WE BUILT an $82,000 Catholic school for 'Negras' in Clarksdale, now that shows how much we think of 'em," Sawaya concluded.

He claims he's not a member of the White Citizens Council, but he does not condemn them.

EASTLAND PROMOTION ENDORSED BY HOUSE

Commercial Appeal

Signal Honor For Senator, Resolution Says

Tues. 3-13-56

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

p. 9

JACKSON, Miss., March 12.—Senator James O. Eastland's elevation to the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee was unanimously commended Monday by the Mississippi House of Representatives.

Memphis, Tenn.

The resolution, offered by most of the House members headed by Speaker Walter Sillers, remains for Senate consideration.

"The United States Senate has not only signally honored Senator Eastland, but has placed its emphatic stamp of approval upon his loyalty, ability, patriotism, zeal, integrity and unswerving devotion to duty," the resolution read by Speaker Sillers said.

The document asserted that the elevation of the senior Mississippi senator has "placed him where he rightfully belongs with that immortal galaxy of great Mississippians who have preceded him in the Senate and who so nobody served Mississippi and the nation."

It commended Senator Eastland for his fights for constitutional government, state sovereignty, segregation, against letting down the immigration bars, for his investigation of subversives which "has exposed some of the top National Association for the Advancement of Colored People leaders with subversive and communist fronts."

SEGREGATION STAND IS STOUTLY RENEWED

Commercial Appeal

'We'll Close Colleges First,' Coleman Says

Wed. 2-22-56

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 21. — (AP)—Gov. J. P. Coleman said Tuesday it "is as inevitable as the sunise" that Mississippi would close its institutions of higher learning if they were forced to accept Negro students.

He told his press conference rtate colleges must be operated "with a decent regard for the people who support them."

"The people would not support integrated schools. To allow integration is to destroy schools.

"Right or wrong, it's an inescaable fact. It's impossible to get a Negro into a white school in Mississippi."

Memphis, Tenn.

The Mississippi Constitution already permits the Legislature to abolish white public elementary or high schools faced with accepting Negro students.

Governor Coleman said the Legislature would order closed any college faced with integration. Appropriations could be cut off, he added.

The Governor charged the press with "making matters worse" by "continued agitation of the (segregation) question."

He established a new press conference rule: "We will not discuss segregation unless there is a new development to justify it, because the more you agitate this old sore the worse it gets."

Then, he announced signing two more bills to help keep Negroes out of white society. He had sponsored the bills as a member of the Legal Education Advisory Committee last year.

They would permit choice of customers or clients and would require railroad and bus companies to provide separate waiting rooms for Negro and white passengers traveling within Mississippi.

'LEGAL RIGHT'

Advertiser

Eastland Asks Public Funds To Wage Integration Fight

Fri. 4-27-56 P. 2-A

Montgomery

TUPELO, Miss., April 26 (AP)—Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss) today called for the use of public funds —"and we have a legal right to do so" — to fight integration.

Addressing the 1st Dist. convention of the Mississippi American Legion, Eastland said the South can no longer stay on the defensive.

"The opposition has several million dollars," he said. "We must use public funds and we have a legal right to do so because in essence this is an attack upon the South.

"The first duty of the state is to protect its sovereignty. We must bring to the attenion of the people what integration will do to our school system."

The Mississippi Legislature recently voted $250,000 to finance the work of a newly created State Sovereignty Commission for the avowed purpose of resisting federal "encroachment" in any form. form.

The senator said the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People is "a front, an action group. Behind it is a more powerful group directing its every move."

He did not identify the directing group.

He said border states—those between the segregated South and the integrated North and Midwest —have "weak-kneed political leaders."

He said "if we can win the border states I am confident of the outcome. The determination of the South has caused the people of the North to stop and think. Now they say 'We had better go slowly.'

"The average man thinks exactly as we do. We are not going to permit NAACP agitators to take over and run our states."

The senator said segregation fights are being waged in the North "and the outcome there will determine what happens here."

Eastland said the last thing Mississippi will do is to permit the NAACP to play a political game at the expense of "our children."

"The first line of defense is the home," he said. "If we lose the minds of children there is no hope for the future."

Coleman Ignores Benson On Mississippi Flight

Defender Sat. 2-4-56 P. 10

Chicago Ill.

J. P. Coleman, newly elected governor of Mississippi, said Friday he would ignore a letter from Chicago disc jockey Al Benson requesting permission to "bomb" Mississippi with reprints of the U. S. Constitution from a private chartered plane on Lincoln's birthday.

Coleman, when queried by a news service Friday, said he had not received Benson's letter at the time.

In Chicago, Benson said Coleman's statement came as no surprise to him.

"He and other Mississippi officials have in the past ignored both the letter and the spirit of the United States Constitution. I shall continue to make my plans for the flight. Meanwhile, I shall await Gov. Coleman's reply or that of his attorney general," Benson said.

Earlier the Mississippi-born disc jockey released a communication from C. J. Lowen, U. S. Administrator of Civil Aeronautics in reply to a letter from Benson who wants to "penetrate" what he calls the "Ironic Curtain" in protest against the recent wave of slayings and economic persecutions of Negro citizens and NAACP leaders in Mississippi.

Lowen's letter informed Benson that regulations do not prohibit "the dropping of newspapers, periodicals or objects of any other kind, provided reasonable precautions are taken to avoid injury or damage to persons or property."

The CAA Administrator warned Benson, however, that "there may be local laws which prohibit such activities unless authorization is obtained from the state or municipal authorities." Lowen suggested that Benson contact local authorities in Mississippi for information as to whether such permission is necessary or available.

WRITES MISS. GOVERNOR

On receipt of the CAA communications, Benson dispatched letters of inquiry to Coleman, Atty.-Gen. Joe T. Patterson, the Secretary of State and the Director of the Highway Department.

Benson said that, if all clearances are granted, he would emplane on Lincoln's Birthday, probably from Memphis.

Benson, 48, has lived in Chicago for the last 25 years and broadcasts over a local radio station. He has professed alarm at the opposition to desegregation in his native state and at such incidents as the Emmett Till slaying case.

DEMAND INTERCEPTION

City officials of Meridian demanded that the Mississippi commissioner of public safety, Col. T. B. Birdsong, send up a Highway Patrol plane to intercept Benson.

Birdsong said he had received offers of private planes to "help out" in an interception, but he preferred to "ignore" the Chicagoan.

"We could stop him but I don't think it would be worthwhile," Birdsong said.

Negro Plans Shower for Mississippi

Constitution Wed. 2-22-56

Atlanta, Ga.

CHICAGO, Feb. 21 (UP)— Disc Jockey Al Benson prepared today to drop copies of the U. S. Constitution on the state of Mississippi from the air, but was threatened with retaliation from the South.

Benson, a Negro native of Mississippi, said he plans to fly over the state on Washington's birthday tomorrow to emphasize the U. S. Supreme Court decision on school desegregation.

COUNTER RAID HINTED

Mississippi officials chose to "ignore" Benson's flight, but a threat of retaliation came from disc jockey Allan English of Oxford, Miss.

English said that if Benson "bombs" Mississippi he will stage a counter raid to dump Confederate flags on Chicago.

Benson said he plans to take off from here about 10 a.m. CST tomorrow in a chartered plane and drop his leaflets on the cities of Jackson, Meridian and Vicksburg. He refused to disclose the exact time he expects to fly over the three "target" cities.

5,000 COPIES FOR $375

"It's none of their business," he said.

Benson said he obtained 5,000 copies of the Constitution from the Government Printing Office for $375 and the plane, chartered from a private flying service here, will cost him $448.71.

Ask Radio Free Mississippi To Expose Killers

Defender Sat. 2-18-56 P. 2

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Urging that an economic boycott be initiated against articles grown and manufactured in Mississippi, the national chairman of the American Veterans Committee also suggested the creation of a "Radio Free Mississippi" so that "the people of Mississippi may discover what the civilized people of America think."

Chicago, Ill.

Mickey Levine made those and other proposals to the editors of Look Magazine after publication of a current article in which J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant were quoted as confessing the slaying of 14 year-old Emmett Till.

News In Brief

News + Observer Thurs. 2-23-56

Negro Disc Jockey Stays Home

P. 2

CHICAGO, Feb. 22 (UP) — A Chicago disc jockey, expressing fears for his safety, stayed home today and sent a private pilot to drop copies of the U. S. Constitution on Mississippi.

Raleigh, N.C.

Al Benson, a Negro native of Mississippi, had planned to fly over the southern state himself to emphasize the U. S. Supreme court decision on school desegregation. Instead he sent Jim Crea, owner of a charter flying service whom he had hired for the flight, to make the trip alone.

Crea planned to drop 5,000 copies of the constitution on the city of Jackson. Miss. He flew a single-engine plane.

Issuing a statement to explain his switch in plans, Benson said; "Threats of both physical harm and legal persecution have come from unofficial sources."

"I am not a coward," Benson said, "but neither am I a fool nor a law breaker."

MISS. SHOWER

Negro Gets Stand-In To 'Bomb'

Constitution Thurs. 2-23-56 P. 6

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 22 (UP)—A private plane dispatched by a Chicago Negro disc jockey to emphasize the Supreme Court ban on school segregation showered hundreds of copies of the U.S. Constitution on Jackson late today.

Atlanta, Ga.

Al Benson, a native of Mississippi, sponsored the flight. He had planned to fly over the state himself but at the last minute he expressed fear for his safety and sent Jim Crea, owner of a Chicago flying service, to make the "air raid" alone.

AT 1,500 FEET

Crea's red and cream single-engine Navion plane swooped over the city several times at about 1,500 feet, dropping the majority of the 5,000 copies Benson had purchased from the Government Printing Office.

Many of the 43-page booklets drifted into the Pearl River swamp just east of the city. And there was only mild interest shown by pedestrians and home owners when the pamphlets came trickling down shortly before 5 p.m. CST. Crea's plane winged eastward to Meridian, Miss., where another "raid" was scheduled.

Meanwhile, a Mississippi white disc jockey said he plans a counter "raid" on Chicago Friday. Allan English, a record spinner for Oxford, Miss., radio station WSUH, said he would scatter 25,000 miniature Confederate flags on the Loop and lake front in Chicago.

Originally, he had planned to drop 10,000 of the paper flags but he said "response" had been so great he decided to up the number.

WOULD EASE TENSION

"I hope this little stunt will in some way cool the intensity of the racial situation," English said. He contended "all Mississippians are familiar with the Constitution" and Benson's flight was not necessary.

State officials ignored Benson's flight and said there would be no attempt to intercept the plane.

In Chicago, Benson issued a statement explaining his decision to not make the flight personally. He claimed "threats of both physical harm and legal persecution" had come from "unofficial sources."

Mississippi Ignores 'Bomber'

Herald

JACKSON, Miss.—(UP)—Col. T. B. Birdsong, state commissioner of public safety, politely turned down a request Tuesday to send up a highway patrol plane to intercept a Chicago Negro disc jockey who plans a pamphlet "air raid" over Mississippi Wednesday.

Wed. 2-22-56

Al Benson, a native of Mississippi, plans to drop 5,000 copies of the U. S. Constitution over Jackson, Meridian and Vicksburg to give support to the U. S. Supreme Court anti-segregation rulings. He will make the flight from Chicago in a chartered private plane.

P. 8-A

"We're just going to ignore him," Birdsong said. "Let him drop them. We could stop him but I don't think it would be worthwhile."

Miami, Fla.

Birdsong said there had been offers of private planes to "help out."

Meridian city officials, who threatened to arrest Benson if he lands, had called on the patrol to intercept Benson who plans to leave Chicago at about 10 a.m.

Meridian officials contended state and city law prohibits dropping leaflets from a plane but a Civil Aeronautics Administration official said it probably would take a lawsuit to halt Benson's flight.

CAA safety supervisor Frank Wignall said the pamphlets could be dropped, provided "reasonable precautions are taken to avoid injury to persons and property." It would be necessary, he said, to prove the flight was hazardous to halt it.

'Bombing' of Three Mississippi Cities Is Planned by Chicago Disc Jockey

Times Picayune New Orleans La.

Tues. 2-21-56

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

MERIDIAN, Miss., Feb. 20—State highway patrol planes may be called out to prevent the "bombing" of Vicksburg, Jackson and Meridian Wednesday.

Meridian city officials said Monday that if Al Benson, a Chicago, Ill., disc jockey, carries out his plan to hire a light plane and bombard the three cities with leaflets as a fight for integration, he will be arrested when and if he lands in Meridian.

Benson announced his plans to drop the leaflets, copies of the United States constitution, over his Chicago radio show. He said he would bomb the cities on Washington's birthday as support for the supreme court's integration decision.

City officials said there is a city and a state law against dropping leaflets, and that they will be enforced.

And leaflets rained down on Mississippi

Afro-American Sat. 3-3-56 Baltimore, Md.

CHICAGO — Al Benson's "Freedom Flight"—to bomb the state of Mississippi with reprints of the U.S. Constitution—took off from Midway Airport Wednesday morning.

P. 3

Although the Chicago disc jockey did not personally make the trip, he made good on his promise to "air-raid" the Dixie state.

Pilot Jim Crea and his assistant, Peter Dekelaita, left the airstrip in a single-motor Navion at 10:14 a.m. to proceed to Jackson, refuel and begin distribution over Jackson and back to the Tennessee state line.

Chartering of the plane cost Benson $471 and the 5,000 reprints purchased from the Government Printing Office in Washington came to a total of $375.

Mississippi Grand Jury Asks Screening Of Integration Books

Advertiser Montgomery Ala.

Fri. 3-2-56

ELLISVILLE, Miss., March 1 (AP)—The grand jury for the first district of Jones County today proposed the elimination of all pro-integration books in public school libraries in the county and throughout the state.

P. 11-A

The investigative body said in its report that a screening of all books in the school libraries should be done thoroughly enough to prevent any "camouflaged materials from getting to these students."

The grand jury report said in part:

CASTS DOUBTS

"It has been brought to the attention of the grand jury that many of our young people are in various school libraries which tend to cast doubt and reflection upon our Southern way of life, and which in a fictional sense support the views of the integration of the races. . .

"Proponents of integration, through many book companies and publishing houses, are using books in our schools and among our children as a Trojan force to tear down the teachings and principles of our way of life. . .

BEST INTERESTS

"In the belief that the time has come when all must assert themselves in support of that which we know to be for our best interest, we recommend to our state superintendent of education, to our county superintendent of education and to the superintendents of our separate school districts, that serious thought be given to the screening of all books, magazines and periodicals used in our school system that may reflect criticism on our way of life."

Bernard Powell, Jones County school superintendent, said screening of all library books used in the county will begin immediately.

He supervises 27 elementary and 14 high schools, of which five each are Negro schools.

"The people would not support integrated schools," Coleman said, speaking for his state 1,600,000 citizens, half of whom are Negroes.

He told reporters that state colleges must be operated "with a decent regard for the people who support them."

Atlanta, Ga.

"Right or wrong," he added, "It's an inescapable fact. To allow integration is to destroy schools."

The Mississippi Constitution already permits the legislature to close public elementary or high schools faced with accepted Negro students,

Coleman said the legislature also would close any college faced with integration. Apprprations would be cut off, he added.

The governor charged the press with "making matters worse" by "continued agitation of the segregation) question."

He established a new press conference rule:

"We will not discuss segregation unless there is a new development to justify it, because the more you agitate this old sore the worse it gets."

Then he announced that he had signed two more bills to prevent the mixing of the Negro and white races in Mississippi. They would permit the choice of customers or clients and would require railroad and bus companies to provide separate waiting rooms for Negro and white passengers traveling within the Mississippi.

Earlier in the week, Coleman vetoed one of the bills he had originally sponsored -- a measure aimed at restricting civil rights investigations by the FBI.

He said in a veto message that "conditions most happily have changed for the better," since he had proposed the measure last September to the Legal Education Advisory Committee.

Coleman's original recommendation was made shortly after the justice department had asked for investigations in alleged civil rights violations during the 1955 Democratic primaries.

"Since that time, however, the U. S. Department of Justice declined to intervene in a case the occurrence of which we deeply regret, but which simply presented no ground for federal interference," he added.

This was an obvious reference to the Emmett Till murder case which the FBI had refuse to investigate after a state trial jury acquitted two white men of the slaying of the 14-year-old Negro youth.

Coleman Says Integration Impossible In Mississippi

Daily world P. 8

Wed. 2-29-56

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) — "It is impossible to get a Negro into a white school in Mississippi."

That's the opinion of Gov. J. P. Coleman, an avowed foe of public school integration, who told a press conference last week that Mississippi would close its institutions of higher learning if they were forced to accept Negro students.

'Mississippi must integrate'—Howard

Afro-American P. 6 Sat. 4-21-56 Baltimore, Md.

BOSTON — "Mississippi, if it stays in the Union, is going to integrate her schools like every other state in America.

"The White Citizens Council of Mississippi and the senior U.S. senator from our state, James Eastland, represent the greatest threat to American democracy today."

Dr. Theodore R. M. Howard, eminent Mississippi civil rights leader, made these declarations last week at Union Methodist Church.

* * *

MORE THAN 1,500 persons attended the program which was the climax of the Boston NAACP's membership drive.

The Mississippi physician lashed out at those "weaklings among our race who would sell us out" and warned the audience of the "handkerchief heads" whom the politicians use.

"It is time that Boston wakes up," the speaker said, "it is later than you think.

"For as long as a 14-year-old boy can be lynched and his assailants go free, then you can't be safe anywhere in this land."

* * *

OTHER PLATFORM figures were: Mrs. Melnea Cass, chairman of the meeting; Dr. A. C. Saunders, chairman of the NAACP executive committee;

Also Louis E. Pasco Sr. and the Revs. T. L. Davis, Walter E. Davis, and E. C. McLeod.

Several thousand dollars were raised in donations and memberships. Massachusetts Elks submitted a block of memberships.

38a 1956

TODAY IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS

News P.14

The Right Of Dissent

Wed. 3-7-56

"Liberals" Censured Sen. Eastland For Views Differing From Their Own

BY DAVID LAWRENCE

B'ham, Ala.

WASHINGTON

A NEW WAVE of hysteria has cropped up in the United States Senate giving further evidence of the intolerance of the so-called "liberal" of today. It's another case of trying to censure or punish a senator for his views because they do not conform to those of other senators.

Thus, when Sen. Eastland of Mississippi, Democrat, was in line to be chosen chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, protests came from senators of the so-called "liberal" group. They insisted that he be deprived of the chairmanship. One senator significantly let it be known that he wasn't raising any question about the eligibility of the Mississippi senator to retain his seat. Was this a veiled warning that the time may come in the not-far-distant future when a senator may be removed from the Senate rolls because his views are unpalatable to a majority?

Eastland Had Criticized Segregation Decision

SEN. EASTLAND has fallen from grace in the eyes of his critics because he ventured to make some adverse comments about the Supreme Court in connection with its decision in the segregation cases. He might not have been elected chairman of the Judiciary Committee a few days ago except for the "seniority" system, whereby the senator with the ranking position, due to length of service, succeeds to the chairmanship of a committee if he desires it. One Eastern newspaper on the "liberal" side says editorially, with respect to Mr. Eastland, that he should have been disqualified from getting the chairmanship because "he is therefore placed in a position of power over appointments to the federal courts." The same newspaper in the past has been in the forefront of those championing "the right of dissent."

The argument that Mr. Eastland, as chairman of the committee, has unique power over federal appointments is a specious one. For every member of the Senate has equal power to vote for or against the judicial appointees of the President, and the chairman of the Judiciary Committee has only one vote.

It's regrettable that, during the debate in the Senate, nobody reminded the senators that a man who actually had the power to make judicial appointments in the first instance — the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt — issued criticisms about the Supreme Court and went so far as to urge the "packing" of the high court with justices agreeable with his point of view. Would the "liberal" senators now favor "packing" the chairmanship in the Senate with senators who had preconceived views on every subject, and is the test to be a senator's views rather than his length of service?

Mr. Eastland said about the Supreme Court that it had been "indoctrinated and brainwashed by left-wing pressure groups." But the right to criticize the Supreme Court is a privilege utilized even by the great Abraham Lincoln, who, after the Supreme Court's decision in the Dred Scott case, said it was "erroneous" and that the new Republican Party would "do what we can to have it overruled." FDR's comments on the Supreme Court on March 9, 1937, were as caustic as any ever made. He said:

"The court in addition to the proper use of its judicial functions has improperly set itself up as a third house of the Congress—a super legislature, as one of the justices has called it—reading into the Constitution words and implications which are not there, and which were never intended to be there.

"We have, therefore, reached the point as a nation where we must take action to save the Constitution from the court and the court from itself. . . .

"Our difficulty with the court today rises not from the court as an institution but from human beings within it."

'Liberals' View Court As Political

THE "COURT PACKING" scheme was defeated but FDR did have the chance to appoint men to the Supreme Court whose views corresponded to his own. He achieved his "court packing" goal when a number of vacancies occurred that opened up the way to new appointments. Many of the "liberals" who didn't favor the idea of enlarging the court to 15 judges by passage of a law agreed nevertheless with the Roosevelt criticism of the Supreme Court.

To this day the "liberal" writers, especially in books and articles about the Supreme Court, have adopted the view that the Constitution is what the justices wish to make it—based on the political or economic predilections of a majority of the justices. The "liberal" view of today is that there is no need for construing the Constitution in accordance with precedent or historic principles of jurisprudence.

The Southerners who are critical of the Supreme Court's decision in the segregation case, notably Sen. Eastland, can hardly be blamed now for adopting the viewpoint of the so-called "liberals" in criticizing Supreme Court decisions as political or legislative and as having been influenced by "pressure groups."—©

MISSISSIPPI

MANIFESTO

Miss. boycott victim lent $5,000 by N.Y. trade union

Afro-American Sat. 2-25-56 p.19

Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK — A Clarksdale, Miss. victim of a White Citizens Council "economic boycott" has been loaned $5,000 by a local trade union so that he can save his business.

The victim, R. D. Drew, made a $3,000 loan several months ago from a Clarksdale bank — payable in three years.

Immediate payment or foreclosure was demanded, however, when it was learned that Drew had signed a petition for integrated schools in Clarksdale.

* * *

DREW IS an undertaker and president of the Clarksdale NAACP chapter.

The loan was arranged by Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss. with Retail Drug Employees Union, local 1199, who mailed the check last week.

Amendment of the loan was made at the union's annual Negro History Week celebration by Leon J. Davis, local president, and Dr. Howard who was the guest speaker.

* * *

DR. HOWARD described Senator Eastland of Mississippi and the Citizens Council as "the greatest menace in this country today."

He and Mr. Davis noted that "the loan will not solve the problem of the thousands of colored persons affected" by the boycott, but "hopes it will start a similar chain reaction."

Miss. Counties, Towns Seek Ways to Ease Money Strain

Journal & Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Both Groups Looking to State Government for Assistance

Sun. 3-11-56 p.9-E

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau Chief, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., March 10—Like the moaning heaver of 16 tons, Mississippi's counties and municipalities are getting deeper in debt—bonded, that is.

The first recapitulation of the bonded debt of those political subdivisions in 16 years showed total outstanding obligations of $195,373,722 as of June 30, 1955. That's $89,493,212 more than shown in the compilation as of June 30, 1939 of $105,880,510.

Gasoline Obligations

Meanwhile, the parent governmental agency, the state of Mississippi, has no outstanding full faith and credit bonds. However, there are outstanding in gasoline revenue obligations, for which the gasoline tax is pledged to retire, $70,000,000.

A breakdown of the local bonded debt showed:

Municipal general bonds, $89,801,825, municipal separate school district obligations, $42,596,591; county road and school issues, $31,758,521, and countywide general obligations, $31,216,785.

On the basis of the assessed valuation of the 82 counties and 265 incorporated municipalities, the bonded debt per $100 valuation figures $16.40.

Five of the counties were bonded-debt free insofar as countywide obligations are concerned. They are Lamar, Panola, Rankin, Walthall and Yalobusha. Three others had no district road and school issues outstanding — Issaquena, Jefferson and Warren.

Seventy-three of the municipalities, mostly the smaller subdivisions, reported no bonded indebtedness.

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Largest in size and bonded debt is Hinds County, seat of the state government at Jackson. It showed $34,563,500, of which $29,620,500 are chargeable to the city of Jackson. Smallest is Jefferson County, with only $93,000.

Some of the leading municipalities in outstanding bonds included:

Greenville, $9,042,000; Meridian, $8,035,000; Gulfport, $7,854,000; Natchez, $5,483,882; Clarksdale, $5,469,500; ;Yazoo City, $3,245,500; Corinth, $2,452,100; Hattiesburg, $2,738,000; Tupelo, $2,713,500; Greenwood, $2,553,000; Brookhaven, $2,353,500; Columbus, $2,298,000; McComb, $2,019,900; Indianola, $2,241,000, and Vicksburg, $2,173,300.

Meanwhile, with a total bonded debt of $132,398,416 hanging over the heads of the municipal taxpayers, those political subdivisions continue to be the "stepchild" of state government. For years, with little success, they have been trying to get part of the estimated $30,000,000 returned to the counties by the state — but with little success.

Cities' Share

At present, the municipalities are given $1,500,000 annually by the state, and that just since 1954. They get none of the estimated $15,000,000 returned annually to the counties out of the state gasoline tax, yet almost 90 per cent is paid by city motorists whose streets get none of it returned for maintenance or new construction.

And despite that the mileage being supported by the counties is gradually shrinking as the state takes over more and more, there is no change made in the old formula under which they get 2½ cents to the 7 cents gasoline excise tax.

The municipalities are before the current biennial session of the legislature asking for some form of permanent state aid. Thus far they have made little headway, despite that nearly half the state's two million population reside in urban areas.

Mississippi's legislature continues rural-minded. That is further shown in the tax exemptions allowed farmer co-ops as well as most of the articles purchased for agricultural purposes.

Farmers are refunded all except one cent of the state gasoline tax for non-highway use, yet the cities are unable to get the same concession on gasoline used in publicly owned motor vehicles.

The Mississippi Municipal Association, headed by Mayor W. J. Caraway of Leland, is asking for slightly in excess of $1,000,000 out of fire insurance premium taxes. Since the state's budget is tightly balanced at 183 million dollars, and already unbalanced to the tune of five million dollars in tentative approval of unbudgeted items, the city-fathers are having rough sledding.

Maintain Departments

Basis of the request for the fire insurance taxes is the fact that the municipalities alone maintain fire departments. The counties have no such operation, yet the city machines go beyond there corporate limits to aid those in rural areas.

FAULKNER'S LETTER TO THE NORTH

Life Magazine

Sirs:

Mr. Faulkner ("A Letter to the North," LIFE, March 5) is the voice of wisdom and moderation that is being drowned out by rising extremism on both sides. A period of waiting will allow the South to assimilate the idea of integration and to learn how to live with it.

BORDEN DEAL

Scottsboro, Ala.

Mon. 3-26-56

Sirs:

George Washington Harris (*see inset*), my great-grandfather, was born in Maryland, was a drummer boy in the War of 1812—and a slave. His son Hazzard was born in slavery. The forced labor of my ancestors was the base on which were built today's ancestral mansions, from one of which comes a letter saying in effect, "Do not kill, but simply subdue for a time the aspirations and instincts natural to every human being." In putting his hand to the pen, Faulkner resembled the boy who put his hand in a dike to stop a flood. His rhetoric was good but his reasoning was poor.

M. A. HARRIS

New York, N.Y.

Chicago Ill

Sirs:

Mr. Faulkner has stated the views of myself and many friends. I do not approve of compulsory segregation, but the South is my home; here live my people and regardless of future developments I stand with them.

LEWIS HERRING

Mobile, Ala.

Sirs:

Mr. Faulkner's ancestors owned slaves. My ancestors were slaves. He advises: "Stop now for a moment." For how long a moment? The Negro, the Northerner, the Southerner such as Mr. Faulkner, and the world at large have been patiently waiting a "moment" which has now lasted more than 90 years.

LESLIE H. ENGRAM

Cleveland, Ohio

Sirs:

Since LIFE printed my "Letter to the North" I have received many replies from outside the South. Many of them criticized the reasoning *in* the letter, but so far none of them seem to have divined the reason *behind* the letter, the reason behind the urgency for the widest possible circulation of it, in time; which lends weight to a statement in the letter to the effect that the United States outside the South does not understand the South.

The reason behind the letter was the attempt of an individual to save the South and the whole United States too from the blot of Miss Autherine Lucy's death. She had just been suspended by the University of Alabama; a day had been set when a judge would pass on the validity of the suspension. I believed that when the judge abrogated the suspension, which he would have to do, the forces supporting her attempt to enter the university as a student would send her back to it. I believed that if they did so, she would possibly lose her life.

She was not sent back, so the letter was not needed for that purpose. I hope it will never be. But if a similar situation bearing the seed of a similar tragedy should arise again, maybe the letter will help to serve.

WILLIAM FAULKNER

Oxford, Miss.

South Miss. Counties Plan Suit In Fight for Reapportionment

Journal Constitution p. 7-E
Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 4-8-56

Legal Battle Against Gerrymander To Follow Lines of Tennessee Action

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau Chief, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., April 7—An 1890 "gerrymander" of Mississippi's legislative representation, which has enabled the favored counties to defeat reapportionment efforts, is headed for the courts.

The legal attack is planned by south Mississippi counties which suffer from the under-representation based on the—existent "three grand divisions" of the state without any relationship to population.

Numerous legislative approaches to reapportionment have been defeated by the northeast counties favored under the present distribution of the 140 seats in the House of Representatives.

That same fate was met at the 1956 biennial assembly, just adjourned. Bills seeking reapportionment on the basis of population were offered and as usual, rejected. The same treatment was given proposals for a convention for legislative reapportionment as well as the updating of the asserted antiquated constitution dating to the "horse-and-buggy" days.

'Last Resort' Move

A Tennessee chancery court decision last November ordering a new reapportionment on grounds the Legislature of that state had illegally failed to redistribute the legislative seats every 10 years gave the south Mississippians the idea for that approach. That was the "last resort" move planned in event the Legislature failed to right the asserted wrong.

Failing in his legislative efforts, Rep. Upton Sisson of Harrison-Jackson Counties on the Gulf Coast, has announced plans to file suit.

The south Mississippian hopes to enlist a battery of constitutional lawyers to gain reapportionment on the basis of population. Incidentally, his home Harrison County has a population of around 80,000, a voting strength of 15,000, and one and one-half votes in the House of Representatives.

The Harrison-Jackson County seat is swapped every four years between those two counties.

That representation compares to the three seats held by Noxubee County in the northeastern

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sector, with a population of 22,000 and a voting registration of 2,500.

Harrison County is about 85 per cent white, while Noxubee is only 35 per cent white.

Other heavily populated Negro counties, outside the mostly white southern section, likewise have the same large representation.

Rep. Sisson argued with the prosegregationists that reapportionment would safeguard the all-white membership of the Legislature in event the Negro vote becomes a threat. Even that failed to gain him sufficient strength to get his proposals out of committee.

Rep. Sisson plans to enjoin every Democratic and Republican executive committee and election committees in the 82 counties from holding future legislative elections under the present apportionment. The injunction would be filed in the Hinds County Chancery Court at Jackson and would list the attorney general as a defendant.

The county election committees are named by the governor, attorney general and secretary of state.

Three stipulations are planned as the basis of the legal action:

1. That the present system is a gerrymandering of representation in violation of the Federal Guarantee of a republican form of government. Mr. Sisson hopes ultimately to get the issue before the United States Supreme Court on that contention.

2. That the present legislature is a de facto body and there can be no more legal elections until there is a reapportionment.

3. The counties which are presently under-represented cannot be required to pay taxes to the state treasury because it is taxation without representation.

In the Tennessee case, which is before the Supreme Court of that state, the chancery court ordered that either a new apportionment act would have to be passed or legislators could not be legally elected in 1956.

Rep. Sisson said if the Mississippi courts uphold his contentions, "the legislature could not do anything but come back in 1958 and reapportion prior to the legislative elections in 1959 or there won't be any legislature."

Six of Mississippi's nine Supreme Court justices are from the central and southern sectors and the other three from north Mississippi. Counties of four of the former justices would gain by a new apportionment on a population basis; two would lose. All three of the northern members' counties would lose, although one of them has written a book stressing the need for a convention to modernize the constitution of 1890.

Gives His Interpretation

When the 1890 apportionment was set out, 133 House members were prescribed. Since that time, new counties have been created mostly in south Mississippi and to care for them the legislature in 1904 provided the newly constituted political subdivisions would be given at least one seat in the legislature "until the next succeeding apportionment."

Rep. Sisson argues that it was intended that at each decennial census, a new look was planned of the legislative apportionment and changes accordingly made. He bases that on a section of the Constitution which states: "The legislature may, at the first session after the federal census of 1900, and decennially thereafter, make a new apportionment of senators and representatives."

Laurel, Miss., Leader-Call

Constitution p. 4 Wed 3-21-56
Atlanta, Ga.

Name Calling Has No Place In Explosive Racial Issue

Just a word of caution: The South, and especially Mississippi will face a most trying period this next 10 to 15 years—maybe longer. The ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States on segregation of the races brings us bang up against questions that must be worked out.

Some are constituting themselves our spokesmen and our leaders. We are listening to what they have to say—listening carefully. If they speak with self control and with good judgment, we shall hear them with respect. If they harangue us, obviously trying to arouse our hates and our prejudices, we shall turn a deaf ear and turn elsewhere for our leadership.

In the meantime, we ourselves promise not to call every man who disagrees with us a "Red, a Communist symphathizer."

We think there is a tendency to label any opinion that does not jibe with our own as a "dangerous" opinion. We shall be careful of applying names to our neighbors, who may not hold the same outlook on public questions that we hold.

We implore our readers to cultivate an ability to listen carefully to honest men, holding an honest opinion on any subject. When we do less we are not worthy of that great name we have adopted—an American.

We are especially watchful of political leaders who tell us in one breath that they will not tolerate integration in any walk of life and then urge us to vote for a presidential party nominee who stands for exactly the opposite.

We cannot but suspect that ambition in a private career rather than the public good prompts such action.

We shall watch for consistency in the utterances of those, our leaders, who, it seems to us are talking out of both sides of their mouth at the same time.

As far as we are concerned, the utterances of public aspirants for office will be judged on their merits and not on party inspiration. We'll be our own judge of whether they are speaking with sincerity and the best interest of all of us.

So much for what so-called leaders say and do.

Teachers' Resignations Termed 'Good Riddance'

Memphis Press-Scimitar 2-11-56

By SAM JOHNSON

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 10 (AP)—The Mississippi House of Representtaives said Friday the resignation of two college professors over the "Kershaw incident" was good riddance and praised college officials who quickly accepted the resignations.

One representative called the two professors "moral derelicts." He labeled one a "filthy character."

The House praised Chancellor J. D. Williams of the University of Mississippi and President Ben Hilbun of Mississippi State College for their action "to safeguard our culture and traditions from vicious attacks. . . ."

The House said: "Our state-supported institutions of higher learning should reflect the thinking of our people and . . . should be the primary exponent and protection of our culture and traditions. . ."

Sociology Head Resigns

Dr. Morton King Jr., head of the University of Mississippi sociology department, resigned early this week because, he said, the university is no longer willing to defend freedom of speech, thought or inquiry.

Dr. Willi maBuchanan, assistant professor of government at Mississippi State College, resigned yesterday in a five-point protest.

Both resignations involved the refusal of the University of Mississippi to permit the Rev. Alvin Kershaw of Oxford, Ohio, to speak on the campus.

The Episcopal minister advocates racial integration and is a member of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. He was scheduled to speak during Religious Emphasis Week Feb. 21-22 until he disclosed his NAACP membership.

Invitation Cancelled

Chancellor Williams cancelled the invitation.

Dr. King said the "Kershaw incident" was the straw that broke the camel's back.

Dr. Buchanan also said the Kershaw incident showed freedom of speech and thought is ebbing in Mississippi's university and colleges.

The House of Representatives, in a resolution passed over the protest of Chancellor Williams, replied:

". . .There have been attempts by misguided reformers from both within and without . . . wilfully or unintentionally to teach ideologies contrary to and undermining the traditions and culture of the South."

The House asked officials of state colleges to use "every effort . . . to prevent subversive influences from infiltrating into our institutions."

38a 1956

2,500 petition Senate to investigate Mississippi

Afro-American Sat. 2-11-56 P.1

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

Bishop Edgar A. Love of Baltimore, last Friday urged the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights to hold hearings in Mississippi at the earliest possible date.

Serving as spokesman for a delegation of 20 persons from nine southern states, the Methodist bishop called upon Senator William Langer, a member of the subcommittee, to go to Mississippi to investigate the "infringments upon Federal rights of colored citizens."

Mrs. Wilma S. Alexander of Richmond presented a petition to the senator, signed by some 2,500 persons from all 48 states, asking that the committee conduct an investigation "into the tragic denials of constitutional rights now taking place in the State of Mississippi."

IN A PRELIMINARY statement, Bishop Love said "in the State of Mississippi a dominant faction is. . . flouting the authority of the Supreme Court, perverting state institutions of justice, condoning the murder of colored citizens who attempt to exercise their civil rights and driving fair-minded white citizens into frightened silence by economic boycott or the menace of physical violence."

The bishop pointed out that the problem which confronts the colored citizens of that state "is not a simple continuation of past abuses, it is an insurrection against the Constitution and laws of the United States."

* * *

"THOUSANDS of white Mississippians desire justice and fair treatment for the victims of this oppression," continued Bishop Love, "but these white citizens are condemned to silence."

They are silenced "by the same lawless forces that have turned the whole apparatus of state government against the colored people."

* * *

THESE ALABAMANS signed the petition presented to Senator Langer asking that a senatorial investigation be made of "terrorism in Mississippi":

Aubrey W. Williams, publisher Southern Farm and Home, Montgomery; Cohen T. Simpson, dean, Talladega College; Rev. Oliver W. Holmes, Minister 1st Congregational Church, Talladega; James O. Hopson Prof. of Humanities, Talladega; Arthur D. Shoves, Attorne at Law, Birmingham; Mrs. Priestley Toulmin, Birmingham; Dorothy L. Moffett, Birmingham; Daniel L. Beasley, president Tuskegee Branch NAACP, Tuskegee; Mrs. Billie O. Grover president Iota Phi Lambda Sorority, Tuskegee; W. H. Brothers, M.D. Talladega; Theresa H. Parker Talladega; Alex L. Herman, president Unity Burial Life Ins. Co., Mobile; Mrs. William C. Crowner, Alexander City;

John R. Bross, Prof, Philosophy and Psychology, Talladega College; Helen H. Bross, Asst. Prof. Math-Physics, Talladega; A. O. Perley, M. D., Birmingham; Mrs. Chas. W. Franck, Public School Teacher, Mobile; Dorothy M. Lobman, Montgomery; Mrs. Gaston Torrance, Birmingham; Mrs. Murray Brown, Birmingham; Lynnwood T. Dorsey Member - Franchise Com.-NAACP, Tuskegee; D. C. Whitsett, Minister, Sylascauga; Lester M. Thomas, Real Estate Broker, Talladega; Mary C. DeBardeleben, Shorter; D. L. Moore Vice President and Secy. Unity Bond and Life Ins. Co. Moblile; Martha Living, secretary, Alexander City;

Jennie Lee Kelley, secretary, Alexander City; William P. Mitchell, Tuskegee Institute; Gordor A. Rogers, Jr., President-Annisto NAACP, Anniston; C. Jones, Minister - Mt. Zion Baptist, Anniston; Henry Hamnock, Anniston; Edward D. Branham, Anniston; Robert L. Grace Anniston; Mrs. A. M. Molack, Anniston; N. G. Coleman, Asst. Pastor, Grace Luthern Church, Anniston; P. L. Lindsey Jr., Anniston; Rev. Joseph E. Boone, 1st Congregational Church, Anniston; Sam B. B. Householder, Briminghma; A. Mabelle Hirsch, R. N., Birmingham; Mrs. Paul T. Hancock, Birmingham; J. N. Blair, Minister, Methodist Church, Eclectic; Alfred Maud, journalist, Montgomery; Clarence Crayton, contractor, Mobile; Clara H. Rutledge, Montgomery; Z. F. Shelton, clerk Montgomery; and H. W. Rice Jr., minister, Montgomery.

* * *

THESE GEORGIANS signed the petition to Senator Langer, asking that a senatorial probe be made of "terrorism in Mississippi:"

Charles W. Ross, 1063 High St., Macon; Henry A. Robins, Prof. of Mathematics, Decatur; P. V. Hall, Waleska; W. F. Washburn, 110 Clark St., S. W. Atlanta Minnie Esken, 297 Pulliam St., S. W., Atlanta, Cutler T. Cohen, Professor of Biology, Oglethrope University; Wheeler B. Glenn, 30 S. Harris St., East Point; Donald L. West, Editor, The Southerner, Dalton; Joe Watkins148 Greenwood Place, Decatur; Catherine M. Comadi, Professor, Gainesville; E. Gilbert Moxham, Tes Island; Rebecca M. Gershon, 1590 Harvard Road, N. E. Atlanta; W. J. Henderson, 1668 Wildre St., Macon;

William A. Calde, Agnes Scott College, Decatur; Albert E. Barnett, Emory University, Georgia; Dr. E. B. Coffee, 930 Fifth Ave., Columbus; Mrs. Leah Washburn, 110 Clark St., S. W. Atlanta,; George C. Seward, Acting President, Oglethorpe Univ.; George F. Wheeler, Asso Prof, Ogleson, minister; Varnell; Kenneth H. Wright, Methodist Layman, Rossville; Rev. A. Ronald Merrix, 1080 Courtland Ave.; Macon; Mrs. R. W. Alling, Box 1956, Savannah, Ga.; W. Thomas Smith, Pastor of Sharp Memorial Methodist Young Harris; C. E. Spier, Jr., Pastor, Middleton Methodist, Middleton; J. S. Williams, M.D. 596 Monroe St., Macon;

Willis B. Theftall, 123 Hill St., Macon; Westley W. Law, 2009 Florence St. Savannah; Hamilton M. Holmes, physician, Atlanta; and R. M. Gilbert, pastor, First African Baptist Church, Savannah.

MISSISSIPPI

Governor Coleman And The Mississippi Negro

Holiscote. P. 4

Jackson, Miss

We feel certain that we are joined by the vast majority of the intelligent and responsible Negro citizens of the state in complimenting incoming Governor J. P. Coleman for the admirable restraint with which he spoke regarding the emotionally-packed and highly explosive subjects of segregation, integration, and race-relations in Mississippi, in his inaugural address here Tuesday.

Sat. 1-21-56

There are still a large number of able and intelligent Negroes in Mississippi of leadership caliber, who have not yet lost their welcome in the councils of authority, who, realizing with the great statesmen, politicians and diplomats of all the ages that compromise is the key to progress, should be willing to take a stand for some compromise plan to reduce the tension and growing hatred and ill-will between the races in the state.

It should be easily discernable to any intelligent observer that the issue between the proponents of total integration and of total segregation have reached a point of ever widening diversion, and unyielding determination.

That the new Governor said in his inaugural address that he was ready to give sympathetic consideration to any problem concerning the Negro citizens of the state that deserves the attention of the state Government is a challenge that should be met by a well organized and well prepared group of intelligent and responsible Negro citizens, imbued with the idea that the concern and progress of the Negro concerns the progress of the entire state, a group to which the Editor and the Jackson Advocate is ready to give one-hundred percent support and cooperation.

Kershaw Incident Causes Ole Miss Educator To Quit

Courier-Journal

University, Miss., Feb. 7 (AP)—The head of the University of Mississippi sociology department today announced his resignation after the university withdrew an invitation to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw to speak on the campus.

Dr. Morton B. King, Jr., 42, said the Kershaw incident showed that the university officials and the college board no longer would defend "the freedom of thought, inquiry, and speech which are essential for higher education to flourish."

Mr. Kershaw's invitation was withdrawn because of his pro-integration views and his membership in the National Association for The Advancement of Colored People.

Won $32,000 In Quiz Show

The Oxford, Ohio, Episcopal minister, an expert on jazz music who won $32,000 on a television program by answering questions on that subject, was scheduled to speak February 21 and 22 during religious-emphasis week at the University.

The Rev. Joseph Fichter of Loyola University of the South at New Orleans reportedly withdrew from participation in the religious-emphasis program because of the Kershaw incident.

University Chancellor J. D. Williams withdrew Mr. Kershaw's invitation after learning he was an N.A.A.C.P. member. (Mr. Kershaw is a former Louisvillian.)

VOWS TO RETAIN SEGREGATION IN MISSISSIPPI

Daily Tribune Wed. 1-18-56 P. 8

But Without Violence, New Governor Says

Chicago, Ill.

Jackson, Miss., Jan. 17 (AP)—Gov. J. P. Coleman told his state and the nation today that Mississippi will keep segregation without violence and despite the federal government.

In all history, "there cannot be found one single instance where a government has forced one race against its will to integrate with another." he said in his inaugural address.

"With all due respect to the mighty power of the United States government, it will never be able to force racial integration in Mississippi nor in any other state where the people are unwilling to have it done," the governor asserted.

Urges U. S. to Consider

He urged the rest of the nation to consider Mississippi's position before passing judgement: "We are entitled to the sympathetic understanding of our friends in the remainder of the country.

". . . The white people of Mississippi are not a race of Negro killers.

"We ask you to remember that by reason of the numbers involved, this problem is more acute here than in any other state in the nation.

"It is not something which can be viewed with complacency or ignored, and if you

lived in Mississippi and knew the full situation, you would look upon it as we do."

45 Pct. of Population

Negroes form 45 per cent of Mississippi's population.

Coleman, who is 42, succeeded Gov. Hugh White. Coleman has served as district attorney, circuit court judge, Supreme court justice and attorney general.

He began life as a farm boy. In storybook form, he worked his way thru college in the depression days, leaving the University of Mississippi to become secretary to former Rep. A. L. Ford [D., Miss.].

He went to night law school in Washington and was graduated from George Washington university in 1937.

Predicts Retention

Coleman predicted to a joint session of the legislature on the Capitol steps that when he ends his term four years from now "the separation of the races in Mississippi will be left intact and will still be in full force and effect in exactly the same manner and form as we know it today."

Without naming nullification specifically, Coleman urged Mississippi legislators to postpone any resolution nullifying —declaring void — federal court decisions outlawing segregation. He promised to deliver a special message to the legislature soon on the subject.

Amvet head calls for Dixie boycott

Tribune Fri. 2-3-56

NEW YORK — Mickey Levine, national chairman of the American Veterans committee, has urged that it is time to take "drastic action" against the growing lawlessness in the state of Mississippi.

Levine has set out a program of action, including a voluntary boycott against the products of Mississippi, a Committee for Political Refugees from Mississippi terror, and a "Radio Free Mississippi" to break through the "Magnolia Curtain" so the people of the state "may discover what the civilized people of America think."

The veterans' national chairman made his proposals in a message to the editors of Look magazine following publication of an article purporting to contain a confession by J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant to the slaying of Emmett Till. Milam and Bryant were acquitted in a trial in Sumner, Miss. in September.

Levine also set forth his views in a speech over the national network of the American Broadcasting System.

He said. "The veterans of this nation should be concerned about what is going on in Mississippi. We fought against lawlessness in the world. Now we have to face up to lawlessness at home."

Two Women Fired In Mississippi; Guilty Of Siging

Globe. P. 14 Sun. 2-19-56

CLARKSDALE, Miss., Feb. 9.—Two women who have been discharged from their jobs at the federally-aided local hospital here because they signed a school desegregation petition have sent affidavits describing their dismissal to the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

This was announced today by Aaron E. Henry, president of the Coahama county NAACP branch.

The hospital concerned— the Coahama County Hospital — receives federal funds under the Hill-Burton

Nashville, Tenn.

NAACP affiliations also were cited as a cause for dismissal in the affidavits. One of the women belongs to the NAACP, as does the husband of the other woman.

Both affidavits state: "In my dismissal the hospital administrator, Mr. Reed Hogan, had me to know that there was nothing about my work that he was dissatisfied with. He told me that because of my activity with the NAACP (or — "my husband's activity with the NAACP") and definitely because I signed a petition asking that the the supreme law of the land be obeyed here in Clarksdale, Mississippi, that he must let me go. He said that pressure was brought to bear against him by the Hospital Board and the White Citizens Councils that left him no alternative."

The statements then go on to cite other racially discriminatory practices at the federally-aided hospital. Among these are less pay for Negro employees doing the same work as white employees, refusal to call Negro patients by courtesy titles, lack of staff and of quality and variety of food on the floor where Negro patients are housed.

Mississippi Governor Brands Nullification Legal Poppycock

Journal + Constitution Sun. 2-19-56 P. 3-F Atlanta, Ga.

11-Man Legislative Panel Named to Chart State's Course

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 18—Mississippi's course in "interposing" its sovereignty against enforcement of the integration decisions of the United States Supreme Court will be charted by a 11-member legislative committee.

There is one thing certain—the avenue will steer clear of any sort of "nullification" movement since Gov. J. P. Coleman says that is "legal poppycock" and void of enforcement, except by military force which he said is "out of the question."

"It's all right to interpose your strength and power in every legal way, but talk of nullification is about like ordering the Mississippi River to run upstream or turning the eagle atop the Capitol to face north," he said.

Gov. Coleman pointed out that Alabama and Georgia have adopted resolutions declaring the decisions "null and void," yet "look at what has happened in those states."

"The golf courses of Atlanta have been opened to Negroes, as has the University of Alabama," he said. "Declaring null and

MISSISSIPPI

void doesn't change a thing—the federal courts are still sitting in those states."

Gov. Coleman believes that Mississippi has numerous legal ways in which to interpose itself between the desegregation mandates. Fact is, he said a 1954 law for assignment of pupils on the basis of health, welfare, morals and community welfare is one avenue of interposition.

Strategy Meeting

The governor was one of the four chief executives who met recently at Richmond, Va., to adopt a segregation-strategy course. He said they agreed on the overall approach, but that some of the states planned more drastic actions than others—all with the same objective to preserve the Southern way of life.

It was on Gov. Coleman's return from the Virginia meeting that the current biennial session of the Legislature authorized appointment of a joint House and Senate committee to draft the interposition course.

That group met this week for organizational purposes and named Sen. Earl Evans Jr., of Canton, the president pro tem of the Senate, chairman, and Rep. George Payne Cossar of Tallahatchie County, vice chairman.

A subcommittee was delegated to draft the resolution of interposition. On it are Lieut. Gov. Carroll Gartin of Laurel, House Speaker Walter Sillers of Bolivar County, Sen. Hayden Campbell of Jackson and Rep. Thompson McClellan of Clay County.

Speaker Sillers said since Gov. Coleman "is the leader of our efforts to preserve segregation, we plan to confer with him."

"We just want to see if he is going along with us, or we're going along with him, which of course we will," he said.

In view of the governor's position on "nullification," Speaker Sillers explained that Mississippi will propose an "interposition resolution."

After the wording has been formulated and the whole committee agrees on the draft, Gov. Coleman is to go before the Legislature and speak for its adoption.

Legal Bypasses

Meanwhile, added legal bypasses to the integration decisions of the Supreme Court have been authorized by the Legislature. A series of bills designed to strengthen Mississippi's hold on segregation have been passed, almost unanimously.

Gov. Coleman looks on the bills, some of which he proposed, as interposition steps. At least, they are designed to present legal obstacles, which it may take years to clear, to any integration movements.

The bills were passed despite absence of any movement in Mississippi looking to integration in the public schools, senior colleges or public parks. Some of their opponents felt that the whites were "agitating" the situation, rather than the Negroes.

Some of the new bills presenting legal delays approved at the current legislative session are:

Prohibit out-of-state lawyers from "fomenting or agitating" lawsuits, and make it unlawful for anyone to solicit funds or donate money for the filing or prosecution of lawsuits.

Permit any public business, profession or trade to select its clientele and those it will serve, and subjecting those refusing to vacate such a place when asked to do so to prosecution as a trespasser.

Making it unlawful to create a disturbance or breach of the peace in any public place or business.

Safeguards the rights of Mississippians from interference by federal agents when they are acting in conformity with state laws or the state constitution.

One senator complained that the FBI had been in his Bolivar County at least four times investigating charges he said were filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

SENATOR LEVELS BOYCOTT BLAST

New Orleans La.

Move in Miss. Is 'Unwise,' Says Alexander

Wed. 3-21-56

(The Times-Picayune Capital Bureau)

JACKSON, Miss., March 20—Boycotts of certain products in Mississippi growing out of the segregation issue were condemned Tuesday by a state senator as "manifestly unwise" and a threat to industrialization of the state.

P. 4

Sen. W. B. Alexander, Boyle, said on the Senate floor that some Mississippians have "lifted the banners of bitterness and prejudice above our feeling of common sense" against companies which he said have long been friendly to the South.

In recent months boycotts of varying degree have been reportedly directed at Falstaff beer, Phillip Morris cigarettes, the Ford Motor Company and several other products in Mississippi.

Literature Is Cited

All the reported reprisals have been traceable to literature distributed in Mississippi which charged that the companies gave financial support to organizations which actively opposed racial segregation.

Alexander charged that the literature was being "pushed and pedalled by an admitted ex-Communist from St. Louis."

Copies of a publication—called the White Sentinel, which is published in St. Louis, carrying articles involving the companies on the segregation issue have been widely distributed in the state.

Without mentioning Ford by name, Alexander said that the company has been "the victim of an attempted boycott, because a foundation bearing its name . . . made a contribution to the NAACP."

The senator said that the motor company "has no more control over the foundation than I have." He added that the company has plants throughout the South which employ Southern labor, which it "could be tempted to remove . . . if this is the reception they are to receive."

Alexander, referring to Philip Morris cigarettes, said that "we owe an apology to the company, whose facilities are solely and entirely in the South . . . and which buys all of its products in the South."

(Falstaff several months ago issued a public letter charging that it had not contributed as a company to buy a membership in the NAACP as alleged in the "White Sentinel.")

Mississippi, he said, could stand to lose more than the rest of the nation in attempting economic reprisals against national companies.

"We cannot afford boycotts," he declared, "we have the problem with us of sustaining and augmenting the tremendous advances we have achieved in the postwar period."

Thousands Spent

Boycotts, Alexander added, "have been historically a prime weapon of the Communist party and are un-American in nature, in that they deny and are contrary to the first principles for which we have been fighting."

He said that on one hand Mississippi has spent thousands of dollars "to solicit industry to relocate in Mississippi or start new factories here," while at the same time "a small group are being duped into calling boycotts against large corporations."

Alexander intimated that he did not consider the White Citizens' Councils responsible for the boycotts. He said he is a legal advisor to the Citizens' Council group in Bolivar county.

"We shall win this fight if we adopt the principles of moderation," he asserted.

BOYCOTT WARNINGS SOUNDED IN SENATE

Commercial Appeal

Delta Member Urges Use Of Reason

Wed. 3-21-56

LAWFUL FIGHT SOUGHT

P. 21 Memphis

By The Associated Press

JACKSON, Miss., March 20.—A Mississippi Delta senator urged his colleagues Tuesday to fight segregation "not on a racial basis but upon a basis of common sense and reason."

Senator W. B. Alexander of Cleveland counseled his fellow senators: "Let us follow the example of our Citizens Council in staying strictly within the law in the fight which lies ahead."

Warms Of Boycotts

Senator Alexander warned against economic boycotts against corporations and companies in other sections of the nation saying, "A motor company has been the victim of an attempted boycott, because a foundation bearing its name — which was established decades ago by the founder of the motor company — made a contribution to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"I am advised that this motor company has no more control over the foundation than I have. This motor company has plants throughout the South employing Southern labor, particularly in Dallas and Memphis making automobiles for Southern people and could well be tempted to remove its plants, if this is the reception they receive."

Senator Alexander said such a boycott is unfair to the dealers for this company scattered all over the South.

Cites Other Incident

He said a cigaret company also has been subjected to an economic boycott on what he called the erroneous belief that it contributed to the NAACP.

Senator Alexander said, "We shall never permit the amalgamation of the races and the destruction of the virtues of both races at the behest of a power-mad minority in this country . . . We shall grit our teeth and keep our temper. We shall make no intemperate public utterance. We shall introduce no foolish and unwise legislation. We shall fight this fight on a constitutional basis."

The senator made the speech on the floor in advocating a temperate and nonracial approach to what he called Federal encroachment.

This way, he said, "We shall thus enlist the help of the states of the North because the preservation of the Constitution is just as much to their interest as it is ours."

3 MORE CLERGYMEN CANCEL AT OLE MISS

Commercial Appeal

Invited Speakers Refuse To Talk As A Protest

P. 1

Sat. 2-11-56

Special to The Commercial Appeal

UNIVERSITY, Miss., Feb. 10.—Three more ministers scheduled to appear on the Religious Emphasis Week program at the University of Mississippi Feb. 20-22 have decided not to participate after the cancellation of the Rev. Alvin Kershaw's invitation.

Letters and wires of cancellation have been received from the Rev. George Chauncy, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Monticello, Ark.; the Rev. Joe Earl Elmore of New York, former director of Methodist student work at Ole Miss, and Rabbi Milton Grafman of Temple Emanuel at Birmingham.

Announced earlier this week was the withdrawal of the Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, professor of sociology at Loyola University, New Orleans.

The Committee of 100, student-faculty group in charge of the program, is scheduled to decide at its meeting Monday night whether to cancel the week's activities.

The Rev. Mr. Chauncy in a letter to the Committee of 100 said he was withdrawing on the ground "the revocation of Mr. Kershaw's invitation appears unjust because it implies that his stand against racial segregation disqualifies him as a suitable religious leader."

Anti-Segregation Lawyer Planned

Post-Herald Birm. 5-3-56

JACKSON, Miss., May 2 (U.P.)—Mississippi may hire a full-time attorney to plot state strategy in maintaining racial segregation if the plan meets with final approval May 15.

Birm. Ala.

The State Sovereignty Commission voted in an organizational meeting today to hear recommendations on the proposal at its next session two weeks away.

P. 15

Under the plan the appointed attorney would work closely with the attorney general and would be prepared to take "full responsibility" for defending segregation in the courts.

The action followed an announcement by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that suit for integration of the races in public schools would be filed soon in Mississippi.

'EYES AND EARS'

Mississippi Group To Hire Secret Agents In Race Row

Hattiesburg American

Montgomery Ala.

Wed. 5-16-56

JACKSON, Miss., May 15 (AP)—Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission, watchdog of states' rights, today voted to hire secret agents to serve as "eyes and ears" in the fight to keep segregation.

P. 11

Along the same lines, the 12-member commission voted to spend state money to "buy information" about activities in the integration camp.

In another move, the commission hired a full-time publicity director to explain to integrationists Mississippi's position concerning segregation.

The action was part of what Gov. J. P. Coleman, commission chairman, labeled an attempt "to bring this commission into its full effect and fruition."

The commission was set up by the 1956 Legislature to prevent federal "encroachment" upon states' rights with the segregation question as the main objective.

In debating the issue of hiring undercover agents, the commission agreed upon secrecy because, among other reasons "it's possible we may want to hire a Negro" to spy upon Negro activities within Mississippi.

Coleman called attention to the FBI's use of informants and said the SSC would operate in the same manner. He called the investigators and informants, known but to the commission, "an official arm of state government."

The governor cautioned the commission not to panic. "I see no reason for alarm, frustration or futility," he said. "We have the ball and it's up to the opposition to take the initiative."

"After all, integration came about because the people gave up. We will not give up."

The Governor cautioned the commission against panic.

"I see no reason for alarm, frustration or futility," he said. "We have the ball and it's up to the opposition to take the initiative."

"After all, integration came about because the people gave up. We will not give up."

SEGREGATION UNIT VOTES SPY SET-UP

Times Picayune

Mississippi Will Hire Secret Agents to Report Moves in Integration Camp

New Orleans

Wed. 5-16-56

JACKSON, Miss., May 15 (AP)—Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission, "watchdog" of states' rights, voted today to hire secret agents to serve as "eyes and ears" in the fight to keep segregation.

The twelve-member commission voted also to spend state money to "buy information" about activities in the integration camp.

In another move, the commission hired a full-time publicity director to explain to integrationists Mississippi's position concerning segregation.

The action was part of what Gov. J. P. Coleman, commission chairman, called an attempt "to bring this commission into its full effect and fruition."

The commission was set up by the 1956 Legislature to prevent Federal "encroachment" upon states' rights, with the segregation question as the main objective.

In debating the issue of hiring undercover agents, the Sovereignty Commission agreed upon secrecy because, among other reasons, "it's possible we may want to hire a Negro" to spy upon Negro activities within Mississippi.

Mr. Coleman called attention to the use of informants by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and said the commission would operate in the same manner. He called the investigators and informants, known but to the commission, "an official arm of state government."

Mississippi Still Poorest State

Herald 5-18

By NIXON SMILEY

Herald Staff Writer

JACKSON, Miss. — Despite her comeback from the depths of poverty and despair, Mississippi is still the poorest state in the union when measured by statistics.

SMILEY

The average per capita income for 1954, the last figures available, was $873, compared with the national average of $1,770. Georgia's average per capita income of $1,237 in 1954 was a third again as great as that of Mississippi, and Georgia long has been a yardstick for measuring poorness.

But back in the depths of despair and depression, Mississippi's income dropped to $131 a year per person. That represented earnings of about 35 cents a day per person.

Miami Fla.

Mississippians had enough to eat to keep them alive, but not enough to hold their heads very high.

Tues. 5-15-56

It was in the midst of depression, however, that Mississippi began building a foundation for a comeback. For it was in the 1930's that Mississippi farmers first learned about the science of farming, of such things as soil conservation, livestock improvement, hybrid corn and the like.

And it was in the 1930's that Mississippi's leaders — a few of them — began to realize that agriculture wasn't enough to keep Mississippi going; that she needed industry, too.

It was in those days that the ground was prepared for the South's retreat from romanticism and the philosophy of agrarianism — the idea that agriculture should be the basis of Southern life and that industry was a mean pursuit not worthy of a gentleman.

In the 1930's close to 40 per cent of Mississippi's population of 2,000,000 were Negroes. Many of them could neither read nor write. Mississippi had the highest illiteracy rate in the United States.

It began to dawn on a few people that if the state was to progress her Negroes also must progress. Some attempt was made to improve Negro schools. But in those days Mississippi could do very little for white students, and the whites came first.

Even as recent as 1950 there were 9,500 white teachers for 267,000 white students, compared with 6,500 Negro teachers for 268,000 Negro students. And the white teacher received twice the pay of the Negro teacher.

Since then Mississippi has set up an educational plan with an aim to equalize the opportunities of white and Negro students. Salaries are now the same for teachers of like rating in both races.

The state is in the midst of a school building program that is expected to cost 110 million dollars.

"The Negroes soon will have much better school facilities in Mississippi than the whites," said an official in Jackson. "It can't be helped. We're building more new Negro schools than new white schools.

"We're getting some criticism, too, from white people who have to send their children to schools built several years ago, while the Negro students go to modern, new schools. As the school program progresses it's going to take some effort to convince a lot of white people that the Negro isn't getting preferred treatment in Mississippi."

Are the Negroes taking advantage of their new opportunities?

"Yes," said a strong pro-segregationist. "I'll have to admit that the Negro has made tremendous progress, although I still doubt that the average Negro has much capacity for education.

"You just can't tell, though. We used to say the same thing about the poor whites. We thought that they were genetically inferior, or something. But we've found out that the poor whites can learn as well as the rich whites. There's a whole lot we don't know about people."

My informant added that he thought mechanized farming had done more for the Negro in the South than anything else.

"It has forced him off the land as a tenant and field hand," he said. "Farmers don't need a lot of Negroes around any more. They can do the work with machinery that it would take a dozen Negroes to do.

"The Negroes, and the poor whites, too, have been forced to leave the farm in large numbers. And where they do stay on the farm — for large farms do require extra help — they are treated much better than they used to be.

"Maybe those that go to the cities do live in slums. So what? The city slums are an improvement over the shanty slums of the country. But every Southern city is conscious of its slums. We'll tear them down and replace them with apartment houses one of these days."

Mississippi Would Hire Negro "Informer"

Herald 5-16 Miami Fla.

JACKSON, Miss. - (ANP) - The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission has announced plans to hire secret agents--including a Negro--to check on activities of anti-segregationists within the state.

Tues. 5-22-56

The 12 member commission, set up by the 1956 Legislature as a watchdog of states rights, announced also that it will spend state money to "buy information" about activities in the integration camp.

In debating the issue of hiring undercover agents, the commission agreed upon secrecy because, among other things, "it's possible we may want to hire a Negro" to spy upon Negro activities in Miss

'Cloak and Dagger' Tactics

Mississippi May Hire Negro Spies!

Courier P. 3 Sat. 5-26-56

Pittsburgh, Pa

JACKSON, Miss.—A genuine and official threat to use "cloak and dagger" tactics against integrationist forces in Mississippi has been hurled by the State Sovereignty Commission, and it's no "dark secret" that the hiring of a "Negro spy" is a strong possibility.

The Commission's Chairman, Governor J. P. Coleman, revealed that the pro-segregationists have made a careful study of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's use of "informants" and announced that the state of Mississippi is planning to operate in an identical fashion.

A mantle of secrecy was draped over the Commission meeting on the subject because, as one spokesman revealed, "it's possible we may want to hire a Negro" to spy upon the activities of Mississippi's Negro population.

The Commission did not make it clear how the "Negro spy" would go about his job of keeping an eye on the state's one million, or more, Negroes. However, Governor Coleman did say that the "secret agent" would be considered "an official arm of state government."

Also, Mississippi officials indicated that they are willing to pay state money to buy information on Negro activities.

■

WHETHER the "spy" will be a "black Mata Hari" or a "tan X-9" is not known because Coleman and his boys aren't talking.

However, the "spy" proposition must have bolstered the segregationist's confidence because after the session, Coleman announced, "I see no reason for alarm, frustration or futility. We have the ball and it's up to the opposition to take the initiative. After all integration came up because the people gave up. We will not give up."

Mass. House asks Miss. investigation

Afro-American P. 3 Sat. 5-19-56

BOSTON — The Massachusetts House of Representatives last week passed joint resolutions calling upon Attorney General Herbert Brownell to conduct investigations in Mississippi.

Resolutions adopted asked that Brownell order the Justice Department to probe civil rights violations and breakdown of law enforcement in that state.

Rep. Leo Santag, Roxbury Democrat and sponsor of House Bill 257, led the successful bid to get the resolutions passed after they had been defeated previously by a 65-27 standing vote.

* * *

LEADING THE opposition was Rep. Gardner E. Campbell of Wakefield. The Republican declared:

"Every state in the Union has the right to home rule. It is time we started attending to our own business and stopped butting into other people's affairs."

The Roxbury representative countered:

"What happens in Mississippi is the business of every right thinking American" as he cited excerpts from the Till murder trial and events leading to the slaying adding:

"My resolutions express the shock and horror and moral indignation of the cities of the Commonwealth. What has happed in Mississippi reflects on each one of us in the United States."

REP. EARLE S. TYLER of Watertown, Republican floor leader, led the opposition in defeating the resolution on the first day.

Some 108 Democrats and 24 Republicans voted in favor of the resolutions while 76 Republicans and 10 Democrats voted against it.

Among those voting in opposition were Rep. Irene K. Thresher of Newton, vice chairman of the Republican State Committee.

* * *

REP. CHARLES GIBONS of Stoneham, Republican floor leader and candidate for Leiutenant Governor, voting in opposition on the standing vote, but left the chamber during the roll call.

The joint resolution will now go before the senate for concurrence of adoption.

There'll be no color line on telephone party line in Miss.

Atlanta Journal Sat. 1-28-56

JACKSON, Miss. — "It's news to me. No complaints have come to my attention about party telephone lines being integrated," the Southern Bell manager said. "We've got no way of knowing what a customer's race is. A customer to us is just a customer, colored or white. We are a public utility."

This was the way E. K. Lumpkin, of the Bell Telephone Company's 12-county Central Mississippi District, shrugged off the request of Mississippi Public Service Commissioner Norman A. Johnson that the company segregate party telephone lines.

Johnson had announced that he would ask that colored and white telephone users be put on different telephone lines to "avoid a big confusion." He said he had received complaints from white subscribers.

Mississippi Has Some Moderates, Too

Post & Times Herald P.3

By Richard L. Coe

Staff Reporter

Recently a guest lecturer at the University of Mississippi, drama editor Coe gleaned incidental intelligence about the state in a week of talk and travel.

Sun. 5-6-56

THERE'S A MIDDLE ground of moderates in Mississippi which is not making the headlines.

Washington D.C.

As weary of reporters asking them pros and cons of integration as they are of the Grace Kelly wedding, middle-of-the-road Mississippians regret the extremes of opinion being reported from their state.

This group feels it is not represented by the extremes staked out by either Sen. Eastland or the NAACP. From the liberal minded Delta Democrat-Times of Greenville to the conservative bank president of booming Natchez, the visitor can find many who think that integration is inevitable, that the wisest procedure is to admit it quietly. They regret the rantings of Northern liberals or their own Citizens' Councils alike.

Mississippians would rather talk of the vast gains in the past 20 years around the state, believe this has been totally ignored by out-of-state reporters.

DIRT ROADS were everywhere in the '30s. Now there's a complete network of hard-topped highways between the smallest towns. They're proud of the big fertilizing plant built by Mississippi capital, plan a second. New schools and hospitals are everywhere evident to the most casual traveler. "We still may be near the bottom of the 48 states," says a longtime resident, 'but you should have seen us 20 years ago."

Biggest advance of all is electricity. Electric wires lead to the meanest plantation cabins, over which towers many a TV antenna, before which is parked many a two-toned car.

As everywhere, there are cockeyed contradictions. Officially, it's a dry state, but one merry Daughter of the Confederacy admits that "we're really wringing wet." To catch the wets, there's a 10 per cent tax on the black market, which mainly means liquor. This isn't collected directly by the state. Instead, it employs a private collection firm, to which it agrees to give 10 per cent of its 10 per cent.

Fortyish Lawrence Adams has been in the State Senate 15 years with the sole aim of changing the liquor laws. This spring, for the first time, dry forces conceded that prohibition's a bust, came out for local option, to be voted on in a few months.

Another cozy example of legal loopholes is the parking meters around Oxford's courthouse square. These call for a penny an hour but, if paid within 24 hours, the fine for a parking ticket is only 10 cents. So, it's cheaper to deposit nothing, pay the fine whenever you're caught.

OXFORD'S most famous citizen is Novelist-Nobel Prize Winner William Faulkner, who added that "u" to the family name. He's been visiting his daughter in Charlottesville, Va., awaiting the birth of her first child. Oxonians view him as either a great man or an eccentric, but they're proud that the postcard view of his house is a best-seller.

Faulkner's mother, Maud Falkner—without his "u"—is the Grandma Moses of the South. In her eighties and recovering from a near-fatal illness, she's a painter whose subjects range from flowers to the faces and cabins of the Negoes. Her style's not so primitive as the North's Grandma Moses' and she's proud to have buyers, sets her prices according to the size of the painting, the larger the higher.

There's an interesting experiment going on in Greenville, where the Hodding Carters' Delta Democrat-Times has just opened a radio station dedicated to better-than-country-average music and hourly local news flashes from the adjoining, trim city room. Carter is currently crossing the Atlantic on a 45-foot sailboat with four friends; while he's away, sans radio equipment, wife Betty tops the staff as efficiently as she did during World War II.

Nachez' famed house "Pilgrimage," just over, was its usual big success, the Legislature chipping in $10,000 to put it on TV's Wide, Wide World. So eager were the burghers to appear on TV that the script had to expand its original 65 characters way up into the hundreds. The annual "Pilgrimage" nets each of the 30 homes around $2000—for some families the year's major income.

BUT ALONG the Mississippi, trade and industry are booming. Westinghouse has a big new plant, others are building and modern style architecture dots the landscape.

Cattle-raising and timber are passing cotton as the state's top product.

The literary set glows with pleasure that Jackson's Eudora Welty seems to have a Broadway hit with "The Ponder Heart," that young novelist teacher Evans Harrington's "The Prisoners" has had national acclaim and that provocative David Cohn is soon to come out with a new book, dedicated to the University's "Dutch" and Jim Silver.

On the Oxford campus, the spirit of satire rides high with a mimeographed spoof called the Nigble Papers, wittily devoted to the notion that the state, dominantly Scotch-Irish, must do away with such "interlopers." A few Nigble excerpts:

"We of the South know, love and understand our Scotch-Irish nationals. We admire those few of them who have genuinely contributed to our fair land, W. C. Fields, to name one of a few. Yes, we know them, friends. We know and accept that the Scotch-Irish are to a man dirty, ignorant, drunk and musically inclined. We are prepared to handle them as we always have, with love and respect and an ever-present understanding of their own particular problems.

". . . The Scotch-Irish have only been in this country two hundred years. Before that they lived in the Highlands of Scotland totally without washing machines, electric lights, automobiles and all the other basic elements of civilization and dressed only in the rudest sort of kilts . . . Their music, as typified by such dances as the jig or highland fling, is characteristically lewd and shows the primitive rhythms of the Highlands from whence they came.

". . . Do you want your daughter to marry a windbag-playing, Highland-flinging, kilt-wearing creature?"

The student writers got a dressing down for their satire, but to the relief of Mississippi moderates, they weren't expelled.

Mississippi's Stand

Commercial Appeal Thu. 3-2-56

The Mississippi Legislature on Wednesday adopted the policy of interposition in its fight against the integration decisions of the Supreme Court. In neither House nor Senate was a single dissenting voice heard.

The Legislature took its stand on the ground that the Court's rulings against segregation of the races are "unconstitutional, invalid and of no lawful effect within the confines of the state." Further the Legislature declared that it will take "all appropriate measures honorably and constitutionally available to us to void this illegal encroachment upon our rights."

Memphis Tenn.

People in other sections of the country could make no more substantial error than to suppose the Mississippi Legislature meant merely to be obstructive and indulge in a delaying action. On the contrary, it has had resort to a process not without honorable precedent in our history when the people of a state or area were deeply stirred by the belief they were being put upon by unconstitutional and oppressive employment of powers by the central government.

P. 6

The policy of interposition means in effect that the people of a sovereign state feel that they have been subjected to dictatorial and unauthorized action by a branch of the Federal Government. In this case, the Supreme Court is in question, but the principle would be applicable, under adequate provocation, to the legislative or executive arms as well. It amounts to saying that interposition is a proper means of checking undue use of Federal influence on state affairs.

The interposition stand is sound also in that it calls emphatic attention of

sister states to the position and feelings of one that believes it is being unjustly treated. It likewise puts other states on notice that they may also become subject to acts of the Federal Government to which they would strenuously object, and it indicates what the results would be. Finally, it invites other states to decide after becoming fully appraised of a situation whether the Constitution shall be amended.

What the Mississippi Legislature has done is to make every effort to see that all the people of the nation know the score, which amounts to a conviction that integration would damage its educational system, meantime disrupting the social order most gravely. Its act is calculated to bring into the light the real meaning of the opposition to integration and to show how seriously the South regards it.

Another fundamental matter involved is the request that Congress submit the question of state sovereignty in a proposal for an amendment to the Constitution that would spell out the school issue. An amendment saying the Supreme Court had the right to take the action it did would be the fair, orderly and acceptable way to determine the ultimate decision.

It is assumable, we believe, that an amendment of the sort mentioned would be defeated without difficulty, which is the more reason for making the Supreme Court rulings subject to test through legal, constitutional processes.

Mississippi feels the Court has encroached on the powers reserved to the several states and has, in effect, abrogated to itself the functions properly exercised only by state legislative bodies. Fairness demands proof of how widely that feeling prevails in the nation.

When this Republic was being organized, the founders, with great wisdom provided checks and balances including an amending process that requires approval of at least three-fourths of the sovereign states before the Constitution could be changed.

Obviously, the edicts of the Supreme Court could not get a three-fourths vote of sanction in this instance. Its actions, then, lend substance to the argument that it has circumvented the intent of the Founding Fathers that no state or group of states should be subjected to what they regarded as intolerable conditions unless it were found by the three-fourths rule that the imposition was held to be necessary in the interest of the welfare of the Republic.

It is not nullification or secession Mississippi has in mind, but a testing through legal methods of the definitions of power as between the sovereign states and the central government. It has thus put all the other states on notice that a question of primary importance to the nation and its form of government requires an answer to which no exception can be taken.

Mississippi Bill Seeks Book Curb

Disgusting

JACKSON, Miss., March 3 (AP) —The dispute over racial segregation has spread to Mississippi libraries.

Approved by the Mississippi House and sent to the Senate is a bill requiring the State Library Commission to buy books emphasizing white supremacy.

One Mississippi legislator, Rep. Walter Phillips, called it "thought control"—a phrase made famous by Japanese police action during the Second World War.

GOVERNOR SILENT

Gov. J. P. Coleman declined comment on the 2-year-old measure.

In South Mississippi, a Jones county grand jury called for Statewide screening of school and library books to cull those critical of the Southern segregated way of life. No action has been taken on the grand jury request.

Unknown to most Mississippians. Rep. Russell Fox included in a $192,000 Library Commission appropriation for 1954-56 a stipulation that $5000 must be spent for "books dealing with the subject of ethnology."

Then, according to commission records, Fox told the purchasing department what type books to buy. All uphold white supremacy.

BILL DENOUNCED

The same bill—with minor changes—came up this week for reenactment in the House. It passed. But debate brought this statement by Phillips from the floor:

"You are legislating though control. The United States fought Hitler during the Second World War because he advocated a master race and required his book 'Mein Kampf' to be in every library and school."

SUIT ATTACKED

A $4,000,000 damage suit filed against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Autherine Lucy and other Negroes in Birminghahm yesterday was branded by the NAACP's attorney today as "either a counter-attack to escape prosecution . . . or two-bit publicity."

Thurgood Marshall, who led the NAACP's successful fight for the U. S. Supreme Court desegregation ruling, said he was convinced there were "good legal grounds" for a successful court fight against the University of Alabama's expulsion of Miss Lucy.

The University of Alabama, despite its expulsion of Miss Lucy, stands ready to admit bona fide Negro students if ordered by the courts. its officials said meanwhile

SPIES WILL AID FIGHT AGAINST INTEGRATION

Commercial Appeal

Mississippi Patrol Chief To Head Secret Agents

Wed. 5-16-36

SOME MAY BE NEGROES

Memphis, Tenn.

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss. Bureau

JACKSON, (Miss.), May 15. — Secret investigators and informants will be hired by the State Sovereignty Commission as Mississippi's "eyes and ears" in its fight against integration.

Employment of the agents was authorized by the commission meeting Tuesday with Gov. J. P. Coleman, chairman of the 12-member legislative created segregation "watchdog" group. They will check on maneuvers of those seeking to force integration in Mississippi.

Hicks To Head Agents

The investigators will work under Leonard C. Hicks, chief of the State Highway Patrol and former sheriff of Sharkey County, who was hired by the commission to have charge of that program. Mr. Hicks will leave the highway patrol if he accepts the assignment.

Governor Coleman recommended Mr. Hicks "because I feel he can get in and get the kind of information we want to be ready for all counter-attacks."

"When Thurgood Marshall (chief counsel of tre National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) says a suit is to be filed in Mississiippi, I want to find out what there is to it." Governor Coleman said. "They will be able to check on those signing the integration petitions ad other clanadersine actions of those opposed to segregation."

Sillers Asks Secrecy

It was Speaker Walter Sillers of the House of Representatives who suggested that names of the investigators be kept secret.

In support of the secrecy proposal, Hugh N. Clayton of New Aalbayn said, "We might have to use some Negro investigators."

Ney Gore, attorney of Marks and Quitman County legislator, was employed as a full-time executive director of the commission at $7,200 a year. Mr. Gore will have offices in the State Capitol, with a staff.

Governor Coleman recommended the employment of Hal Decell, editor of the Deer Creek Pilot at Rolling Fork, as director of a large scale information program designed to get Mississippi's position to states outside the South. He would be paid $6,500 a year for the full-time assignment, which would necessitate the leasing of his newspaper.

Speaker Sillers questioned whether Mr. Decell "is in full sympathy with us."

Can Manage DeCell

Explaining that Mr. Decell was his publicity manager in last summer's gubernatorial campaign, Governor Coleman said "I have no doubt about it, anyway I can manage him."

"I will personally vouch for Mr. Decell's loyalty," the Governor added.

Senator Earl Evans Jr. of Canton, said "This is a big job and we will need experts to help map our program and it is imperative that we get a man who will fit into the pattern."

Governor Coleman said the commission is also planning to secure the services of "an outstanding newspaperman" to serve as a consultant on its informational and advertising program.

Secret Agent Use Decided In Mississippi

Post-Herald Wed. 5-16-36 Birmingham, Ala.

JACKSON, May 15 (AP) — Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission, watchdog of states' rights, today voted to hire secret agents to serve as "eyes and ears" in the fight to keep segregation.

Along the same lines, the 12-member commission voted to spend state money to "buy information" about activities in the integration camp.

In another move, the commission hired a full-time publicity director to explain to integrationists Mississippi's position concerning segregation.

The action was part of what Gov. J. P. Coleman, commission chairman, labeled an attempt to bring this commission into its full effect and fruition."

The commission was set up by the 1956 Legislature to prevent federal "encroachment" upon states' rights with the segregation question as the main objective.

In debating the issue of hiring undercover agents, the sovereignty commission agreed upon secrecy because, among other reasons "it's possible we may want to hire a Negro" to spy upon Negro activities within Mississippi.

Coleman called attention to the FBI's use of informants and said the SSC would operate in the same manner.

MAGAZINE BAN URGED AT NATCHEZ SCHOOLS

Commercial Appeal

Life, Time, Look Anti-South Boards Are Told

Wed. 5-16-36

Special to The Commercial Appeal

NATCHEZ, Miss., May 15.—request that Life, Time and Look magazines be banned from the public schools of Natchez and Adams County has been received by the city and County school boards.

Memphis, Tenn.

In letters to both boards, G. L. Tutor, president of the Adams County Citizens Council, urged that consideration be given to the harm such publicatons can cause because of the anti-South articles appearing in them.

Mr. Tutor said the board of directors of the Citizens Council approved the request and added that the council was not trying to pressure or dictate to the local boards.

Anti-South articles in the magazines were described as "perverted and strongly biased."

Bias Stretches To Phone Lines

Herald Tribune Thurs. 4-26-56

JACKSON, Miss., Apr. 25 (AP).—A Public Service Commisioner today planned to ask telephone companies to maintain segregation on party lines.

New York, N.Y.

Commissioner Norman A. Johnson jr said he had received several complaints about "Negroes and whites being on the same party line" and would ask for segregation to "avoid a big commotion."

Coleman Is Inaugurated; Pledges Race Separation

Times-Picayune

Miss. Governor Vows State Will Obey Laws

Wed. 1-18-56

By W. F. MINOR
(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 17 — Strapping James Plemon Coleman Tuesday became Mississippi's 51st governor with the promise that his race-conscious state will be one of "law, not of violence."

P. 7

But the 42-year-old Coleman, who rose to the state's top job from humble farm beginnings, warned that even the power of the federal government could not force racial integration in Mississippi.

From Mississippians he called for calmness against outside threats on the racial question.

"The obvious intention of this propaganda is to frighten us, to throw us into panic, to destroy our judgment and to render us incapable of defending ourselves," Coleman declared.

New Orleans,

'Magic Remedy'

"The sentiment of Mississippi is unanimous—so we have nothing to fear unless it be 'fear itself'," he added.

La.

Mississippi, Coleman emphasized, "will not be found without that resourcefulness necessary to any future remedies which may be required," to keep its public schools segregated.

He said he knew of no "magic remedy" but that there were "multiplied means and methods, all perfectly legal, by which we can and will defeat integration of the races in our state."

Coleman took the oath of office on a specially constructed platform in front of Mississippi's 52-year-old state capitol.

White Present

Standing with him were outgoing Gov. Hugh White, chief justice Harvey McGehee of the state supreme court who administered the oath and former Judge John F. Allen, Kosciusko, under whom Coleman had served as district attorney.

The greater portion of his inaugural address was given over to the segregation question and its ramifications in Mississippi and nationally.

His statement that Mississippi under his direction would rule out violence in its plans for keeping segregation was addressed to the entire nation.

"I want to remind you (the rest of the nation) that for over 90 years the white and Negro people of Mississippi have lived side by side in peace and harmony," he declared.

Innocence Cited

Without directly referring to any of the acts of racial violence which have occurred in Mississippi, Coleman said that the "great overwhelming majority" of white people in the state "are not now guilty and never intend to be guilty of any murder, violence, or any other wrongdoing toward anyone."

Because of the high percentage of Negroes in Mississippi, "this problem is more acute here than in any other state in the Union," he declared.

"It is not something which can be viewed with complacency or ignored," he said, "and if you lived in Mississippi and knew the full situation, you would look upon it as we do."

To the Negroes of Mississippi he declared: "As governor, I shall always give sympathetic consideration to any of your problems which deserve the assistance of the state government.

"If you accept this opportunity, it will mean better days for all of us. If you reject it, the responsibility must be yours."

Warning Given

Coleman warned that "with all due respect to the mighty power of the United States government, it will never be able to force racial integration in Mississippi nor in any other state where the people are unwilling to have it done."

Coleman avoided any direct reference to the question of nullification and interposition action by the state against the US supreme court segregation decision—a legal step which he recently called "legal poppycock."

But obviously with his eye on a probable nullification move in the Legislature, Coleman told legislators he would present a special message on the subject.

"We have plenty of time," he declared. "You will be kept fully informed of all developments, so I respectfully request that all action of this kind be withheld until you shall have heard my special message."

United Front Sought

Whatever action Mississippi will take, he said, will be harmonized with other Southern states in order to present a united front.

Coleman drew the biggest applause from the crowd which watched the ceremony in brisk 40-degree weather when he said that he did not have the "slightest fear" that his successor in office would not find the separation of the races intact in Mississippi.

He emphasized one of his campaign declarations that under his administration the state would have no need to abolish its public schools in order to prevent mixing of the races.

The new chief executive, who built up a record as a major foe of gambling and rackets during the last four years in the attorney general's office, said he would deliver a special message to the Legislature on need for strengthening the law enforcement machinery in the state.

Legislature Commended

Coleman said he interpreted his oath to "faithfully execute" all laws not to mean that "the governor should attempt to take over in matters of purely local concern," but to see to it that "crime and criminals shall not oppress the God-fearing, Christian people of Mississippi."

He commended the Legislature for the speedy passage by both houses of his bill providing for the recall of local officers who fail to do their duties.

The recall measure had been his top legislative proposal for giving Mississippi better law enforcement.

In his 40-minute address, Coleman laid down the legislative framework within which he plans his administration to operate.

Proposals Listed

Categoricially, his proposals ran like this: Executive clemency — with background as a judge and prosecuting attorney, he said, "it will only be in the rarest cases that executive clemency will be extended."

He stressed the need for legislation however, creating a system of adult probation for criminal first offenders.

Regulation of public utilities—as a key part of his campaign promises he stressed need for "effective" state regulation of electric power companies, natural gas companies and telephone companies. Pointed out that Mississippi is only state not regulating electric and gas companies. Need, he said, is for a "regulatory body so well staffed and so well-trained that the rates, when fixed, will stand the test of reasonableness in the courts."

Agriculture and Industry

Agriculture and industry — he called for a six-point legislative program including:

1. Creation of special legislative committees to deal with economic welfare of state.

2. Divide present agricultural board, the other an industrial commission.

3. Provide sufficient funds for two boards to employ "best experts available," even if not Mississippians.

4. Both boards launch all-out drive to improve agriculture and bring industry to state.

5. Show business and industry Mississippi is a "safe place" to locate.

6. Strengthen education to make people more capable in all fields economic employment.

Foundation Endorsed

Education — endorsed the minimum foundation program for equalizing educational opportunities between races, enacted in 1953-55, and pledged "full resources" of administration for school program. Colleges and junior colleges.

Insurance — recommended legislation to raise minimum requirements for capital and surplus to organize new insurance companies in Mississippi, and warned people against buying insurance from "fly-by-night" companies which operate through the mail from other states.

Municipal aid—urged a "permanent program of financial aid" to municipalities, and called on legislature to give problem "full sympathetic attention."

Absentee Vote Law

Absent voter law—called on legislature to repeal widely abused absentee voting except for members of armed forces and employes of common carriers on scheduled runs.

Without discussion, Coleman also advocated:

Repeal of the "black market" liquor tax, putting homestead exemption in the constitution, old age welfare "to fullest extent of our financial ability."

Economy in government, promotion of rural electrification, fair legislation for labor and management, and a constitutional 30-day limit on special sessions of the Legislature.

Jackson, Miss., Sets Fines For Violations of Segregation Laws

Call Chr. 1-27-56 P. 13

Kansas City, Mo.

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) — The Jackson City council, backing up its police department's vow to keep railroad and bus stations segregated, has passed an ordinance setting fines for anyone violating segregation laws.

Two weeks ago, Jackson police put up new segregation signs after Illinois Central Railroad and Trailway bus workers took theirs down on an order from the Interstate Commerce Commission against segregation of passengers traveling between states.

The council's action set fines of $25 to $100 or a 30-day jail sentence, or both, for violating segregation laws.

Eastland Urges South to Battle For Segregation

Star P. A-2

Sat. 2-4-56

Washington

By The Associated Press

Senator Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, has called on the South to offer "stern resistance" in its fight to maintain racial segregation.

D. C.

"There is no other alternative," he declared in a speech last night at Charlotte, N. C. He looked to the doctrine of interposition as the South's chief weapon.

Senator Eastland's plea was directed mainly to the South as he challenged the anti-segregation decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

He spoke to 400 members of the Mecklenburg County branch of the Patriots of North Carolina, a pro-segregation group. He pointed to interposition as the "legal and constitutional doctrine" for the fight against the racial rulings of the high court.

Future at Issue, He Says

"There is at stake the preservation of the American system of Government with its dual powers, which provide for individual liberty and freedom," Senator Eastland said. "There is further at stake the racial integrity, the culture, the creative genius and the advanced civilization of the white race."

Then he added: "The entire future of this country is at issue."

He called for a regional commission and the use of public funds in waging the South's battle.

"There is only one course open to us and that is stern resistance," he said. "There is no other alternative. We must fight them with every legal weapon at every step of the way."

Senator Eastland said that organizations supporting the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its war on segregation "run from the blood red of the Communist Party to the almost equally red of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A."

Co-operative Organization

The National Council of Churches of Christ is a co-operative organization constituted by 30 of the major Protestant and orthodox communions of the United States.

It includes Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal and other denominations and embraces 144,000 local parishes and more than 35 million church members.

Among the groups Senator Eastland blasted as allies of the NAACP were the Carnegie Foundation, the Southern Regional Council, the Marshall Field Foundation, the Rosewald Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Dorothy and Louis Rosenteil Foundation.

Most of these groups had no comment, but Maxwell Hahn, executive vice president of the Field Foundation, said in New York that the foundation "believes that segregation based on race, color, creed or national origin is un-American" and that the foundation "will continue to make grants which uphold the Constitution of the United States."

VISIT DENIED KERSHAW BECAUSE OF LETTER

Ohioan Wrote He Would Talk Integration At Ole Miss

Commercial Appeal Feb. 2-4-56

UNIVERSITY, Miss., Feb. 3.—(AP)—An Ohio minister changed his mind about not discussing his anti-segregation views during a proposed address at the University of Mississippi and the school revoked his invitation.

Chancellor J. D. Williams said he notified the Rev. Alvin Kershaw of Oxford Thursday that it would be "unwise" for him to address students during Religious Emphasis Week beginning Feb. 12.

The Rev. Mr. Kershaw's name spread throughout the nation last summer when he won $32,000 on a television quiz program for his knowledge of jazz music.

Mr. Williams said he withdrew the invitation after the Rev. Mr. Kershew wrote the university he was "an active member" of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and would discuss his views on segregation if the question arose during his scheduled address.

He had been invited to speak on "religion and drama."

The Rev. Mr. Kershaw's letter deplored what he called "the distressing climate (of Mississippi that) has smothered the freedom necessary to all democratic thought; the freedom and candor, trust . . . and respect for the integrity of the individual to think responsibly his own thoughts . . . to ponder together issues such as this which have powerful impact upon our national and individual destiny."

After he won the money on "The $64,000 Question," the Rev. Mr. Kershaw announced plans to donate part to the NAACP and its desegregation fund. Representative Jim Morrow of Rankin County, Miss., called for public rebuke of the minister and revocation of the invitation.

The college board interviewed the Rev. Mr. Kershaw last month by telephone and reported he "gave assurance in no uncertain terms that he would not discuss integration" at the university.

The college board suggested the invitation stand because to revoke it "would be the kind of propaganda the NAACP would want." But the final decision remained with Chancellor Williams.

In his letter, the Rev. Mr. Kershaw said he had been misquoted about his plans for donating his winnings "but not about my convictions and attitudes."

He said he has "for years been an active member of the NAACP which I respect as an organization entirely loyal to the democratic traditions of the United States."

Mississippi Talk Canceled

Memphis Press-Scimitar Feb. 3

UNIVERSITY, Miss., Feb. 3 (AP)—An Ohio minister changed his mind about not discussing his anti-segregation views during a proposed address at the University of Mississippi. The school revoked his invitation.

Chancellor J. D. Williams said he notified the Rev. Alvin Kershaw of Oxford yesterday that it would be "unwise" for him to address students during religious emphasis week beginning Feb. 12. Mr. Williams said he had withdrawn the invitation after Mr. Kershaw had written the university that he was "an active member" of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and that he would discuss his views on segregation if the question arose.

EASTLAND THINKS 'LEFT' RULES U. S.

Puts Blame for Segregation Ban on 'Brainwashing' of Supreme Court

New York Times Jan. 30-56

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—Senator James O. Eastland said today that he believed "left-wing pressure groups are in control of the Government of the United States."

The Mississippi Democrat, who is chairman of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, attributed the Supreme Court decision banning racial segregation to "left-wing brainwashing" of members of the court.

Senator Eastland said the South would oppose the court's decision "by constitutional, by honorable and by strictly legal means." He said the South "of course" would not oppose the decision by force.

The senator maintained that he was "upholding and defending and protecting the Constitution of the United States" in his opposition to the court ruling. He said the Constitution was "for us" in the fight against desegregation.

"There is no discrimination in the South," he said. "There are social questions that we think we know more about that others do who don't have those social questions.

"Segregation is in the best interest of both races. Both races develop their own culture, and develop better, when they are separated."

The Senator appeared on the National Broadcasting Company's television program, "Meet the Press."

Decision Called 'Invasion'

He said that "most of the progress the Negro race has made has been under a segregated system."

The court's decision, he added, was "a clear invasion of the Constitution that would destroy the states."

The Senator said that Mississippi Negroes had equality of economic opportunity and education. As for voting, he said that "any man who meets the qualifications can vote."

Senator Eastland refused to speculate on whom he might vote for in the face for President. He said he did not know Gov. Frank J. Lausche of Ohio, mentioned by some Southerners as a good candidate for the Democratic nomination.

"I don't have a segregation candidate and I don't have an integration candidate," he contended.

Kershaw Is Told Ole Miss Visit Is 'Unwise' Now

Commercial Appeal Memphis Feb. 2-56

Special to The Commercial Appeal.

UNIVERSITY, Miss., Feb. 2.—Chancellor J. D. Williams Thursday advised the Rev. Alvin Kershaw his scheduled visit to the University of Mississippi campus "would be unwise."

Chancellor Williams' action came after the Ohio Episcopal minister revealed he was a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Memp. 2-3-56

Revealed In Letter

The Rev. Mr. Kershaw told of his NAACP affiliation in a letter to the editor of the Mississippian, student newspaper, a United Press report from Oxford, Ohio, said Thursday. The Mississippian refused to release the letter Thursday.

Chancellor Williams wired the minister he thought it "would be unwise for you to appear" on a student Religious Emphasis Week program Feb. 19-23. He said his action resulted from letters the minister wrote him and the student newspaper.

The Rev. Mr. Kershaw, won $32,000 on a television program as a jazz expert and pledged part of his winnings to the NAACP's campaign to wipe out racial segregation.

Believed Settled

The controversy was believed settled Jan. 19 when the state College Board reported a check into the Rev. Mr. Kershaw's background made charges that he was an integrationist appear "vague and apparently unfounded."

Chancellor Williams said a letter he received from the minister "reveals information not given to the Board of Trustees that became the basis for the statement of the board."

"Your statement to the press and your letter to me will provoke additional controversy inconsistent with the purpose of the invitation for you to come," Chancellor Williams said.

Cleric-jazz expert to speak in Miss.

Afro-American Feb. 4-56 Baltimore, Md.

UNIVERSITY, Miss. (ANP)—The Rev. Alvin Kershaw will be part of the University of Mississippi's Religious Emphasis Week despite attempts by segregationists to brand him an "NAACP lover."

Chancellor J. D. Williams of the university said the Oxford, Ohio minister who won $32,000 on the $64,000 Question CBS-TV Show would address students Feb. 12-14 on religion and drama.

Memp. 2-4-56

Several Mississippi state legislators had asked Chancellor Williams and the university's board of regents to cancel the Rev. Mr. Kershaw's invitation because he announced plans to donate a part of his winnings to the NAACP.

* * *

LAST WEEK, the board reported an investigation into Rev. Mr. Kershaw's background revealed nothing detrimental to the Southern way of life, and gave Chancellor Williams the authority on whether or not to revoke the minister's invitation.

The board added, however, it felt "a withdrawal of invitation would be just what the NAACP would covet most and would be used as propaganda against our state."

Chancellor Williams apparently agreed with the regents. He told newsmen:

"I just let the invitation stand."

State Rep. James Morrow of Rankin County, a leader of the group which opposed Rev. Kershaw, had earlier called for public rebuke of the minister for his stand "against our way of life."

He said he learned later, however, that Rev. Kershaw "was tricked" by leading questions into making the statement. Morrow apologized to the minister.

apparently be part of the University of Mississippi's Religious Emphasis Week, despite attempts to brand him an anti-segregationist.

Chancellor J. D. Williams of Ole Miss said here the Oxford, Ohio, minister would address Mississippi students Feb. 12-14 on religion and drama.

"I just let the invitation stand," said the chancellor.

Last Summer, the Rev. Alvin Kershaw won $32,000 on the CBS television quiz program for his knowledge of jazz.

He won the prizes after having received the University of Mississippi invitation.

Asked about his plans for the money, the Rev. Kershaw replied he might donate part of his winnings to the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

LAST WEEK, the college board at Ole Miss reported an investigation into Kershaw's background revealed nothing detrimental to the Southern way of life.

The board told Chancellor Williams the decision on whether to revoke Kershaw's invitation rested with him.

But the board added it felt "a withdrawal of invitation . . . would be just what the NAACP would covet most and would be used as propaganda against our state."

STATE REP. JAMES MORROW of Rankin County had earlier called for public rebuke of the minister for his stand "against our way of life." He said he later learned, however, that Kershaw was "tricked" by leading questions into making the statement.

Morrow apologized to the minister but added he "and the Legislature" would keep close watch on all speakers invited to Mississippi institutions.

THE REV. ALVIN KERSHAW . . . Quiz show winner

Ole Miss lets bid to minister to speak stand

News Jan. 24-56

OXFORD, Miss., Jan. 24—The "$64,000 Question" minister-jazz expert will ap-

ATTACKED FOR OPPOSING SEGREGATION

New York Times Fires Back At Eastland Committee

Journal & Guide

(This is a reprint of an editorial from The New York Times on the Senate investigation into Communist infiltration of the press.) Sat. 1-19-56. P. 3

"In executive hearings held recently in this city, in public hearings held last summer in Washington and now again in public hearings held in Washington, a Senate subcommittee headed by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi has been looking for evidence of what it considers to be subversive infiltration of the press.

Norfolk, Va. 38a

"WE DO NOT QUESTION THE right or the propriety of any investigation of the press by any agency of Congress. The press is not sacrosanct. It is as properly subject to congressional inquiry as any other institution in American life. It is the inescapable responsibility of Congress, however, to make certain that any such inquiry be conducted in good faith and not motivated by ulterior purpose.

"A few employees of this newspaper who have appeared before the Eastland subcommittee have pleaded the Fifth Amndment. A few others have testified to membership in the Communist Party over periods terminating at various dates in the past.

• • •

"SO FAR AS WE ARE aware, no present member of the Communist Party has been found among the more than four thousand employees on our rolls.

"The policy of this newspaper with regard to the employment of Communist Party members has been stated many times, and may be stated here again. We would not knowingly employ a Communist Party member in the news or editorial departments of this paper, because we would not trust his ability to report the news objectively or to comment on it honestly, and the discovery of present Communist Party membership on the part of such an employee would lead to his immediate dismissal.

• • •

"IN THE CASE OF THESE employees who have testified to some Communist association in the past, or who have pleaded the Fifth Amendment for reasons of their own, it will be our policy to judge each case on its own merits, in the light of each individual's responsibilities in our organization and of the degree to which his relations with this newspaper entitle him to possess our confidence.

"We may say this, however. We do not believe in the doctrine of irredeemable sin. We think it possible to atone through good performance for past error, and we have tried to supply the security and the favorable working conditions which should exist in a democracy and which should encourage men who were once misled to reconsider and to reshape their political thinking.

• • •

"WE HAVE JUDGED THESE men and we shall continue to judge them, by the quality of their work and by our confidence in their ability to perform that work satisfactorily. It is our own business to decide whom we shall employ and not employ. We do not propose to hand over that function to the Eastland subcommittee.

"Nor do we propose to permit the Eastland subcommittee, or any other agency outside this office, to determine in any way the policies of this newspaper. It seems to us quite obvious that the Eastland investigation has been aimed with particular emphasis at The New York Times.

• • •

"THIS IS EVIDENT FROM several facts: From the heavy concentration of subpoenas served on employees of this newspaper, from the nature of the examination conducted at earlier hearings by the subcommittee's counsel, Mr. Sourwine, and from that counsel's effort, at those hearings, to demonstrate some connection between a witness' one-time association with the Communist Party and the character of the news published in this paper.

"It seems to us to be a further obvious conclusion that the Times has been singled out for this attack precisely because of the vigor of its opposition to many of the things for which Mr. Eastland, his colleague Mr. Jenner and the subcommittee's counsel stand — that is, because we have condemned segregation in the Southern schools; because we have challenged the high-handed and abusive methods employed by various congressional committees; because we have denounced McCarthyism and all its works; because we have attacked the narrow and bigoted restrictions of the McCarran Immigration Act; because we have criticized a 'security system' which conceals the accuser from his victim; because we have insisted that the true spirit of American democracy demands a scrupulous respect for the rights of even the lowliest individual and a high standard of fair play.

• • •

"IF THIS IS THE TACTIC of any member of the Eastland subcommittee, and if further evidence reveals that the real purpose of the present inquiry is to demonstrate that a free newspaper's policies can be swayed by congressional pressure, then we say to Mr. Eastland and his counsel that they are wasting their time.

"This newspaper will continue to determine its own policies. It will continue to condemn discrimination, whether in the South or in the North. It will continue to defend civil liberties.

• • •

"IT WILL CONTINUE TO CHALLENGE the unbridled power of governmental authority. It will continue to enlist goodwill against prejudice and confidence against fear.

"We cannot speak unequivocally for the long future. But we can have faith. And our faith is strong that long after Senator Eastland and his present subcommittee are forgotten, long after segregation has lost its final battle in the South, long after all that was known as McCarthyism is a dim, unwelcome memory, long after the last congressional committee has learned that it cannot tamper successfully with a free press, The New York Times will still be speaking for the men who make it, and only for the men who make it, and speaking, without fear or favor, the truth as it sees it."

Faces Loss of Home, Business

Money Is Needed For Bias Fighter

Courier P.23

CLEVELAND, Miss.—Amzy Moore, with his back to the wall because of his association with the NAACP, faces the possibility of losing his service station and home due to strangling economic pressures brought by bigoted white Citizens Councils.

A plea for funds has been made in Moore's behalf by C. R. Darden, president of the Mississippi State Conference of Branches of the NAACP.

Moore is president of the Cleveland Branch of the NAACP and faces financial disaster unless immediate financial aid is forthcoming.

Pittsburgh Pa.

MOORE'S PLIGHT is but one of the hundreds of such cases under fire by the Citizens Councils, attempting to boycott Negro businessmen because of NAACP affiliations.

Hope for Moore and others may be taken in President Eisenhower's State of the Union Message in which he expressed concern over reports of repeated lynchings and other civil rights violations in the South.

The President urged Congress to immediately set up a bipartisan commission to investigate all charges of voting violations and economic pressure.

The case of Amzy Moore is one of the utmost importance in that here is a man who defies constant threats from the white race haters and continues his energetic fight for his people. That he heads the local NAACP is only part of the story of the battle he has waged.

• • •

TO KEEP him going and to erase the possibility of his losing his home, money is needed desperately.

Direct your contributions to the Amzy Moore Fund to C. R. Darden, 1124 Twenty-sixth Avenue, Meridian, Miss., with checks made out to the Mississippi State Conference of the NAACP.

Senator Eastland's Strange Contribution

Advertiser 4-4

The Louisville Courier-Journal

[Senator Eastland will speak at a meeting of the Montgomery White Citizens Council Feb. 9—Ed.]

Montgomery Ala.

COMPARED to Senator James Oliver Eastland, who is justifiably flattered by the comparison, John Caldwell Calhoun was an intellectual giant. There are other differences. Calhoun was a gentleman. His tongue was bitter but his epithets were civilized and his insults were polished. Eastland has called witnesses before Senate hearings a "God-damned son of a bitch" and a "Nigger," and shouted "liar" at an elderly colleague on the Senate floor.

When he could stay clear of his obsession with the virtues of slavery, Calhoun spoke well and debated with dignity and coherence. Eastland models his debating style on those of his fellow senators Knowland and McCarthy, demanding the "ejection" of Russia from the United Nations and the armed defense of Formosa, announcing that the Supreme Court, "as now constituted, is not judicially honest" and declaring—in 1952—that "a state of internal security emergency" existed which called for the round up of between 20,000 and 50,000 "agents of the Kremlin" amongst us, these to be consigned to concentration camps.

Bir. 1-30-56

Senator Eastland's contributions to our war-time harmony were to proclaim that Negro troops "would neither work nor fight" and to disclose a "mass rape" of German women in a Stattgart subway by Senegalese soldiers with French occupation forces. Undersecretary of War Robert Patterson reluted the first charge; General Devers denied the second after correspondents pointed out: (a) that Stattgart has no subway and (b) that there were no Senegalese with the French occupation forces.

But this is beside the point. We are more concerned with some parallels between Calhoun, upon whom history places much of the blame for the one-way road taken by Southern leaders between 1820 and 1861, and Eastland, who is now loudly demanding that the South return to that same devastated path.

Calhoun, who started as a nationalist and a constitutionalist, came in the end to demand a virtual prohibition of public debate on slavery, that the mails be searched for material opposing it and that the individual states should decide which federal laws to obey and which court decisions were applicable to them. "Nullification" of any act of Congress which displeased any individual state, became a Southern rallying cry and the inevitable end was the Confederacy and the war.

Rainbows On Our Highways

The Milwaukee Journal

IF, like Wordsworth, your heart leaps up when you behold "a rainbow in the sky," it's going to jump right out of your mouth when auto manufacturers get through with you.

The two tone, triple tone, four tone, myriad tone cars that pack the highways are doomed if a new development by the du Pont Co. catches on with auto color designers. And, unless designers have changed, it probably will. Du Pont has come up with a new car finish which will make autos change colors as they pass—or as the light changes.

The seaweed green car you see approaching will turn shocking pink as it nears, switch to vivid red abeam, glow into puple as it passes and rush off down the highway flashing like a rainbow—"mocking the air," as Shakespeare said, "with colors idly spread."

For complete confusion, think of the police chasing bank robbers or a woman hunting an outfit to match her new car.

Howard Repeats Stand On FBI Crime Probes

World Tues. 1-31-56

Birmingham Ala.

LOS ANGELES (NNPA)—Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the National Medical Association, Friday repeated his charge that "the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

The repetition was made in reply to a letter from J. Edgar Hoover director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, calling "false," "irresponsible," "intemperate," and "baseless" charges Dr. Howard had made concerning the FBI in connection with the murders of Emmett Louis Till, the Rev. George W. Lee and Lamar Smith in Mississippi.

P. 1

Dr. Howard, who said he was visiting his family here, wrote in his reply to Mr. Hoover that the FBI director's letter had reached his Mound Bayou home "a full five hours after his first call from newspapers asking comment.

"I can only presume that you released the letter prior to the time it could possibly have reached me and that you wanted the whole matter to become an issue in the area of public controversy," Dr. Howard wrote.

The Mississippi physician told Mr. Hoover that he has talked with "many thousands of persons" in the past few months and "they are as dismayed as I am that murders can be committed in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment as in the George Lee and Lamar Smith cases, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till case."

SEGREGATION BILLS WIN HOUSE PASSAGE

Commercial Appeal

Four Measures Tighten Hold In Mississippi

Tues. 1-31-56

NOW GO TO SENATE

Memphis, Tenn.

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 30.—Four bills designed to tighten Mississippi's hold on racial segregation won overwhelming approval of the House of Representatives Monday.

P. 5

They were steered to passage by Chairman Joe Hopkins of the Judiciary Committee, and Representative Ney Gore of Quitman County, who as secretary of the sponsoring Legal Educational Advisory Committee, drafted them.

Covers Wide Field

One of the bills is aimed at Federal agents who come into Mississippi to question citizens about civil rights matters. It makes unlawful the action of any person to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen of Mississippi in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right, privilege or immunity secured by Mississippi law.

It also prohibits any person "under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation or custom of any other state or the United States, to subject any inhabitant to the deprivation of any rights, privileges or immunities secured or protected by the state constitution.

The bill carries, on conviction, a maximum fine of $3,000 and-or five years imprisonment.

The other bills would—

Prohibit the fomenting and agitation of litigation or solicitation, receipt or donation of funds for the purpose of filing or prosecuting law suits.

Give any person engaged in any public business, profession or trade the right to choose and select the customers, patrons and clients, and the right to refuse to sell or render a service to any person.

A person refusing to vacate a place in question would be subject to a maximum fine of $500 and-or six months in jail. It applies to hotels, motels, tourist courts, restaurants, barber shops, theaters, public parks, swimming pools and stores.

Await Senate Action

Prohibit a person from creating a disturbance or breach of the peace in any public place of business subject to a fine of $500 and-or six months in jail.

The four bills now go to the Senate for action.

On the Senate side, a bill changing the name of the Jackson College for Negroes to Jackson State College was approved, along with one authorizing an additional deputy sheriff for Lee County.

The Senate also completed action on a proposed constitutional amendment limiting special legislative sessions to 30 calendar days, and sent it to the House for the required adoptions on three separate days.

Appointment of a joint committee to draft a "resolution of interposition," proposed in a House resolution, was approved by the Senate. After draft of the proposal, agreed to by Gov. J. P. Coleman, the Governor plans to address a joint session before it is considered.

The Senate meets at 10 Tuesday morning, and the House at 2 p.m.

New Englander Captured by Visit in Mississippi

Herald P. 9C

The following story was written for the Associated Press by Clark Samuel, editor of The Foxboro (Mass.) Reporter and leader of a group of New England newspapermen who toured Mississippi to observe conditions in that state at the invitation of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission. Samuel says the story represents his personal views and not necessarily those of others who made the tour.

By CLARK SAMUEL
Editor, The Foxboro (Mass.) Reporter

BOSTON —(AP)— A group of weary New England newsmen, their minds filled with conflicting pictures of life in the Deep South, arrived Sunday night at Logan Airport in a special plane after a flight from Biloxi, Miss.

These were the editors and publishers of weekly papers who departed from Boston last Sunday and spent a week in Mississippi as guests of its state Sovereignty Commission created by Gov. J. P. Coleman to primarily interpret the state's official point of view in the segregation issue.

By bus and riverboat steamer, the newsmen were exposed to Mississippi's way of life. They talked to White and Negro leaders of various shades of opinion and intensity.

Traditional Southern hospitality was showered upon the visitors throughout the trip yet this writer must reluctantly report that in his opinion this hospitality was abused by some of the members of the group who evidently had closed minds from the start on Mississippi's social and economic problems. Some acted and talked like Northern ambassadors rather than students and observers.

The Mississippi reaction to this attitude received this comment from one of the state's leading columnists, Frederick Sullens, in the Jackson Daily News:

"One of those damnyankee editors now touring Mississippi at the expense of our people says he finds our Negroes have been brainwashed. He has his diagnosis in reverse. It is a pitiable fact that persons who have been thoroughly brainwashed think everybody else is similarly afflicted. That damnyankee had his mind made up on the race question before he came to Mississippi and he came with a determination not to change his mind."

However, in the group of 18, the majority were sincere in their efforts to learn, and as the days progressed they assembled a mass of factual material which they obtained by interviewing people of both colors in every walk of life—in the cotton fields and on the city streets.

To this writer, I cannot see integration happening in the state of Mississippi in my time. I believe I am in the minority among my colleagues in saying this. There are too many complex problems, and the people of both races I have talked to do not seem to look forward to a mingling of Negroes and Whites in the foreseeable future. It must always be remembered in any discussion of Mississippi and its future that its population in many counties is predominantly Negro. The people of Mississippi have lived under segregation since the first slaves were brought to the New World.

Many Northerners have no conception of the ravages of the War Between the States, as it laid the Southland bare and left it economically destitute. In 90 short years it has rebuilt its economy slowly, it has brought in new and needed industries to give its population work, and at the same time it has admirably somehow been able to preserve its heritage of gracious living and its guardianship of its Negroes.

On our trip we saw many new educational facilities for both White and Negro; we saw new industries obtained through "Southern" ingenuity such as tax concessions, choice locations, with ample water and transportation facilities and a compatible labor supply.

We were served in hotels and restaurants by cheerful Negroes who seemed as proud of the South and their way of life as we are of ours. They were not "Uncle Toms." They were merely people going about their daily work.

On the other hand, we talked with Negroes harvesting a bumper cotton crop whose ignorance was appalling and who appeared bewildered by our questions. Yet in their sorry plight they did not appear to be abused or underfed nor was there a Simon Legree lurking in the background.

In the cities — such as Natchez and Vicksburg — where Negro school facilities appeared to be superior, we found the homes of whites and blacks side by side on the same streets.

We can honestly report that we saw no signs of racial tension such as we have often observed in cities like Baltimore, Washington, New York and Boston. One evening we walked alone down several streets in a Negro section of a Mississippi city — something we would not dare to do as a White man in New York's Harlem. No one molested us, several said, "Good evenin'."

The problem, as Southerners we talked to recognize it, is the continued expansion of the educational program so that both White and Negroes may be better equipped to take their places in society.

There is no doubt in this writer's mind after many conversations with White Mississippians that these people will never accept the Supreme Court decision — they are so strong in their convictions that we can foresee only a tragic result if the decision is forced down their throats.

We talked to some highly intellectual and attractive Negro teachers at their new vocational school which was, incidentally, built before the Supreme Court decision. These teachers do not appear bitter nor unhappy. They are smartly dressed and speak with a sophistication and sense of humor which is refreshing in this troubled land. Their apartments are as well if not better furnished than our own little Cape Cod house, and their libraries reveal a love of literature for its own sake.

This trip of the Northern newspapermen was an experiment, and was widely covered by press and radio, and perhaps some of the old War Between the States spirit did crop up now and then. But when the goodbys were said, the handshakes were firm and sincere and we all felt grateful to the state of Mississippi for affording us this opportunity to visit and see for ourselves a part of the nation that seems destined for great expansion and prosperity in the immediate future.

If a comparable visit were made by a group of Southern newsmen to New England, we are confident they would find much to criticize and much to praise just as we did in the South.

The Negro in such large numbers, inconceivable to we in the North, is the exclusive problem of the Deep South in our opinion. It would be hypocritical and foolhardy for any writer who has spent but a few days there to presume to tell these people how they ought to run their affairs and how to change their ways overnight.

One businessman told us that integration would increase rather than decrease their racial problem because it would completely change their entire way of living.

Perhaps we can forsee the day when by mutual agreement the two races with separate cultures and equal opportunities can live harmoniously with equal dignity upon a middle ground that recognizes human equality under our democratic system which does not force a man to break bread with anyone other than that of his own choosing regardless of whether the man is red, white, black or blue.

Ultimately I would like to see Negroes taking an active part in town, county and state government just as they now do in our federal government. Then you would have segregation with representation — just as our forefathers fought for their rights to be represented in government.

And with Mississippi's surging progress in education as well as economy, better times for both white and black are sure to come.

It will take time, patience and goodwill on four sides — Southern and Northern Negroes, Southern and Northern Whites.

The Negro must be taught to accept his responsibilities as a citizen of the United States just as the White must be taught that the Negro has the right to full citizenship.

This ideal in the South can be accomplished by separate and segregated social life and a joint economic and administrative responsibility, we think.

This writer admits that after this short and sometimes exhausting trip to the Deep South, his story may be confusing, but it is his honest effort to throw one man's light upon a controversial and highly volatile subject that is a source of deep trouble.

Hot heads on both sides are not contributing to an intelligent solution. Imported speakers, burning crosses, inflammatory literature all combine to confuse the issues. Giving a little on both sides may help a great deal towards the common good.

They have a humorous song they sing down South these days that starts off, "Save your Confederate money, boys, the South shall rise again." Great sociological changes in history have often been accompanied by droll stories and funny songs. But they all have a segment of truth in them which anyone can see for himself: The South shall indeed rise again.

EDITORS DUBIOUS OF CALM IN SOUTH

Times P. 49

Northerners, After Tour, Say Negro Educational Gains Will Increase Tensions

Sun 10-14-56

BILOXI, Miss., Oct. 13 (UP)—Touring Northern newspaper men predicted today that the South's racial problems would increase as the whites gave further educational opportunities to Negroes in the hope of keeping them segregated.

Twenty representatives of weeklies, mostly in New England, were interviewed as they completed a week's tour of Mississippi as guests of the state.

Most of them characterized the racial problem as one the South would have to solve without outside interference.

They said that the biggest stumbling block to a solution was a deficiency of communications between the Negroes and whites. They offered the view that young people were more agreeable to racial integration than were their parents.

Range of the Tour

The editors were taken into representative areas of the state by the State Sovereignty Commission to let them judge conditions for themselves. The agency was created by the Legislature to wind ways of preserving separation of the races in the state that has the highest percentage of Negro population.

All the editors agreed that the tour was "fairly conducted" in that they had full opportunity to talk to Negroes and whites as they pleased. In answering questions by reporters they stressed that they were not posing as experts after a week's study, but were able to arrive at same basic conclusions.

Reaction varied from that of warm praise for the way Mississippi was rapidly building Negro schools to that of reproach for "shocking" conditions in regard to Negro voting.

Albert Rowbotham, editor and publisher of The Ramford Falls (Me.) Times, said:

"What is happening by increasing the educational standards of the Negro and at the same time not allowing him to vote is building up a reservoir of Negroes that is going to burst in the face of the people of Mississippi. The unrest is entirely on the voting question."

Some Other Comments

Curtis S. Johnson, publisher of The Deep River (Conn.) New Era, declared that "of those Negroes I have talked to the higher the social order and background the less happy they are with present conditions."

"The more they advance toward higher education the more this will increase the problem," he added.

John C. Bond, publisher of The Rockland (Mass.) Standard and Southshore News, said that the average Negro would rather stay as he is, but the educated Negro would definitely like to see something more than this."

James H. Marsden, publisher of The Foxboro (Mass.) Reporter, said that it would be a "bureaucratic blunder" for the Federal Government to force integration.

Sidney L. Cullen, editor of The Rockland (Me.) Courier-Gazette, found "a problem for Mississippi to solve."

Alfred Ball, president of the National Editorial Association and publisher of The Woodhaven (Long Island) Observer, expressed the view that Mississippi "has no problem that can't be solved over a period of years."

William B. Rotch, publisher of The Milford (N. H.) Cabinet, said that he had noticed "in many cases something almost like a fear complex on the part of the whites."

On the Spot

Mississippi officials feel strongly that the Northern press, through "sensationalism," has been misrepresenting the facts on segregation in their state. Last week Mississippi invited 20 small-town New England editors and publishers to come down at the state's expense to learn "the truth about what segregation is, and why." For seven days the editors toured the state as guests of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, set up by the legislature with $250,000 to protect the state's "way of life." The commission's pressagent, Hal DeCell, 32, promised "to show them whatever they want to see, because we have nothing to cover up."

Before the Yankee editors got started, Mississippi's Governor J. P. Coleman explained that segregation would continue in Mississippi "for at least the next 50 years. We don't intend to obey the Supreme Court's decision because it is not based on law." But, he assured the newsmen, "there is no tension or malice or ill will between the races. I have not heard of any trouble where [Negroes] have voted." Most Negroes do not vote, he said, because of unwillingness to pay the poll tax or failure to pass a literacy test.

As the chartered bus sped from Jackson along the historic Natchez Trace, some of the editors were surprised to find no segregation in places of business. Editor J. Clark Samuel of Massachusetts' Foxboro *Reporter* was struck by "fine colored schools" and the sight of Negroes and whites "living in compatibility." Publisher John C. Bond of Massachusetts' Rockland *Standard* noted "a real effort to lift the level of the Negro educationally."

But the editors found that Mississippi did not live entirely up to Governor Coleman's billing. Items:

¶ Mound Bayou, the biggest (pop. 1,350) all-Negro town in the state, votes in every election, Vice Mayor I. E. Edwards said, but the ballots are never counted by election officials at the county seat.

¶ In some areas, said Mound Bayou's Postmaster C. V. Thurmond, it "would be suicide for a Negro" even to attempt to vote. One minister who came to Itta Bena (pop. 1,725) to meet the editors said that when he had voted, his house was burned.

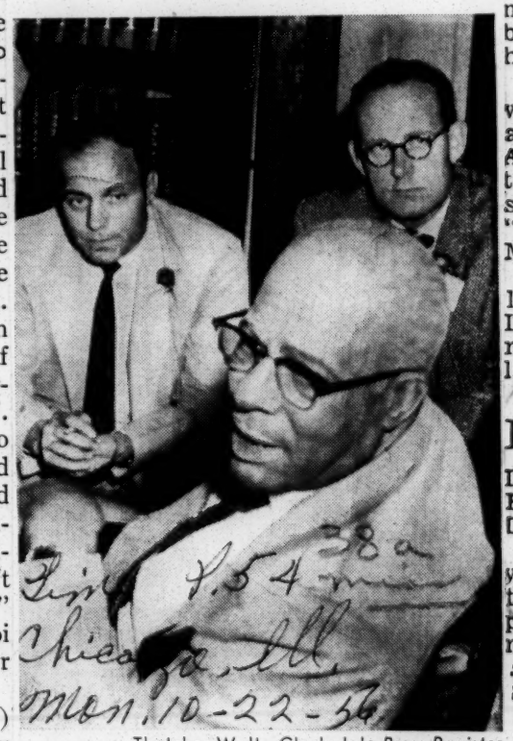
¶ In Cleveland (pop. 6,747) wealthy Attorney Ben Mitchell earnestly told the group: "The Negroes are just naturally and inherently inferior to white people."

¶ In Natchez (pop. 22,740) Negro leaders reported that the White Citizens' Councils have added to segregation practices. "We used to all pay taxes at the same window," said one, "but now they have one marked colored and the other white."

Midway through the tour, Editor Paul Cummings Jr. of New Hampshire's Peterborough *Transcript* told a Southern colleague: "I wasn't sure what to believe before I made the trip. Now I find the worst is true. We don't condemn you for practicing segregation. What we can't understand is how a people can be denied the right to vote in the U.S. To me this is unbelievable. I just couldn't believe it until I came down here and heard it firsthand." Then Editor Cummings turned to Pressagent DeCell, who also edits a weekly, and demanded: "Why did you people do this? Bring all of us down here, I mean. Doesn't it just show you up?"

"We just wanted to let you see for yourselves that Mississippians are not like the pictures painted by some Northern publications," replied DeCell.

"But we've only found out that basically those stories we read are true," said



Thatcher Walt—Clarksdale *Press Register*

INTERVIEW IN MISSISSIPPI*

The truth hurt.

Cummings. "Oh, they are sensationalized, but according to what we were told today, they are basically true."

As the end of the tour approached, a few of the New Englanders, like Editor Samuel, thought that "there will never be integration, Mississippi's way of life will remain as it is." But most of the editors felt that segregation was doomed even in Mississippi—though many believed that it might well linger as long as Governor Coleman's 50 years. Said Editor Cummings: "Equal justice must come. Our system makes no allowance for 47 states and Mississippi."

Has The Editors' Tour Backfired?

Jay Maher In The Delta Democrat Times

HAL DeCELL, publicity director for Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission, said here last night he believes strongly the touring party of New England newspapermen "will benefit Mississippi and the South." He scoffed at expressions of a growing opinion the tour has backfired and is producing more blushes than proud smiles.

One visiting editor, however, said, "I wasn't sure what to believe before I made the trip. Now I find the worst is true."

He continued: "We don't condemn you for practicing segregation. That's a universal thing. What we can't understand is how a people can be denied the right to vote in the United States. To me this is unbelievable! I just couldn't believe it was true until I came down here and heard it first hand."

The 18 New England editors yesterday visited the Negro college at Itta Bena and all-Negro town of Mound Bayou. At both places they were told by Negroes that "pressures" (sometimes hidden and sometimes not) kept their race from "enjoying the rights of citizenship in Mississippi."

The newsmen were guests for dinner last night of Mississippi Power and Light Company at the company lodge near here. They arrived in the state last Saturday.

IN ONE bull session which followed the meal, a New Hampshire editor asked DeCell: "Why did you people do this? Bring all of us down here, I mean. Doesn't it just show you up?"

"We just wanted to let you see for yourself that Mississippians are not like the pictures painted by some Northern publications," DeCell repeated the announced reason for the tour, which is sponsored by the state's newly formed State Sovereignty Commission, an agency set up by the legislature to "safeguard Mississippi's way of life."

"But we've only found out that basically those stories we read are true. Oh, they are sensationalized—but according to what we were told today, they are basically true. And furthermore, it looks to me as if all these quotes from some members of our party are making even more sensational headlines," the visitor insisted.

DeCell disagreed with that theme, pointing out that many articles written for Northern readers indicate all Mississippians are murderers and Negro haters. By meeting the state's leaders, he said, the newsmen will be influenced by the knowledge of "how we really are."

Another Eastern editor said the trip had only confused him thus far. "How can an educated, obviously successful businessman expect me to swallow the kind of stuff one of them handed me here tonight? He told me calmly and patiently it was a scientific fact the Negro race is and always has been inferior," he said.

BUT the visiting editors obviously enjoyed the Tuesday night gathering here. Baxter Wilson, president of MP and L Company was master of ceremonies. He introduced the Deltans present, which included business and professional men from throughout the area. Brief talks were given by LeRoy Percy of Greenville, president of the Delta Council, and Hodding Carter, editor of the *Delta Democrat-Times*, who recently was a principal speaker at the New England Press Association convention.

Massachusetts Newsman Claims Preconceived Ideas Helped Abuse Hospitality Granted By Mississippi To Touring Fourth Estate

Advertiser Tues. 10-16-56 Montgomery, Ala. P 3-a

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Traditional southern hospitality was showered upon the visitors throughout the trip, yet this writer must reluctantly report that in his opinion, this hospitality was abused by some of the members of the group who evidently had closed minds from the start on Mississippi's social and economic problems. Some acted and talked like northern ambassadors rather than students and observers.

The Mississippi reaction to this attitude, received this comment from one of the state's leading columnists, Frederick Sullens in the Jackson Daily News:

"One of those damnyankee editors now touring Mississippi at the expense of our people says he finds our Negroes have been brainwashed. He has his diagnosis in reverse. It is a pitiable fact that persons who have been thoroughly brainwashed think everybody else is similarly afflicted. That damnyankee had his mind made up on the race question before he came to Mississippi and he came with a determination not to change his mind.'

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IN MINORITY

To this writer, I cannot see integration happening in the state of Mississippi in my time. I believe I am in the minority among my colleagues in saying this. There are too many complex problems, and the people of both races I have talked to do not seem to look forward to a mingling of Negroes and whites in the foreseeable future. It must always be remembered in any discussion of Mississippi and its future that its population in many counties is predominantly Negro. The people of Mississippi have lived under segregation since the first slaves were brought to the new world.

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CHEERFUL NEGROES

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On the other hand, we talked with Negroes harvesting a bumper cotton crop whose ignorance was appalling and who appeared bewildered by our presence and our questions. Yet in their sorry plight they did not appear to be abused or underfed nor was there a Simon Legree lurking in the background.

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CONTINUED EXPANSION

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One businessman told us that integration would increase rather than decrease their racial problem because it would completely change their entire way of living.

Perhaps we can foresee the day when mutual agreement the two races with separate cultures and equal opportunities can live harmonously with equal dignity upon a middle ground that recognizes human equality under our Democratc system which does not force a man to break bread with anyone other than that of his own choosing regardless of whether the man is red, white, black or blue.

Ultimately I would like to see Negroes taking an active part in town, county and state government just as they now do in our federal government. Then you would have segregation with representation—just as our forefathers fought for their rights to be represented in government.

SURGING PROGRESS

And with Mssissippi's surging progress in education as well as economy, better times for both white and black are sure to come.

It will take time, patience and goodwill on four sides—southern and northern Negroes, southern and northern whites.

The Negro must be taught to accept his responsibilities as a citizen of the United States just as the white must be taught that the Negro has the right to full citizenship.

This ideal in the South can be accomplished by separate and segregated social life and a joint economic and administrative responsibilitiy, we think.

This writer admits that after this short and sometimes exhausting trip to the Deep South his story may be confusing, but it is his honest effort to throw one man's light upon a controversial and highly volatile subject that is a source of deep trouble.

Hot heads on both sides are not contributing to an intelligent solution. Imported speakers, buring crosses, inflammatory literature all combine to confuse the issues. Giving a little on both sides may help a great deal towards the common good.

They have a humorous song they sing Down South these days that starts off. "Save your Confederate money boys, the South shall rise again." Great sociological changes in history have often been accompanied by droll stories and funny songs. But they all have a segment of truth i nthem which anyone can see for himself; the South shall indeed rise again.

NEGRO IS CLEARED IN ELEVATOR CASE

Times-Picayune Wed. 10-17-56

BIRMINGHAM, Oct. 16 (AP) — A Negro minister has been acquitted of disorderly conduct charges preferred when he refused to get on an office building elevator reserved for Negroes.

Rev. T. N. Nelson

"I'll enforce the law," said recorders Judge Ralph E. Parker, "but there's no law that says whites and Negroes must ride separate elevators," he dismissed the charges against Rev. T. N. Nelson, 50.

The judge also said that Nelson wasn't guilty of disorderly conduct, which requires boisterous, profane, loud language, or some action tending to cause a breach of the peace.

Touring Mississippi—

Editors' views on South mixed

BY PRENTISS COX, News Jackson bureau

VICKSBURG, Miss., Oct. 11.—New England newspaper editors left by boat down the Mississippi River for Natchez today, leaving in their wake a cross-current of opinionated expressions on segregation in the South.

The newsmen, guests at a dinner last night at which they heard 14 Vicksburg citizens give their views on the problem of racial separation, said they were most impressed by the fact that Vicksburg people admitted the presence of a problem.

But opinions as to the eventual outcome of the issue were varied.

GIVE AND TAKE discussions by people on both sides who recognize there is a problem will eventually lead to its solution said William B. Rotch, editor of the Milford (N. H.) Cabinet.

Robert S. Baram, secretary of the New England Weekly Press Assn. and Boston University journalism profesor, said he believed Mississippi's program of industrial expansion would indirectly lead to integration.

But J. Clark Samuel, editor of the Foxboro (Mass.) Reporter and president of the Massachusetts Press Assn., said "you just can't change a people's way of life." Earlier he had predicted "there will never be integration in Mississippi" and conceded stories in national magazines on the racial issue in the South "are distorted."

SAMUEL'S VIEWS, however, clashed with other expressed views.

Paul C. Cummings Jr., editor and publisher of the Peterborough (N. H.) Transcript, said Mississippi "is in the process of evolving toward integration, begrudgingly." He said racial barriers eventually will fall in the state and throughout the South "by one of two methods—evolutionary or revolutionary."

"The problem of segregation is not a Mississippi or area problem," said Cummings, "it's the problem of the 48 states."

Most of the 20 editors agree that "integration will come to Mississippi," but agree with the state's governor, J. P. Coleman, that "that time is far in the future."

The editors planned a deep sea fishing trip for Saturday as they launched the fifth day of their State Sovereignty Commission-sponsored tour.

Most members of the group are in the state with assignments from national magazines, wire services, and metropolitan newspapers in the East. Their stories will be based on observations of problems encountered since they entered Mississippi last Sunday.

TODAY THEY WERE deluged with more of the "ever-present" southern hospitality as they paddled down the Mississippi River on the historic old "West," U. S. Corps of Engineers sternwheeler, one of the last relics of its type from the River's past.

Tonight they'll rest at the river port of Natchez and tomorrow will go by way of Columbia to the Gulf Coast where fun will be the main diet.

Al Ball of Long Island, N. Y., president of the National Editorial Assn., said "Southern people are certainly wonderful."

"If I weren't already so old, I'd sure be thinking about moving South."

BUSINESS TRIPS today will probably conclude the formal mention of "segregation" and its problems, with "fun" set for the final-day agenda.

There was some curiosity aroused among members of the group concerning conditions in the all-Negro community of Mound Bayou.

SEGREGATION: PART IV

Sirs:

After reading Part IV of your excellent segregation series ("The Restraints: Open and Hidden," LIFE, Sept. 24), I would like to congratulate you on this, your finest attempt—and greatest achievement.

JOHN PONCIANO

Limestone, Maine

Sirs:

The amount of research, skillful writing and, what is more important, the intelligent, unbiased approach in your comprehensive segregation series rates highest praise! Never have I seen the entire Negro question more fully and factually yet so concisely covered.

Having taught in a well-integrated California school (11% Negro), I consider your segregation article of more than vicarious interest.

TEDD D. WOODS

Los Angeles, Calif.

Sirs:

LIFE's series is a masterpiece of literary art. It belongs on the list of required reading for discussion in every high school and P.T.A.

JAMES T. ROGERS

Six Mile, S.C.

Sirs:

About the Albert Thorntons, you say they get about $120 a month. In my opinion that is mighty good. My father-in-law and his wife only get $42 a month. My uncle sent his sons through the University of Georgia, and he only made $150 a month. And your "downtrodden hero," Professor Thornton, has trouble doing it on $6,600 a year. My, my, my.

There are about 15 clubs, beaches and golf courses around here that won't let me or my kids in. But I am not "frustrated." Neither are my kids, for we believe in enjoying what we have got and if we want more, get out and work for it.

Why don't you write about the race riots up north, or about 10 and 12 Negroes living in one room in Harlem?

JOE O. FARMER

Nicholson, Ga.

Sirs:

I couldn't help noticing the deplorably shabby condition of the Tanners' shack. Yet there is a brand-new, shiny TV set in the corner. The southern Negro just can't learn to economize wisely.

BARBARA GORDON

Boston, Mass.

● Mrs. Tanner's TV set was a gift from her brother when he started his service in the Army.—ED.

Sirs:

Less than a week after the first of the series appeared, school opened and our seventh-grade all-Negro class in Phillips Elementary School advanced in membership from 31 to 44. In the class were seven pupils fresh up from the South. They dressed like any other children, but, alas, the moment they opened their mouths there was near bedlam because the regular students, who were either born or had been in Chicago for some time, tended to ridicule their mannerisms, their southern dialect.

It at once became apparent that the northern young Negro student, unaware of his past, his rise from slavery to freedom and near first-class citizenship, was himself in dire need of integration with his own ethnic group. Toward this end a project was initiated titled, "Let My People Go."

Using LIFE magazine, the students prepared a display showing the Negro from the time of slavery when he was forcibly transported from the shores of Africa to the present.

Even though our project is not yet finished, the class members, learning their mutual heritage, have already grown to work in harmony.

ISAAC CLARKE

Chicago, Ill.

New England Editors See Tension In Mississippi

BILOXI, Miss., Oct. 13 (AP)—A week's first hand study has convinced the majority of a group of New England editors there is racial tension, fear and unrest in Mississippi.

They found it, they said, especially among Negroes on the right-to-vote question. Some saw more tension among Whites than Negroes.

A poll by reporters showed these other conclusions by the weekly editors who were guests of the state on a "Come See For Yourself" mission:

Almost complete agreement they were given a fair picture of Mississippi.

A majority belief most Mississippi Negroes are not happy.

Finally, unanimity that Mississippi does have a segregation problem but disagreement whether she should be left alone in solving it.

Albert Rowbotham, editor and publisher of the Ramford Falls, Times, said, "The unrest is almost entirely on the voting question." Upgrading Negro education while not allowing him to vote is building up a reservoir of feeling "that is going to burst in the face of the people of Mississippi," he said.

A gradual enfranchisement of the Negro, begun "right now," would remove the main argument of agitators, the weekly editor said.

Curtiss S. Johnson, publisher of the Deep River (Conn) New Era, said he was shocked to learn Negroes in some areas are not allowed to vote.

SENSES FEAR

Paul C. Cummings Jr., editor and publisher of the Peterborough (N.H.) Transcript, sensed a general fear among white people "of what would happen" if the Negro is allowed to vote.

J. Clark Samuel, editor of the Foxboro (Mass.) Reporter and president of the Massachusetts Press Assn., "saw less racial tension in Mississippi. . .than in New York" and some other northern cities.

Samuel, whose views were not in accord with the majority, also saw segregation as "the exclusive problem of the South."

He also foresaw continued segregation by "mutual agreement" with the two races living apart but "harmoniously with equal dignity."

Similar views came from Alfred Ball, publisher of the Woodhaven, (L.I.) Osberver and president of the National Editorial Assn.

"I saw no evidence of racial tension," he said. "Mississippi is doing everything possible to solve the problem, not only to educate the Negro but to make him happy."

DIGNITY AT STAKE

William V. Rotch, editor and publisher of the Milford (N.H.) Cabinet, said "The basic element of human dignity" is at stake in the South's Negro-white relationship.

"It can't be solved by pretending the problem doesn't exist, by intimidation, or patronizing benevolence."

Rotch also was among those sensing tension among the whites, "almost a fear complex."

John C. Bond, publisher of the Rockland (Mass.) Standard and South Shore News, said:

"I didn't feel any tension among the Negroes but I did feel it among the whites. The spirit of violence does not seem to be very far below the surface. Fear is causing it."

Rotch said "Every Negro I talked to privately was emphatic in denying" that he was happy.

"They resent not so much segregation itself as the indignity involved in it," he said.

VERY UNHAPPY

Richard J. Robertson, publisher of the Darier (Conn.) Review, said the Mississippi Negro is "decidedly not" happy, "nor can any man created as we all are by God be happy when he is not accorded individual dignity and respect."

To the almost complete agreement, they were given a fair picture of Mississippi, Robert S. Barram, Boston University journalism professor and secretary of the New England Weekly Press Assn., added:

"I would have liked to have had a good interview with a White Citizens Council group. The Council has been organized throughout the South to oppose integration.

Barram said presence of Negro leaders among the welcoming parties "would have been some evidence to support the usual statement by the white people that they get along so well with the Negro."

Barram was among those feeling "young white people have a more mature understanding of the problem than do their elders." He said "the hope of Mississippi" lies with its younger people.

The visit was a strange experiment by Mississippi whose citizens like to call their state "the most lied about in the nation."

Mississippi, whose 45 per cent Negro population is the highest in the nation, claims not to have "given an inch" on integration.

This week she bared herself to the world on how she treats Negroes—a subject jealously called her own business.

All Facts Not Told, NAACP Leader Says

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 12 (U.P.) An NAACP leader said today Gov. J. P. Coleman failed to tell touring New England newspapermen how many Negro voters have been disfranchised under his administration.

Field Secretary Medgar Evers said the visiting editors and publishers should have been told that more than 1000 registered Negro voters in Jefferson Davis County were disfranchised under tightened election laws after voting for more than 10 years.

"The newspapermen then would have been given a more accurate picture of part of the situation as it exists in Mississippi," Evers said.

Mississippians Urged To Solve Race Issue Thru Honest Discussion

State Press P. 7
Fri. 6-8-56
Little Rock, Ark.

JACKSON, Miss.—Mississippians were told Sunday by the NAACP's top executive that this state's racial tensions will settle down when Negroes are given their rights as citizens and that the desegregation question can be solved "by honest people sitting down and talking over ways and means."

Roy Wilkins, the Association's executive secretary, addressed a meeting of NAACP branches here.

Discussing race relations in this state where tensions have been high, Mr. Wilkins asserted that "there will be no real tranquility, no real economic stability, as long as 46 per cent of the state's population is held down, insulted, mistreated, denied voting rights, and equality in education." He maintained that "outside industry does not want to come to such a state."

(A recent survey has shown that many industries are reconsidering plans to move south until racial conflicts die down.)

"We are told over and over again that everything was fine between the races in the south until the Supreme Court made its ruling, or before the NAACP began to 'stir things up,'" the NAACP official noted. "Do they mean the sharecropping system was fine? Or Jimcro schools, waiting rooms and trains? Or the Negro jobs and Negro wage scales? Or sitting in the rear of buses and trolleys, and giving up seats to white people at the order of a bus driver? Or being shot for trying to register and vote?"

Persecution Arouses Sympathy

He declared that "all over the south our people are standing up to personal persecution. Those who hope to stop us with that had better think of something else. The more persecution, the more determined we become and the more sympathy we arouse in the nation."

State Press P. 8

In Mississippi, Mr. Wilkins contended, "today it is dangerous - - it may take bread from the mouths of your children, or a roof from the heads of your family - - to exercise freedom of speech - - on segregation - - freedom of petition, or even freedom of thought."

He termed it "one of the tragedies of the present situation" that "in many parts of the south . . . the white people and the Negroes who want to discuss the question of justice and of segregation are made to keep silent."

The NAACP spokesman sharply attacked what he called "a secret spy system" in Mississippi.

"Informers are to be paid to report on their neighbors, what they are thinking and what they are saying. Over in Soviet Russia, you know, they had a system of paying children to spy on their parents . . . We said it was horrible and uncivilized when we heard the Russians were doing it, but here in Mississippi in 1956, in the free land of America, we are to have secret police. Spies will tell who smiled at a Negro yesterday, or what Negro said he was sick of Jimcro, or what tired Negro woman said she wished she did not have to stand up while white men sat in the bus, or what white woman thought it was a shame the way Negroes are treated."

White People vs. Their Conscience

Mr. Wilkins declared that the NAACP is "helping Mississippi to redeem itself. We are showing it a path. We can imagine some of the difficulties white people are having with their conscience and their inner souls. They are searching, and some of them are trying. When they do change over, they will wonder why it took them so long. They will wonder where all the 'trouble' is they expected to find."

Touching on the question of interracial marriage, which has been used by some southerners as a 'reason' to continue segregated public schools, the NAACP official asserted that "our white folks always fall back on that when they can't think of anything else."

"Marriage is a personal contract between two people. We say it is the business of those two people. We are neither for intermarriage nor against it. We want protection for the Negro woman and the laws against intermarriage leave her without protection, free game for any hunter, with no legal penalties attached. Statistics show that where intermarriage is not prohibited by law the percentage is infinitesimal."

Maintaining that desegregation "cannot be stopped," Mr. Wilkins said that "those who attack the NAACP, a peaceful, law-abiding organization, are really attacking justice and murdering freedom."

Mississippi Roundup—

Be Fair On Segregation, Northern Editors Asked

Post-Herald
Birm, Ala
Thurs 6-14-56

JACKSON, June 13 (U.P.) — Mississippi today sent phamplets to editors throughout the North asking "fairness and a chance to present its side of the case" in the segregation fight.

The literature is being distributed by the State Sovereignty Commission, the state's official segregation "watchdog," and financed by tax money.

"Denied a voice with which to present the facts to the nation at large," the phamplet, says, Mississippians and Mississippi are turning to the grass-roots to obtain a fair hearing."

The circular was prepared by Hal Decelle, the commission's publicity man hired to get the "good" side of Mississippi before the nation.

"Mississippi has been the target of more unfounded acrimonious and antagonistic falsehood and/or misrepresentations —amounting to mass slander of all Mississippians—than any other state in history," the phamplet says.

It is illustrated by a drawing showing Mississippi as a woman holding a baby in her arms. A man with a shotgun called "national circulation seekers" point an accusing finger at her while "pressure groups" stone her.

"Don't stone until you hear her side," the caption reads.

Democrats In Mississippi Are Willing To Lead Fight To Preserve Dixie Ideals

Commercial Appeal Memphis, Tenn. Sun. 7-8-56 P. 4

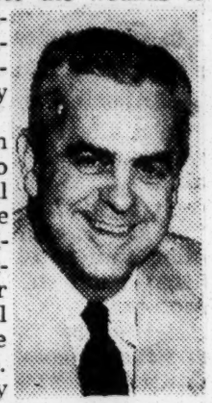
Support Of Other Southern States Sought To Offset Hostility Expected From Northern Party Members In Chicago Next Month

By KENNETH TOLER

JACKSON, Miss., July 7.—Mississippi Democrats are apparently willing to stand alone—if necessary—in the battle for preservation of the Southern way of life.

At the moment, however, they hesitate to take definite steps in that direction in advance of anticipated hostile treatment at next month's national convention in Chicago. That doesn't mean they are burning their bridges behind them.

They are still hopeful of support from enough Southern states to temper the wounds to Southern customs and traditions in the national party platform.



Mr. Toler

Southern delegates to the national convention are counting heavily on the influence of their congressional leaders to be felt in Chicago. However, they will likely find out in no uncertain actions that the Washington standing means nothing in Chicago, come Aug. 13.

Blow Aimed At South

Fact is, the Northern party members would like to get rid of the Democratic chairmen of the influential congressional committees who hail from below the Mason-Dixon line. Some of the most radical, prodded no little by certain racial groups, are even planning to get the national convention to disclaim the Southern party leaders.

On the basis of anticipated hostilities to Southern segregation and states' rights positions, Mississippi Democrats are expected to keep intact a planned "retreat" in event it becomes necessary to back-track after the Chicago meeting.

Just what road the Mississippi Democrats would take if compellel to repudiate the actions in Chicago is the big question. The Republican route many of them took four years ago has just as many racial-separation roadblocks.

Until the heat of battle cools from the July 16 state convention, the intrastate party controversies are expected to continue to command front line attention. Contrary to what could be read into the fight, the Mississippi Democrats are in accord on preservation of segregation, as well as maintenance of the sovereignty of the individual states.

No Strings Wanted

Gov. J. P. Coleman, titular head of the party in Mississippi, wants the national convention delegates to go to Chicago without "strings" attached to their credentials. That is the same position taken by a majority of the state party members, as well as delegates.

A minority, which includes strong state leaders, would like to have the delegates instructed as to what course to take in event some of the pre-convention efforts to disregard Southern customs are successful. Such a course, however, would endanger seating of the delegates, something the Northern antagonists would like to see done without the necessity of a challenge from the convention floor.

In early state convention maneuvering, Governor Coleman was opposed to reconvening the state group after the Chicago meeting unless similar steps were taken by a substantial number of other Southern states. He said in the past Mississippi had been made the scapegoat by standing out for its beliefs even to the extent of walking out of the national convention—almost alone.

However, the Governor backed down when many state leaders lined up behind a recommendation by Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson that the state convention delegates reassemble after the Chicago meeting to appraise what was done in the light of Mississippi's demands for preservation of segregation and curtailment of Federal encroachment on the sovereignty of the state via the United States Supreme Court.

A "compromise" was suggested. It came from House Speaker Walter Sillers who took a leading part in the 1948 states' rights bolt and who was still so dissatisfied with his original party in 1952 that he did not support its presidential candidates.

Rules May Be Changed

The Sillers plan, favored by the Governor, calls for a change in convention rules to permit a reconvening, something not now possible after the business of a convention is completed. It provides a recall of the state convention on petition of 20 per cent of its delegates or by a majority vote of the State Executive Committee.

Others, many of them Mississippians for States' Rights who would qualify an independent slate of presidential electors rather than "bow" to the national party officers, want to "peg" the reconvening. They propose that a "date certain" be set at the approaching state convention for the reconvening.

Governor Coleman claims more than a majority of the 280 convention votes to defeat the "date certain" proposal. He does not feel it is necessary since the actions of the delegates in Chicago will largely be gaged by "principles" to be adopted here later this month.

Purpose behind the recessed state convention is to repudiate what the state delegates may do —or agree to rather than being kicked out of the convention. It has the backing of the strong Mississippi Association of Citizens Councils whose members have been elected to "key" positions in state party councils in the six congressional district caucuses.

Mississippi's strong pro-segregation and state sovereignty position has gained the support of the Mississippi State Bar in a report of a special committee on maintenance of constitutional rights of the states and individuals. Chairman of that committee is Hugh N. Clayton of New Albany, who is serving out the unexpired term of the late former Gov. Fielding L. Wright as democratic national committeeman. Mr. Clayton is assured of a full term in his own right at the approaching state convention.

Taking cognizance of the United States Supreme Court's invasion of the legislative field, a statement of principles adopted by the State Bar Association states:

"In our time we have seen the Supreme Court set up and follow a policy of attrition whereby, now through gradual extension by novel construction — then through violent departure from proper constitutional procedures by amending rather than interpreting—this court is destroying the rights of the several states and the people thereof; granting to the Federal Government powers not delegated to it by the Constitution, but which were reserved to the states and to the people."

A six-point course of action adopted by the Bar Association calls upon "all citizens of Mississippi of every race, color and creed to work together for the common good."

"We appeal to them not to be provoked by agitators and trouble makers invading our states, to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts, to insure equal justice to all before the law, and to bear patiently their part of the cost and the labor required to provide and maintain equal facilities for both races in education and other phases of public service," the resolution stated.

Negro Educator Favors Keeping Segregation

Eagle P. 1 Thurs. 7-19-56 Tulsa, Okla.

Dr. White, of Miss., Blasts Powell for School Amendment

MOUND BAYOU, Miss. (ANP) Dr. J. H. White, president. Mississippi vocational college, Itta Bena, Miss., is advocating retention of segregation for what he calls "continued racial harmony."

The educator made this plea here Thursday during the 69th anniversary celebration of the founding of this all Negro town

According to Dr. White, Negroes of the South should have the intelligence to size up the situation and not throw away (schools) by attempting to disrupt peaceful conditions which have existed for so many years...just to sit, eat and ride beside a white person."

He criticized Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (., N. Y.) for the punitive amendment the congressman proposed to the federal aid to school construction bill. He blamed this amendment for the defeat of the measure.

"Can you imagine a Negro congressman blocking such a needed measure just to make the headlines? Yet you will find some Negroes in Mississippi supporting him," Dr. White asserted.

He held that Powell will be directly responsible for failure to secure much needed school facilities, thus "retarding thousands of children in this country."

Miss. to Use 'Secret Service' To Inform on Integrationists

Journal & Constitution P. 9-E

Sun. 5-20-56

Staff of Investigators to Help State Sovereignty Commission

Atlanta, Ga.

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau Chief, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., May 19—Mississippi's segregation "watchdog" commission will use human "bloodhounds" in tracking down the movements of integrationists.

It will be done by secret investigators and paid informants authorized this week by the legislative-created 12-member State Sovereignty Commission headed by Gov. J. P. Coleman.

A former Sharkey County sheriff, now serving as chief of the state highway patrol, will be in charge of the investigative division of the commission which will spearhead Mississippi's legal efforts to maintain segregation. He is Leonard C. Hicks, a brother-in-law of the late former Gov. Fielding L. Wright, onetime leader in the States Rights movement against civil rights actions.

Chief Hicks will leave the highway patrol to head up the division which will be staffed with a "reasonable" number of secret investigators to be approved by Gov. Coleman. Members said it will operate somewhat like the Federal Bureau of Investigation insofar as "informants" are concerned in that those who supply information will be paid for it out of the $250,000 voted the commission at the recent legislative session.

Might Employ Negroes

In keeping the investigators secret to all except commission members, the group pointed out that Negroes may be employed and it would be best not to disclose their identities.

Gov. Coleman proposed the investigators as an important "arm" of the commission in furnishing it with the background on maneuvers of the integrationists, as well as their identities and plans, discussed in clandestine meetings. He said with a long career as a law enforcement officer, Chief Hicks was ably qualified to handle the assignment.

"Whenever there is a petition filed for integration we will want to see what the basis is to it," Gov. Coleman said. "When suits are filed, the investigators will be used to gather information on the people involved for use in drawing up court procedures."

Gov. Coleman suggested that the investigators could also check on violations of the numerous laws designed to strengthen Mis-

MISSISSIPPI

sissippi's position in maintaining segregation, especially the act against "fomenting agitation or encouraging suits" against segreation, which prohibits the solicitation of funds for such purposes.

The commission also approved employment of a publicity director to handle a planned nationwide campaign to "beam" Mississippi's position on segregation above the Mason-Dixon Line. It will be conducted through the newspapers, radios and television stations.

Hal DeCell, editor of the weekly newspaper, the Deer Creek Pilot, at Rolling Fork, has been offered that post. He served as the governor's publicity director in his successful campaign last summer.

Mr. DeCell's job would be to "give the nation the real facts about Mississippi" in an effort to swing public opinion favorable to Southern customs and traditions.

Directing the over-all campaign will be State Rep. Ney Gore Jr., an attorney of Marks and member of the House from the Delta's Quitman County. He served in that same capacity with the defunct Legal Educational Advisory Committee which drafted the numerous laws enacted at the recent legislative session tightening Mississippi's hold on segregation—in the schools as well as at all levels.

Rep. Gore also was secretary of a special study committee which drafted Mississippi's Negro-white public school equalization program, designed to bring Negro schools to a par with the whites in an effort to discourage integration and encourage "voluntary" segregation in the face of the integration decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

Considerable progress has been reported on the equalization program in adjusting the "gap" in teachers' salaries, transportation as well as buildings.

Gives Wide Powers

Some legislators feel that the sovereignty commission's action in authorizing employment of the secret investigators is contrary to the general purpose outlined by the Legislature in its creation. However, the act is broad enough to give the commission wide powers in all efforts aimed at preserving segregation.

The creative act also permits the Sovereignty Commission to "receive contributions, donations and gifts of money and-or property from any state, department, agency, commission or subdivision thereof, and from any person, corporation or organization, to be expended by it in carrying out the objectives and purposes hereof."

Mississippi Will Set Up Integration Spy System

News & Observer P. 1 Sec. 5-16-56

Raleigh, N.C.

JACKSON, Miss., May 15 (AP)—Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission, watchdog of states' rights, today voted to hire secret agents to serve as "eyes and ears" in the fight to keep segregation.

Along the same lines, the 12-member commission voted to spend state money to "buy information" about activities in the integration camp.

In another move, the commission hired a full-time publicity director to explain to integrationists Mississippi's position concerning segregation.

The action was part of what Gov. J. P. Coleman, commission chairman, labeled an attempt "to bring this commission into its full effect and fruition."

The commission was set up by the 1956 Legislature to prevent federal "encroachment" upon states' rights with the segregation question as the main objective.

In debating the issue of hiring undercover agents, the commission agreed upon secrecy because, among other reasons "it's possible we may want to hire a Negro" to spy upon Negro activities within Mississippi.

Coleman called attention to the FBI's use of informants sand said the SSC would operate in the same manner. He called the investigators and informants, known but to the commission, "an official arm of state government."

The governor cautioned the commission not to panic. "I see no reason for alarm, frustration or futility," he said. "We have the ball and it's up to the opposition to take the initiative."

"After all, integration came about because the people gave up. We will not give up."

About segregation—

Northern newsmen invited to Mississippi 'to see truth'

Birm. Ala. News 6-13-56

JACKSON, Miss., June 13—(AP)—The State Sovereignty Commission has made its first attempt to "explode the falsehoods that have grown to be accepted as truths" about segregation in Mississippi.

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Hal DeCell, SSC public relations director, issued personal invitations to dozens of Northern newspapermen to visit Mississippi and "see hte situaton for themselves."

DeCell, former editor of The Deer Creek Pilot and campaign manager for Gov. J. P. Coleman, said all Mississippi asks is "fairness and a chance to present its side of the case."

"We make no claim of being completely without fault—what state is?

"HOWEVER, the continuation of utterly false accusations against our state and its people has led to the creaiton of a public relations department of the State Sovereignty Commission to aid in the dissemination of truth about Mississippi to fair-minded citizens of our nation."

The 1956 Legislature established the SSC to prevent "federal encroachment upon states rights." It replaced the disbanded Legal Education Advisory Committee, which was set up to seek means of evading the U.S. Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation.

DeCell said he invited newspapermen from New England, Kentucky, Iowa, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Minnesota, New York, Michigan, Illinois, Colorado, Kansas, Wisconsin, Nebraska and Ohio.

HE SAID he recently returned from the National Editorial Assn. meeting at Louisville, Ky., where he told newspapermen "we are not trying to cover up our faults but want it tempered with our good.

"Of all those people with whom I talked, not one showed adverse reaction to the situation."

He plans to attend the New England Press Assn. meeting in September.

A pamphlet, the first of many to be issued from DeCell's office, said in part:

"Admittedly, Mississippi is determined ot maintain a system of segregation which it knows to be a practical necessity. However, the scope of Mississippi's present alarm embraces the entire nation, derived from the threatening danger to each and all of the 48 states."

The pamphlet cites what it calls falsehoods printed by Time Magazine and statements of Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Marshall, the pamphlet continued, told of being confronted in a Mississippi town by a white man who said ominously that the sun never sets on a Negro in that town.

But, the pamphlet said, Time Magazine refused to retract or correct the statement even though Marshall could not remember the town.

ALLIANCE SUGGESTED TO HALT INTEGRATION

Commercial Appeal

Sat. 6-16-56

Other Dissatisfied Groups Could Aid South?

Memphis, Tenn.

SARTOR TALKS IN TUPELO

P. 17

From The Commercial Appeal
Tupelo, Miss., Bureau

TUPELO, Miss., June 15.—A Mississippi state representative declared here Friday the fight for the preservation of segregation cannot be won on the basis of segregation alone.

Havis Sartor, state representative of Clark and Jasper Counties, said the South must have the combined help of those persons who are dissatisfied with the income tax laws and other laws which the Federal Government is using for encroachment on state and local powers.

He said America was not envisioned as a centralized government such as European countries.

"America is composed of 48 separate governments, and the Federal Government is supposed to be the overseer of the separate governments."

Mr. Sartor claimed that in a divisional government such as that existing in America, the states have the final authority.

"The United States Supreme Court is not only trying to prove that it is supreme, but is acting as a separate legislative body by trying to enforce its own laws.

"The courts of the land are for one purpose only . . . to decide the issues, and not to enforce or make laws. Courts are to explain the meanings of laws."

He called for a constitutional amendment which would limit the amount of money the Federal Government can assess its people for income taxes.

The representative declined to say what he thought should be maximum amount the Government could take as income taxes.

Mr. Sartor spoke to members of the Tupelo Kiwanis Club.

Miss. Group Denies Race Purge; Invites U. S. Probe

Defender P.10 Sat. 6-9-56 Chicago, Ill.

JACKSON, Miss. — The State Sovereignty Commission last week denied charges made by Roy Wilkins before the Senate Judiciary sub-committee on Civil Rights that economic reprisals were being made against Negroes and invited the committee to come to Mississippi to see, "First hand the evidence completely refuting Mr. Wilkins' scattergun accusations."

Wilkins testified before the committee on May 25 from an article in the Jackson, Miss., Times reporting on a meeting of circuit county clerks.

According to the story in March, 1955, Earl Crenshaw, clerk of the Montgomery County, Ala. circuit court told his colleagues of the successful methods used there to keep Negroes from "overloading" the voters registration lists.

FORCED VACATIONS

Names were obtained from the lists and Negroes who worked for members of the White Citizens Councils were told to take a vacation. In turn, they were advised that when their names were purged from the lists, their "vacations" would be over.

Crenshaw said this method had been most successful in his county and he advised the people in Mississippi to use it.

Before May, 1955, Wilkins testified, Humphreys County, Miss., had 400 registered Negro voters. By May 7, 1955, the day Rev. George Lee was murdered, there were 92.

As of Nov. 25, 1955, Gus Courts of Belzoni, Miss., a grocer, who was shot, was the only name on the list. Wilkins also cited the threat mailed to Caleb Lee, a Negro farmer who received an unsigned letter warning him that if he wanted to live he had better stop trying to vote.

Wilkins accused the state of running the gamut from economic reprisals to out-right violence against Negroes.

The telegram to Chairman Hennings of the sub-committee was signed by Hal C. DeCell of the State Sovereignty Commission and said the commission would cooperate with the committee in every way to "ascertain the facts."

Mississippian Charges Press With Taking Sides Against Segregationists

Call Mo. 6-1-56 P.1

Mon. 6-4 Kansas City, Mo.

WASHINGTON. — (ANP) — Rep. John Bell Williams (D. Miss.) last week charged the press and radio with censoring news which show advocates of segregation in a favorable light.

In a speech prepared for delivery at Salem, Ala., Friday night the Mississippi representative said that 'liberals" have become so strong in recent years that they control a great segment of the press and radio in this country.

These media of communication, he said seize upon interracial crime in the South and amplify them out of proportion to their importance. This, he continued, is done by the use of half truths, innuendo and in some cases outright lies. They try to make it look as if lynching of Negroes is a favorite Southern pasttime among the white people.

In addressing the Dallas County Citizens' Council on the second anniversary of the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, Williams contended that educational standards have 'deteriorated" in Washington since integration.

He claimed that so much trouble had arisen in the schools that it has become necessary to assign full-time officers at some of the Washington schools.

He stated that crime is on the upgrade and white clubwomen of Washington had asked for extra police protection at night because of repeated attacks by Negro juveniles.

Williams contended that 320 of the 350 crimes committed in the District of Columbia during the last four months of 1955, were committed by Negroes.

The Mississippian denied that a "reign of terror" now exists in southern states. The lowest Negro crime rate in the United States is in Mississippi and South Carolina, he said. New York state has 7,000 Negroes in prison, he continued, while Mississippi only has 1,500.

Col. 3-4

In an attempt to justify the treatment of Negroes in the South, Williams pointed out some instances where Negroes were not given first class citzenship rights in the north.

He mentioned Dearborn, Mich., as a community where no Negroes are not permitted to live. And an Illinois congressman told him, said Williams, that there are "hundreds" of towns and cities in that state where Negroes can't spend the night.

SOUTHERNER SHUNS STATES RIGHTS UNIT

James R. 21-C

Special to The New York Times.

JACKSON, Miss., May 31 — Gov. James P. Coleman, titular head of the Mississippi Democratic party, closed the doors today on Mississippians for States Rights. Those who formed the organization are no longer eligible to seek public office as Democrats, he said.

Jun. 6-1-56

About 250 persons organized the states rights movement here yesterday. They adopted a resolution declaring they had "lost confidence in both major political parties as they are now controlled from the national level.

New York, N.Y.

Governor Coleman told a news conference that the states rights group had "read themselves out of the Democratic party" by their unwillingness to wait for the Democratic state convention July 16. He said none of the states righters would be welcome at the state convention.

Mr. Coleman singled out Ross R. Barnett, a Jackson attorney, and Mrs. Mary Cain, a Summit, Miss., newspaper editor. Both were gubernatorial candidates against him last summer.

Persons declared banned from the party by Governor Coleman scoffed at his announcement. Mrs. Cain called his statement "ridiculous."

Mississippi Roundup—

Post-Herald Mon. 5-27-56 P.11

States Rights Group Calls Meeting May 30

Birm. Ala.

JACKSON, May 20 (U.P.)—Missiissippians for States Rights, a group to name a slate of presidential electors pledged to principles instead of candidates, have announced a state-wide meeting here May 30.

Circuit Judge M. M. McGowan, temporary chairman, said a permanent erganization would be set up at the meeting set for 2 p.m. at the Heidelberg. He said "a group from Alabama" will present "and plans are being laid to have a group from three or four other Southern states where plans are under way to put up unpledged electors."

If both parties come up with candidates and platforms unsuittable to the South, the group hopes to throw the election into the House of Representatives where Southerners would be able to bargain for segregation and states' rights.

McGowan said the group hopes to "set up state, county and district committees of Mississippians for State Rights whose chief function will be to make available to every voter in this state information concerning the presidential campaign as it develops."

"We positively refrain from provoking any feud or fight between Mississippians," he said. "We simply want the people to have all the information before making a choice."

State Road-E-O held here over the week-end.

Edward Lancaster of Greenville came in second in the Jaycee-sponsored contest. Lamar Warnock of Carey placed third.

"EYES AND EARS"

Advertiser Wed. 5-16-56 P. 1

Mississippi Group To Hire Secret Agents In Race Row

Montgomery, Ala.

JACKSON, Miss., May 15 (AP)—Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission, watchdog of states' rights, today voted to hire secret agents to serve as "eyes and ears" in the fight to keep segregation.

Along the same lines, the 12-member commission voted to spend state money to "buy information" about activities in the integration camp.

In another move, the commission hired a full-time publicity director to explain to integrationists Mississippi's position concerning segregation.

The action was part of what Gov. J. P. Coleman, commission chairman, labeled an attempt "to bring this commission into its full effect and fruition."

The commission was set up by the 1956 Legislature to prevent federal "encroachment" upon states' rights with the segregation question as the main objective.

In debating the issue of hiring undercover agents, the commission agreed upon secrecy because, among other reasons "it's possible we may want to hire a Negro" to spy upon Negro activities within Mississippi.

Coleman called attention to the FBI's use of informants and said the SSC would operate in the same manner. He called the investigators and informants, known but to the commission, "an official arm of state government."

The governor cautioned the commission not to panic. "I see no reason for alarm, frustration or futility," he said. "We have the ball and it's up to the opposition to take the initiative."

"After all, integration came about because the people gave up. We will not give up."

Integration Fighting Agency Established In Mississippi

Daily Worker Wed. 5-16-56

Atlanta, Ga.

JACKSON, Miss. — (INS) — The state of Mississippi established a secret investigative agency Tuesday to "acquire necessary information to thwart efforts of integration."

It was not disclosed whether the secret investigators will have the power to arrest, but it was believed they would not.

The authorization for the force of secret investigators came from the newly-created State Sovereignty Commission, headed by Governor James P. Coleman.

12 MEN HIRED

The 12 man commission hired L. C. Hicks who has served for many years as chief of state police, to head the investigators. Hicks, who will receive $7200 per year for his services, will resign from the state police to take the position.

The action came only two days before the fourth anniversary of the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People recently announced it will make its first legal efforts at the local level by June 1 to end segregation in Mississippi's public schools.

REMAIN SECRET

Coleman was authorized by the Commission to hire as many investigators as he deemed necessary. The number will remain secret under present plans.

Attorney Hugh Clayton of New Albany, a member of the commission, said that at least one of the investigators "might be a Negro."

The commission authorized the investigators to "spend what money is necessary to acquire neceesary is necessary to acquire necessary information to thwart efforts of integration." The commission has an operating fund of $250,000 per year.

GOT THE BALL

Governor Coleman, speakeing of the announced efforts by the NAACP to end segregation, declared:

"I see no reason for alarm, frustration or futility. We've got the ball and it's up to the opposition to take the initiative." He added, "We are not a beleagured state with our backs to the wall."

Daily Worker

In another action, the commission hired Hal Decell, editor of the Deer Creek Pilot, as its publicity director at a salary of $6500 per year. His chief duty, according to the Commission, will be to "launch an information campaign designed to win friends outside the South."

The group named State Rep. Ney Gore of Marks as its fulltime executive director.

Mississippi, home of the prosegregation White Citizens Councils, has a Negro population of about 800,000, or 45 per cent of the total population.

Disparity In Mississippi's Racial Education Facilities Now Near Vanishing Point

Commercial Appeal Sun. 7-29-56

Memphis, Tenn. P. 4

Negro Students Being Given Buildings, Schooling Equal To That Of Whites And Riding Buses Paid By State—Teachers' Salaries Rise

By KENNETH TOLER

JACKSON, Miss., July 28.—The long-existent gap in Mississippi's segregated public school system is being rapidly closed.

And except for efforts to integrate the system, the Negro and white segregated schools will soon be on the equal basis called for in the 1890 Constitution.

Officials feel however, that the progress that has been made could be halted completely in a movement to carry out the United States Supreme Court integration decision.

That's based on the "standby" authority given the legislature by the people to abolish the whole system if integration is attempted.

Mr. Toler

That is apparently the main reason no suit has been filed in Mississippi to integrate the public schools.

Another factor is the NAACP - challenged statement that Mississippi Negroes are willing to accept voluntary segregation provided their schools are brought up to par with those of the whites without further delay.

Possibly the most benefitted group under a 1953 legislative-enacted Negro-white public school equalization program are the Negro teachers. They are feeling it in their pay-checks.

At the same time, Negro students are being given buildings and facilities equal to those of the whites, and are now riding to school in state-paid for buses.

Indicative of the adjustment in Negro school teachers salaries is a recent report by state Supt. J. M. Tubb.

In the 1945-46 session, Negro teachers averaged $398 a year. That compared to the $1,108 for whites for an overall average annual teacher salary of $840.

Negro Pay Near White's

That schedule in the 1955-56 session shows the average Negro teacher's annual salary had moved up to $2,010. The whites last session advanced to $2,609 for an overall average of $2,356.

Superintendent Tubb also disclosed the improvement in the training of Negro teachers.

In 1945-46, an estimated 1,376 Negro teachers, or 16 per cent of the state's total, had completed four-year college training. That compares with the record in the approaching 1956-57 session of holders of "A" certificates of 3,375 Negro teachers, or 49.4 per cent.

On the white side for the 1945-46 session, the white average in that category was 68.7 per cent and for the approaching session is 72 per cent of the 6,097 classroom teachers.

A sharp reduction in the number of school districts has also taken place. In the 1945-46 period, Mississippi has 4,746 school districts of all types. Last year, the number had been cut to 869, with the new consolidation program which must be completed by next July expected to reduce the number to 200.

In the 1945-46 school year, Mississippi spent $20,846,208 for public schools, or $46.96 per student, against $59,935,737 in the last year, or $135.39 per pupil.

Nearly 4,000 More Buses

There were 674 school buses in 1945-46, with few Negroes transported.

Now Mississippi has 4,600 all-steel bodied school buses driven by trained drivers which last year transported 230,167 students, of which 91,047 were Negroes.

The school buses traveled 25 million miles last year without a single fatality.

Expenditures in buildings from 1947 to 1953 totaled 75 million dollars, mostly local funds. Most of the funds were spent in improving Negro schools, and according to Superintendent Tubb, "went a long way" in reducing the $117,000,000 disparity between the two systems.

Under the new Negro-white equalization program, the Legislature has authorized unlimited expenditures, the only proviso being that at no time shall the outstanding bonds exceed 60 million dollars.

"It won't be very long before every child, white and Negro, will have the same facilities and opportunities," Superintendent Tubb said. "We hope nothing will be done to stop the wonderful progress Mississippi has made or to effect the harmonious race relations existent in Mississippi."

Writer Says Steps Taken To "Deodorize" Mississippi

Mobile Ala. Sat. 7-7 P. 3

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Efforts were made Monday to deodorize the State of Mississippi, but after a hearing lasting nearly three hours on civil rights the State was as stinky as ever.

Attorney General Joe G. Patterson of Mississippi, with the aid of Robert B. Young, a member of the professional staff of the Senate Judiciary Committee, sought to do the deordorizing by giving the State a bath of innocence in the brutal murder of Emmett Louis Till and in the conduct of other criminal cases in which colored men are the defendants.

In the end, Patterson's testimony and the self-serving declarations of Senator James Eastland, Dixiecrat, of Mississippi, committee chairman, left unchallenged the state of violence in which colored people live in that state.

Patterson was the third Attorney General of Southern states to appear before the Senate Judiciary Committee and testify against the four-point civil rights program of the Eisenhower Administration.

In a prepared statement he read he charged that the Administration's civil rights program is aimed at one section of the country.

The record fails to show, he said, that Mississippi whites have ignored the civil rights of colored people.

Charges of economic pressure being exerted againts colored people are absurd, he said, pointing out that there are prosperous colored business and professional men and farmers.

The Mississippi Supreme Court, he declared, has guarded the rights of its citizens regardless of race going before the crusaders came upon the scene.

of our land. The weight of evidence

To prove this he cited a number of decisions of the Mississippi Supreme Court, including the Willie McGhee case, showing that unfair convictions have been reversed.

The civil rights legislation proposed by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., will serve no good purpose, Patterson declared. The "same well-organized, radical groups" that caused introduction of the legislation, he said, will be just as "militant" in demanding that they be permitted to make policy and administer the proposed bipartisan civil rights commission and the proposed civil rights divison in the Justice Department.

Eastland charged that Mr. Brownell is attempting to divide the people of the country in a "very crucial period.' He said the Attorney General could better use his time trying to "correct the pro-Communist decisions of the present Supreme Court." He added that he had never had "adequate cooperation" from Mr. Brownell in helping to rid the country of subversives.

Senator William Langer, Republican, of North Dakota, brought up the Till case. He said he had received a great many letters concerning it and asked Patterson to tell him about the case.

The Till case was actually the third and most outrageous murder of colored persons in Mississippi in 1955. Till, a 14-year-old boy, was brutally slain and tossed into the Tallahatchie River near Greenwood, Miss.

Negroes by Thousands Are Leaving Mississippi

Times Picayune P. 34 New Orleans, La. Mon. 8-27-56

Exodus Is Comparable to Flight of 'Okies'

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 25 (AP) — Negroes by the thousands are leaving Mississippi, by fable and song their traditional home.

The exodus is comparable to the strange flight of the "Okies" from Oklahoma during the depression, or the mass movement from farm to city during World War II.

The motives are, partly, the same: The hope for a bigger paycheck in a faraway land of promise, the urge for such things as a refrigerator and a gas stove, a house you can look at and like.

Also a factor are the machines, the dust-stirring monsters which now strip more cotton from the long rows in an hour than a dozen persons can pick together.

Cotton picking and cotton chopping no longer is assurance of enough pay to re-establish your credit for another year at the corner grocery.

It can't be denied that a wish to "have their rights" is spurring many Negroes to leave the land their forebears—many as slaves—grew to cherish.

Over the radio and in their newspapers, they hear of "the North" as a land where a Negro votes all the time, where Negro children share the best schools with whites, where a man's color doesn't bar him from what he could otherwise have.

Mississippi claims she hasn't "given an inch" in maintaining traditional segregation of the races. No Negro has been admitted to a white school, at any level. Despite a federal edict, railroad and bus waiting rooms still are segregated.

Few Mississippi Negroes vote. To take part in the Democratic primaries—the only elections that matter—they can be required to interpret sections of the state constitution in writing.

They also can be required to swear support of a declaration of party principles. This means they would have to pledge themselves, among other things, against integration and "federal encroachment" on states rights.

Fewer than 8,000 of Mississippi's 900,000 Negroes pay their poll taxes. Fewer than 8,000 actually vote. Gov. J. P. Coleman said recently the Mississippi Negro "is wholly unprepared to assume this responsibility" (of voting) and he doesn't favor the Negro voting.

Meanwhile Mississippi is spending a great deal of money in a "crash" program to make Negro schools and Negro teachers' salaries equal to that of the whites. It's part of the state's response to the U.S. Supreme Court integration ruling. Another part— The Legislature has stand-by authority to abolish public schools.

In the fertile, 18-county Delta, where the Negro population is concentrated and where alluvial soil from the Mississippi river makes cotton grow like magic, plantations are being mechanized.

Much of the Negro migration is from the Delta. But not all of it.

Dr. Robert C. Weems Jr., former dean of the school of business and industry at Mississippi State College, reported that Negroes are leaving Mississippi at the rate of 40,000 to 50,000 a year.

Dr. Weems said that in 1940 Mississippi was about half Negro and half white. In 1950 the proportion dropped to 45 per cent Negro and in 1952 to 42 per cent Negro.

If the trend continues, Dr. Weems said, there will be only one Negro to two whites in Mississippi by 1966.

He said this migration may ease the state's most obvious social problem. But he said "it would be very difficult to point to it as an economic asset."

With employment over the nation at record levels, many Negroes in the Delta are without work.

The Jackson Advocate, a Negro newspaper with statewide circulation, says:

"It is estimated that some 200,000 Delta Negro farm workers are now only able to look forward to about four months work in the year hoeing cotton."

Mechanication and use of chemicals, the Advocate said, may in the next five years "reduce drastically, if not altogether, the need for the hoe hand in the production of cotton."

"A major social as well as economic problem," said the Advocate, is "what will become of this estimated 200,000 Negro workers no longer able to obtain the meager livelihood of four months work as hoe hands."

The over-supply of labor is not attracting new industries. Of 46 new plants located in Mississippi in the first half of 1956, only five chose the Delta. The Advocate says the Negro Delta farm worker is not qualified as an industrial worker, "primarily due to his long induced habits as a cotton plantation worker."

Given "the proper opportunity for training," said the Negro newspaper, he could become "as good an industrial worker as can be found anywhere else in the nation."

38a 1956

MISSISSIPPI

Dr. Howard Gives 3-Point Program To Alpha Confab

Defender Sat. 1-14-56 p.3

Chicago, Ill.

By GEORGE DANIELS

From behind the "cotton curtain" of the Mississippi Delta last week came Dr. Theodore R. (for Roosevelt) Mason Howard, to accept the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity's award of merit for his activities "in behalf of democracy."

Rated as Mississippi's "most hated" Negro leader because of his refusal to buckle under pressure applied by anti-desegregationists, Dr. Howard is described "as a man who lets the chips fal where they may."

Before some 2,500 persons who packed the Trianon ballroom during the 41st annual convention of the fraternity, the chips fell when Dr. Howard:

1. Urged Negro leaders throughout the country to gather and organize a financial fight against Mississippi terrorism and economic pressure.

2. Lambasted Negro ministers for preaching of milk and honey and the golden slippers, instead of illustrating ways and means toward obtaining food, clothing and shelter.

3. Urged a shift of emphasis on education — to restudy the theory of education to meet an integrated society.

GINS WON'T GIN

"We do not have a single organization," Dr. Howard said, "that can gear its program to fighting the brand of economic pressure now being placed on us in Mississippi.

"They're pushing us out of business, dollar by dollar. They're foreclosing on our homes and businesses. We can't get our cotton ginned and banks refuse to grant loans."

Dr. Howard, whose family has fled the state in fear of their lives, urged Negro leaders across the country to unite and form an organization to combat what he terms "a financial crisis brought on by the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court decision" which declared public school segregation unconstitutional.

"We must meet economic pressure with economic pressure," Dr. Howard said. "And in Mississippi, we're doing the best we can: we didn't buy toys or cotton goods for Christmas. The stores owned by white anti-Negro merchants are still stocked tight. We have now started the greatest mail order campaign in the history of the state."

Dr. Howard described the rising of white citizens councils — groups dedicated to maintaining segregation — as an attempt to reduce the Negro to a homeless, wandering race. "Of course, they (the whites) will let us alone," he stated, "If we remove our names from the voters' lists and resign from such anti-discrimination organizations as the NAACP"

HITS AT CHURCH

In his 12-page speech Dr. Howard did what many young men hope to do, and what many old men wished they had done: take a hefty swing at Negro Christians, letting the chips fly helter skelter.

He challenged the Negro church of America to a new crusade. "The Negro minister must tell his congregations that there is something to do while waiting for his wings."

"The average Negro Christian," Dr. Howard declared, "has less faith than anyone in the world, but he does more preaching, groaning and moaning. You cannot live in Chicago and board in Heaven."

Dr. Howard urged ministers to talk more of wages and ways and means to a better life, than the Golden Slippers, the Mansion in the Sky and the Land of Milk and Honey."

Dr. Howard further urged a shift of emphasis on Negro education. "We need to encourage young people to become scientists, technicians, engineers, and teach them to exploit their talents and to gamble on occupations other than those we consider secure and proven, as medicine, law and education."

Dr. Howard said Mississippi whites believe they can maintain segregation for at least another 10 years without federal intervention. During that period, he said, they hope to drive 500,000 Negroes out of the state.

"But if we could get our hands on the so-called unrestricted ballot, there would be some changes."

6,000 FLEE DEATH

Mississippi has about 1,230,000 whites, as compared with 986,000 Negroes. But Negroes outnumber whites 2 and 3 to 1 in nearly 85 percent of the counties. Fewer than 19,000 Negroes vote.

Since the acquittal of J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant in the Emmett Till lynch case in Money, Miss., some 6,000 Negroes have fled the state. According to Dr. Howard 82 per cent of them bought one way tickets to Chicago and Gary.

"How can President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles, talk about free elections in Germany," Dr. Howard emphasized, "when in Mississippi:

". . .there is no free election.

". . .the state seeks to give power to local police officials to arrest any FBI agent who attempts to arrest or interfere with a white person who harms a Negro.

". . . Negro farmers, who raised the best cotton crop in the history of the Delta, cannot get their money.

" . . . Negroes are shotgunned, lynched and threatened, etc., Rev. George Lee in Belzoni, Lamar Smith in Brookhaven, Emmett Till in Money and Gus Courts in Belzoni.

"Our theory of American democracy is the greatest philosophy of government in the world, but Mississippi is in open rebellion against the Federal Government and the laws of our land."

Dr. Howard, whose wife and children are in California, said he was returning to Mississippi. "I don't know how long I'll stay there, but I will stay as long as I can because I believe in what I am doing."

"Few of us in this generation," he said, "have paid a price for our civil liberties. But that time has passed; we (the Negro) will now have to take up or own banner and sacrifice for that in which we justly believe."

Dr. Howard is founder and director of the 2,500-member Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, with headquarters in Mound Bayou. He also directs the Friendship Medical Center there, and is one of the directors of the Tri-State bank in Memphis, Tenn., where funds (about $286,000) have been deposited to aid Negro farmers and businessmen in Mississippi.

MISSISSIPPI TO DEFY U.S. RACIAL RULING

Commercial Appeal 1-7

Cities Plan To Keep Waiting Room Segregation

Memphis, Tenn.

TO IGNORE ICC ORDER

By The Associated Press

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 9.—Officials of several Mississippi towns said Monday their railroad and bus stations will remain segregated despite a Federal agency ruling against segregating interstate passengers.

Jackson police put up segregation signs in the railroad station and a bus station Monday to enforce Mississippi's segregation laws.

Will Be Policed

Policemen will be stationed at the Illinois Central Railroad depot to enforce the city's stand if they are needed, Police Chief W. D. Rayfield said.

Some other Mississippi city officials said they would take similar action if necessary.

The Interstate Commerce Commission ordered an end to segregated waiting rooms for interstate passengers — those traveling between states. The order goes into effect Tuesday. It does not apply to passengers traveling only within Mississippi.

The Jackson order against integration will appy to all passengers, whether interstate or intrastate.

Illinois Central workers in Jackson scraped away and painted over "colored" and "white" signs Monday on waiting rooms and rest rooms.

City police put up their own—large white signs with black letters, attached to heavy metal stands. The sings read:

"Waiting Room, White Only," or "Waiting Room, Colored Only." They are signed "By Order Police Department."

Declines Comment

Tom Casey, superintendent of the Louisiana Division of Illinois Central, declined comment. "There's been too much said already."

It may boil down to the question—does the state or the ICC have jurisdiction over the stations?

Police placed identical signs at the Continental Trailways Bus Station.

They Greyhound Bus Station still had its usual segregation signs and a company official said they would remain unless orders came down from a higher office.

The Jackson Municipal Airport has only one small waiting room and Negroes and whites always have shared it.

Negroes in the Jackson railroad and bus stations segregated themselves Monday as usual.

In Laurel, Mayor A. S. Scott said train and bus stations will remain segregated. If the segregation signs are taken down, the city will put up new ones, he said.

Signs remained up in Gulfport, as they did in Greenwood where Mayor Allen Saffold said "segregation will definitely remain."

In Hattiesburg, Southern Railways put up a sign reading "Colored Waiting Room for Intrastate Passengers." That apparently allowed Negro passengers traveling across state lines to use it or the white waiting room.

Several Mississippi legislators have indicated a bill will be introduced this week to spell out state authority over waiting rooms, and providing penalties.

Asst. Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson said it already is a misdemeanor to violate the state's segregation laws, punishable by fines of $100 to $1,000.

'NO MIDDLE-GROUND' OVER SEGREGATION

Commercial Appeal 1-10

Mississippi Leader Warns Against Integration

Memphis, Tenn.

WORLD ISSUES CITED

Sun. 1-10-55

Special to The Commercial Appeal

KOSCIUSKO, Miss., Jan. 9.—Secretary of State Heber Ladner asserted here Monday that there is no middle-ground in the fight to preserve racial segregation—"You are either an integrationist or you are a segregationist."

"The clock has struck, the hour is here, when every citizen of the United States must take his or her place in the battle line—either on one side or the other," the state official said in an address before the Rotary Club.

Warning Is Given

"If we are to perpetuate our great civilization, we must wake from our slothful slumber," Mr. Ladner said. "We must at all costs prevent the amalgamation of the races."

He said "to integrate the races, as now being proposed by the Federal authorities, will within a few generations result in both the black and white races losing their identity.

"And," he added, "with it our superiority in the councils of the world will be lost forever."

Attacking President Eisenhower's proposed civil rights investigating commission, the Mississippi official said its purpose "is to control and regulate the though and action of a sovereign people."

Strife Is Predicted

"This can only result in strife and chaos, which is contrary to one of the cardinal purposes for which the constitution of the United States was adopted—to insure domestic tranquility," Mr. Ladner said. "As we face today the greatest problem that has ever confronted this nation—that of preserving the integrity of the blood streams of both the white and black races—let us remember that history repeats itself.

"Every nation that has heretofore promoted the integration of the races has been relegated to a position of dependency," he said.

Mr. Ladner said integration "in effect means the mongrelization of the races several generations hence," while segregation "will insure the purity of the blood streams of our citizens and guarantee the perpetuity of the greatest nation in the world."

Howard calls 'democracy' in Mississippi 'mockery'

Afro-American 1-17
Baltimore, Md.

BATON ROUGE, La. (ANP) —Dr. T. R. M. Howard told an Emancipation Day anniversary gathering last week that Mississippi whites are conducting a campaign of violence and economic reprisal aimed at driving out a half million colored citizens in the next 10 years.

The Mound Bayou, Miss., physician told 1,000 listeners that Mississippi's congressional delegation should be challenged because a "Mockery of democracy exists in the state."

HE SAID WHITE leaders told him that they felt they could stall off school integration and unlimited colored voting for 10 years before the Federal Government moved in to force it.

"They knew that once the colored citizen gets the unrestricted ballot in his hands there will be some changes made in Mississippi," he said, adding that in spite of the problem in Mississppi, "the Federal Government has done nothing to help."

"The FBI can pick up pieces of a fallen airplane on the slopes of Colorado and find the man who caused the crash," he added, "but they can't find a white man when he kills a colored person in the South."

Integration Foes Await Coleman's Policy, Plans

Journal + Constitution

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 14—Mississippi inaugurates her 51st governor Tuesday in the midst of an all-out effort to preserve racial segregation on all levels.

The man who assumes that office has been serving as attorney general, and as the state's top legal authority has insisted segregation will be maintained without resort to violence or unnecessary "hysteria."

Sun. 1-15-56

However, as James Plemon Coleman takes over the reins of state government strong pro-segregation groups wait anxiously for disclosure of the approach he will take to carrying out his position in view of his campaign last summer. Not once during his campaign did the retiring attorney general use the word "Negro" in his stump speeches.

Also, Gov.-elect Coleman differs sharply with Sen. James O. Eastland (D. Miss.) and two other officials who admit membership in the White Citizens Councils "dedicated to preservation of segregation." That difference is on steps that should be taken by the state in keeping the races from mixing in the public schools and elsewhere.

Atlanta

Mr. Coleman has branded a proposed "nullification" move by Sen. Eastland as "legal poppycock" and "foolish." That course had been suggested for legislative consideration by the senator, along with Rep. John Bell Williams (D. Miss.), and Circuit Judge T. P. Brady of Brookhaven, an official in the state association of Citizens Councils.

In a move to offset indications of a "break" among top officials on the segregation question, Sen. John C. Stennis (D. Miss.) close friend of the new governor, has suggested a "softer" approach. Sen. Stennis has suggested that "voiding" would be less offensive.

Mr. Coleman said whatever move is made should be in seeking a constitutional convention through petition to the Congress on the question of safeguarding the sovereignty of the states in handling school and similar problems on that level. He came out for that approach after it was suggested by former Gov. Fielding L. Wright, 1948 states rights candidate for vice president of the United States.

MISSISSIPPI

Another situation keeping the pro-segregationists watchful of Mr. Coleman's disclosures in his Tuesday's inaugural message is his somewhat "cool" attitude towards the Citizens Councils.

The governor-elect has said his message will be "heard from the Pacific to the Atlantic." Other than that, he has given on indication of its contents.

He can be expected, however, to take a calmer approach to the issue than has been the course with other officials.

Instead of coming out "slugging," he may take a somewhat conciliatory, yet stern attitude insofar as segregation is concerned. At least, he is expected to offer a helping hand to Negroes who have expressed themselves as being willing to continue the segregation status, provided their facilities and opportunities are equalized.

Mr. Coleman feels that a student assignment law, based on public health, morals and community welfare, is Mississippi's presently No. 1 bar to integration. He also comforts the situation with the assertion that as yet no integration suits have been filed in Mississippi.

The new governor can be expected to outline the progress made by Mississippi Negroes in offsetting outside propaganda that things are otherwise. He may also give the outsiders something to think about in revealing conditions in their states among Negroes as contrasted to those in Mississippi.

Because of the large number of legislators who are members also of the Citizens Councils, Mr. Coleman will likely be careful not to antagonize them just as he begins his term.

Chicago Ministers Help Mississippi Squeeze Victims

Daily World P. 7
Tues. 1-17-56
Atlanta, Ga.

CLEVELAND, Miss. — (ANP) — Amzie Moore, 43-year-old businessman who complain-he is threatened by an economic boycott, has receive a $1,500 check from a group of Chicago ministers.

Moore announced recently that he would have to close his combination, gasoline station, cafe and beauty shop near here unless he recieved assistance in paying off some of his bills. He had been refused credit because of his activity in behalf of Negroes at Cleveland.

The Christian Protective Association, composed mostly of Chicago Negro church leaders, was organized six months ago to aid "economic squeeze" vitims in the south.

The gift to Moore was raised a week ago Sunday in the churches of the ministers who are members of the association.

The Rev. Montgomery G. Ward, president of the group, said Moore is a supporter of desegregation in the schools and has been active in urging Negroes to vote in Miss.

Miss. Chief Vows No Mix, No Row

Constitution
Wed. 1-18-56
Atlanta, Ga.

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 17 (UP)—Gov. James Plemon Coleman promised today to give Mississippi four years of sound government and segregation without a "daily uproar of confusion and uncertainty."

The 42-year-old former farm boy from Choctaw County held a steady hand to a cold clear sky after his inauguration as Mississippi's 51st governor and said:

"I have not the slightest fear that four years hence when my successor stands on this same spot to assume his official oath, the separation of the races in Mississippi will be left intact and will still be in full force and effect in exactly the same manner and form as we know it today."

Coleman said Mississippi is now prepared to maintain separation of the races on all levels "without keeping our state, its economy, its customs, and its practices in a daily uproar of confusion and uncertainty."

He pledged the "full weight" of the state government would be used to keep Mississippi a "state of law and not of violence."

Mississippi Takes Interposition Path

Commercial Appeal
Thurs. 3-1-56 P. 52

Both Houses Adopt Resolution Saying Court Has Exceeded Its Powers In Rulings On Integration

Memphis, Tenn.

By KENNETH TOLER
From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 29.—The Mississippi Legislature voted unanimously Wednesday to interpose the state's sovereignty against enforceemnt of the Supreme Court integration decisions on grounds they are "unconstitutional, invalid and of no lawful effect within the confines of the state."

Asserting the court has usurped powers reserved by the state in the administration of its schools, the Legislature declared it will take "all appropriate measures honorably and constitutionally available to us to void this illegal encroachment upon our rights."

Gov. J. P. Coleman had endorsed the resolution of interposition which makes Mississippi the fifth state to take steps to block enforcement of the desegregation decisions. Others are Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia.

Mississippi's resolution invites "our sister states to take prompt and deliberate action to check further encroachment by the Federal Government, through judicial legislation, upon the reserved powers of all states."

Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin, speaking for Senate adoption of the proposal offered by Chairman Earl Evans Jr. of a joint committee which drafted it, said, "We are not willing to sit idly by and see rights reserved unto us trampled under foot and taken away by the Supreme Court.

"By all honorable and legal methods, we are going to wage a great fight to keep our traditions."

'Chip By Chip'

House Speaker Walter Sillers, who spoke for the measure in that branch, said, "Chip by chip our constitutional rights are being whittled away and unless we assert ourselves the states will become vassals of the Federal Government.

"We will then have a dictatorship. This is not a defiance of constitutional authority, but a protest to excessive use of powers granted the Federal Government."

Representative Joel Blass of Stone County said the resolution "is a rational and legally sound step."

"The question is the continued existence of the union of states," he said. "Nowhere does the resolution say that the decision is not in effect—but it does say that it has no lawful effect."

Representative Joe Wroten of Washington County sought to add a statement that "we respectfully reject the doctrine of nullification" in the resolution, but he was voted down, 123 to 7. He supported the resolution after losing his amendment to clarify statements by "some who hold interposition and nullification to be synonymous."

Senator Hayden Campbell of Jackson, who headed a subcommittee which drafted the resolution, said "implementing" legislation is expected to be offered later. It was explained that was needed to back up the resolution.

The resolution was adopted in the Senate during the morning, and then rushed to the House where it was substituted by Representative George Payne Cossar of Tallahatchie County for an identical House proposal.

Sing 'Dixie'

After Speaker Sillers had spoken on the resolution, five members stood up and sang "Dixie." In the group were Representatives Bob Cooper of Monroe County, Odie Trenor of Chickasaw County, Bill Jolly of Lowndes County, Bob Scott of Franklin County and James Vardaman Webb of Winston County.

The resolution states the court is not a party to the compact of states, but a creature of it, and that the question of contested power must be settled by the states.

It asks Congress to submit the question of state sovereignty to the states in an amendment spelling out the school issue. It does not ask for a constitutional convention, because, Speaker Sillers said, it would be controlled by Congress and delegates based on legislative representation which would jeopardize the position of the Southern States.

'Segregation Tax' Urged

Herald P. 9-A
Mar. 3-1-56

JACKSON, Miss. — (AP) — Churches and their societies and private organizations operating on a nonsegregated basis would lose their property tax exemptions under a proposed bill in the Mississippi Senate.

Sen. George Yarbrough introduced the bill Tuesday. It was referred Wednesday to the Senate Finance Committee.

Under present law, churches and religious organizations are exempt from property taxes.

EYES ON MISSISSIPPI

Times Picayune
Sun. 3-18-56 P. 2

Public Dissention Poses Test on Segregation Plan

New Orleans La.

By W. F. MINOR
(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

JACKSON, Miss. — Mississippi is facing a critical test of the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities for the Negro and white races—a doctrine which the state has condemned the US supreme court for abandoning.

By resolution of interposition and other declarations, the state has charged that the supreme court exceeded its authority and violated all precedents when it ruled that segregated public schools violated the federal constitution.

Until the court ruled in May, 1954 that segregation was illegal, it had relied on the 1896 ruling that separate facilities for the races, as long as they were equal, were constitutional.

Glaring Inequality

Mississippi had never acted by law to create "equal" facilities within its segregated school system until it tackled the problem in 1953.

When it did take up the problem, the Legislature had before it the evidence its own investigations had turned up—that glaring inequalities existed between the Negro and white school systems.

The highest state authorities, with then Gov. Hugh White in the forefront, admitted that the state had a moral and legal duty to wipe out the discrimination of the past and equalize the school systems.

In spelling out the program of equalization, the Legislature produced the broadest program of reorganization and consolidation of schools the state has ever attempted.

Lawmakers admitted that without a sweeping, streamlining process, with final authority at the state level, the cost of a dual system could not be afforded.

Passions Cooling

After two years of preliminary work, the program is beginning to pick up momentum, as the July 1, 1957 date for reorganization of all school districts under direction of the state educational finance commission draws closer.

But with each consolidation, the people in many parts of the state apparently don't like it. At least, that's what their representatives in the Legislature have been saying.

Repeatedly in the current session of the Legislature lawmakers have attacked the program on the floor or made attempts to veto some of its operation.

One legislator drew a thunder of applause when she said, "It's about time we started worrying about our white children and not so much about the Negro children."

A large bloc of the Legislature has organized to pass legislation postponing the deadline for reorganizations anywhere from one to 10 years.

Dissention Alarm

So far, the education committees in both the House and Senate have rejected such bills.

Gov. J. P. Coleman, a firm believer in the present school equalization plan, has made it known that he would stand in the way of any measure to cripple the program or prevent its operation.

But last week, both Coleman and the commission obviously were concerned over the dissention surrounding the program.

They huddled for several hours and later produced a statement declaring that the commission would consider no further reorganizations of any school districts until public meetings were held locally giving the people full details.

This was calculated to take some of the "curse" off the state commission which has been pictured by some opponents as a heartless dictator.

The commission and Coleman reminded the people that they had chosen to pay the price in order to keep segregation.

AN ECONOMIC LYNCHING

Here Is How The South Breaks The Back Of An 'Uppity N----r

Defender P. 8 Sat. 3-31-56 Chicago, Ill.

By LLOYD GENERAL

The brother of the top NAACP official in Mississippi was in Chicago this week, an unemployed fugitive from a three-year campaign of harassment that destroyed his $25,000 business and left him more than $500 in debt. He was the victim of an economic lynching.

He is 33-year-old James Charles Evers, who arrived in Chicago Sunday from Philadelphia, Miss. His brother is Medger Evers, Mississippi field secretary for the NAACP.

Three years ago, Evers was a prosperous young businessman. He owned an undertaking establishment, a hotel, two cafes and the town's only taxi line for Negroes.

Now, all that is gone—because he dared urge Negroes in Mississippi to register and vote. Under mounting pressure, Evers was forced to flee Mississippi with his wife and three small girls.

They have moved into a flat at 1851 S. Hamlin with his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Jordan, and their mother, Mrs. Jessis Evers.

Ever's story is an all-familiar tale of what happens to Negroes in Mississippi who try to exercise their rights of citizenship.

The trouble began when Evers, a disc jockey on radio station WHOC in Philadelphia urged other Negroes to vote. To set an example, he tried three times to register.

At first, he was told by the clerk, Burdett Richardson, that he would have to recite the U.S. Constitution. Unable to perform this task, Evers gave interpretations of four amendments.

Richardson was still unsatisfied. He demanded that Evers recite verbatim the first ten amendments to the Constitution. Unable to comply, Evers was still undaunted. He went home and returned within the week, ready to recite the amendments.

But he never got a chance to put his new-found knowledge to use. He related the words of Richardson:

"I hear you have been saying some damn smart talk about me. Now get out before I. . ."

Evers left, but his troubles were not over. In fact, they had just begun.

First, his taxi licenses were revoked; then the lease on his cafeteria was cancelled. Advertisers began to boycott station WHOC, his sponsors were forced to drop the show and finally Evers quit.

There was more. Guests in Evers hotel were warned that the building might be blown up. Negroes who were members of his burial insurance plan were told to quit or lose their jobs.

Then came the final blows. One day Mrs Evers was driving one of her husband's hearses when it was struck from the side by a car driven by a white man, who quickly admitted being at fault.

The matter would have ended there, but for pressure brought to bear on the white man to file suit against Evers. The result was a $500 judgement against Mrs. Evers.

There was another accident in which Evers' car was struck by another vehicle driven by a white woman. When the chief of police arrived on the scene, the woman said Evers' car was standing still when it was struck.

But the chief—and the town's mayor—would have none of such confessions. They publicly stated that this was an opportunity for which they had been waiting more than three years.

The upshot of it all was that Evers was fined $84 for "reckless driving." And the mayor declared—for good measure— that no Negro in Mississippi was fit to vote.

Evers tells of his futile attempts to borrow $4,000 to save his business, which were valued at more than $25,000. He tells also of filing a complaint with the FBI, informing them that Mississippi's Fifth Congressional District has no Negro voters.

And he relates sadly how the FBI conducted an investigation, and declared there was "not enough evidence "to warrant action. The NAACP has also been unable to get action in the case.

In Chicago, James Charles Evers said this week that he wants to forget the nightmare he has lived through.

"All I want is a job—any kind of job," said the graduate of Alcorn A and M College.

He is being helped by the Rev. A. Lincoln James, pastor of the Greater Bethesda Baptist church, who hopes to find Evers a job with a Chicago undertaking establishment.

"But," said Rev. James, "if anyone knows where Evers can find employment, they can contact me or the Defender or call Evers at ROckwell 2-5804."

JAMES EVERS

SCHOOLS TOP ISSUE AS 1956 ASSEMBLY BEGINS WORK TODAY

Commercial

Coleman Thinks Legislature Can Complete Business Around March 1

Appeal

OTHERS NOT OPTIMISTIC

Tues. 1-3-56

Mississippi Budget In Test As Cities Try To Get Taxes Earmarked For Them — Sillers, Winter In Contest

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

P. 2

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 2.—Legislators arriving in advance of Tuesday's convening of the 1956 General Assembly held varied opinions Monday on the length of the biennial session which faces many major issues, topped by the one to preserve racial segregation in Mississippi.

Gov.-elect J. P. Coleman, who doesn't take office until Jan. 17, has expressed the hope the legislators' work can be completed around March 1.

Memphis

However, those who will have to deal directly with the issues on the House and Senate floors were not as optimistic.

Jenn.

Representative-elect Barron Drewry of Alcorn County, a newcomer, said he believes the work can be completed in 60 days, while Representative Tom Dunlap, starting his third term from Chickasaw County, is less optimistic.

Boren Has Plan

Senator-elect Hugh Boren of Tupelo is ready to give early adjournment a shot in the arm with a resolution urging immediate consideration be given to appropriation and revenue bills. Usually, those issues are left for the last days of a session.

In support of his proposal, Senator-elect Boren, a former member of the Legislature, said. "The citizenry looks to this Legislature for immediate enactment of legislation effectuating an overall balanced budget commensurate with our various needs and sources of income."

The new budget for the two-year period commencing July 1 has been submitted to the legislators. It calls for 183 million dollars. Revenue to balance that budget, along with use of a 10-million-dollar surplus, has been suggested.

OK Budget Proposal

Governor-elect Coleman, as well as outgoing Gov. Hugh White, have approved the suggested budget which calls for reenactment of a 14 per cent surtax on big business, slated for automatic repeal June 30, and an increase in insurance premium taxes.

The budget, however faces a test in an effort of the 265 municipalities to have the premium taxes earmarked for them, along with opposition of the County Supervisors Association to a five-million-dollar "ceiling" on general funds for the state aid rural road program. Both of those items are calculated in the "tightly" balanced budget for state use.

On the segregation issue, bills have already been approved by the 1954 Legal Educational Advisory Committee designed to strengthen Mississippi's position in anticipated integration efforts.

Unlike the Senate where there is no organization issue, the House of Representatives opens with a contest for the speakership, as well as clerk.

Incubent Speaker Walter Sillers of Bolivar County, seeking his fourth term as presiding officer, is opposed by Representative William Winter of Grenada County. Both are optimistic.

Caucuses were held Monday night by Sillers and Winter forces, with both still insisting on enough votes to win in Tuesday's voting.

Commercial

Mr. Sillers, member of the House since 1916, is counting in excess of 94 of the 140 votes, while Mr. Winter, entering his third term, claims more than 60 in his camp. With two seats vacant by recent deaths, the voting strength is 138, with 70 needed to win.

Appeal

Incumbent Clerk Roman Kelly of Tupelo is opposed by Hal Rhyne of Jackson and Durant. That race is not expected to be as close as the speakership.

Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin's reelection last summer settled the presidency of the Senate. Unopposed for president pro tem is Senator Earl Evans Jr. of Canton, retiring chairman of the Finance Committee.

Mrs. Halla May Pattison, first woman to hold the office as secretary of the Senate, is likewise unopposed.

P. 4

Ladner To Open House

Secretary of State Heber Ladner will convene the House and give the members their oaths. A temporary speaker will then be elected, and nominations opened for the permanent presiding officer.

Representative Blaine Eaton of Smith County is slated to nominate Mr. Sillers, with Representative-elect Milton Grisham of Prentiss County handling those honors for Mr. Winter.

A delay may result in adoption of rules in both branches, as changes have been suggested by some members. It is customary for former rules to be adopted for temporary use before being made permanent.

Governor White is scheduled to deliver his farewell message to a joint session of the House and Senate Wednesday.

Senate committee assignments are expected to be ready for announcement earlier than those in the House due to the speakership contest.

It usually takes two weeks for the committees to be lined up, with the members more or less marking time until the new Governor is inaugurated two weeks after they take office.

Urged To Start Work

However, Governor-elect Coleman has urged the members to get down to business and complete as much of the work as possible before he takes office.

He has been assured of support by a majority of the members, including the two candidates for speaker, for his program which is headlined with a proposal for recall of county officials who refuse to enforce the laws.

Likewise, the new Governor has been assured of sufficient votes to gain enactment of his proposal to expand state level regulation of public utilities to include natural gas and electric power companies.

Among the early arrivals were Representative-elect John Anderson and Representative-elect Murry Duncan, both of Pontotoc County, Representattive-elect Fred Cocke of Coahoma, Representative-elect Bob Cooper of Monroe County, Representative-elect Luther Adams of Lee County, Representative-elect Bill Coon of Wilkinson County, Representative-elect Odie Trenor of Chickasaw County, Representative-elect L. L. Brody of DeSoto County, and Representative Dexter Lee of Alcorn County.

MISSISSIPPI FACES LEGISLATIVE TEST

Times

Segregation, Finances, Law Enforcement Top Issues for New Administration

38

Tues. 1-3-56

Special to The New York Times.

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 2—The new Legislature will swing into action tomorrow as a new state administration faces major problems.

P. 22-C

Segregation, law enforcement, finances and regulation of public utilities loom as top matters for consideration by the 189 legislators, 60 per cent of whom are newcomers.

New York

Despite the abundance of controversy, J. P. Coleman, who takes office as Governor Jan. 17, expects to push through his program with ease.

N. Y.

Mr. Coleman, an unpredictable political figure, shattered precedent last summer by winning the governorship on his first try. He has made it clear that he intends to be in command on Legislature matters.

Mississippi has been noted for legislative independence, and political observers are interested in seeing how closely the Legislature goes along with the 41-year-old Governor-elect, a former "country plow boy."

Fight for Speaker's Post

Mr. Coleman has kept a "hands off" policy in the fight for the powerful post of House Speaker, which will be decided on opening day. Walter Sillers of Rosedale, the Speaker for twelve of his forty years' legislative service, is opposed by 32-year-old William Winter of Grenada County. Mr. Winter has had eight years in the House. Both have assured the Governor of their cooperation.

Lieut. Gov. Carroll Garten, who was re-elected overwhelmingly, will preside over the forty-nine-member Senate. Earl Evans Jr. of Canton, former chairman of the Finance Committee is unopposed as president pro tempore of the Senate, the state's third highest political office.

Hugh White, the outgoing Governor, will address a joint session of the Legislature Wednesday. He is expected to summarize the accomplishments of the last four years, which have been marked by vast industrial expansion.

Mr. Coleman has advised legislative leaders to hold off on the segregation problem until he assumes office. His program is expected to run into problems growing out of the desegregation ruling of the United States Supreme Court. This segregation-conscious state has a population of 2,000,000, half of which is Negro.

Mr. Coleman will outline his course of action on segregation in a message Jan. 17.

The State's proposad budget of $183,000,000 for the next two years is $20,000,000 more than the expected income from taxes. The Legislature will grapple with a request for new revenue by the Budget Commission.

Mr. Coleman has stated his determination to force the removal of any public official who fails to abide by his duties in local law enforcement.

DRIVE IN MISSISSIPPI ON NEGROES FEARED

Times

BATON ROUGE, La., Jan. 1 (UP)—Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Negro civil rights champion, told an Emancipation Day anniversary gathering Sunday that pro-white citizens councils aim to drive a half-million Negroes from Mississippi within ten years.

Tues. 1-3-56

Mr. Howard, from the all-Negro city of Mound Bayou, Miss., told his audience of more than 1,000 persons that Mississippi's Congressional delegation should be challenged because a "mockery of democracy exists in the state."

New York

He said that in spite of the Negroes' problems in Mississippi, "the Federal Government has done nothing to help."

N. Y.

"The F. B. I. can pick up pieces of a fallen airplane on the slopes of Colorado and find the man who caused the crash," Mr. Howard said, "but they can't find a white man when he kills a Negro in the South."

The Mound Bayou doctor said "as mean and as mentally ill as the white people of Mississippi are they are not going to murder 986,000 Negroes." Instead, he said, they will rely on economic reprisals. He added that Louisiana Negroes could expect the same economic pressures from the councils later on.

Sent Gifts, Others Weep 2,000 In Miss. 'Squeeze'

Defender
Sat. 1-7-56

MOUND BAYOU, Miss. — A railroad carload of coal and two van loads of clothing, food and toys arrived here Christmas week to aid poverty stricken farmers who have been caught in the throes of the White Citizens Councils' economic freeze.

P. 3

Although about 2,000 families from the Delta and hill section of Mississippi were served, when the service center here closed Dec. 27, hundreds had to be turned away. Observers said many wept because there was not enough for everyone.

Chicago Ill.

The two van loads of gifts arrived from Los Angeles and other merchandise came from Washington and New Jersey.

Despite the fact that Mississippi had its best year in cotton, it was the worst for labor.

UNFAIR TO WORKERS

A reliable source in the state said the reason for this pathetic situation is that some plantation owners are refusing to settle fairly with Negro laborers for work done.

To help relieve this situation, Dr. T. R. M. Howard, militant head of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, made pleas over radio and television and while on speaking engagements in the East and Midwest.

Spearheading the drive to aid victims of economic reprisal, along with Dr. Howard, were:

The United Order of Friendship of America, headed by Dr. R. L. Drew; the Knights and Daughters of Tabor, led by P. M. Smith, and the Clarksdale and Mound Bayou American Legion posts and auxiliaries and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Winters, the former sharecropper on the Drew, Miss., farm of Dr. Theodore R. M. Howard, who had entered suit for $25,000 against Dr. Howard, charging him with an alleged discrepancy in a crop settlement and with abusing him during a quarrel over the business.

P. 7

He was duped into signing the damage suit, Winters told the Cleveland Call & Post, and deciding not to go through with it, he went to Dr. Howard and repudiated it.

Des Moines, Iowa

Formed Mob

When the White Citizens' Council which had drawn him into the situation found out that he had repudiated the suit, it formed a mob to seek revenge on him, Winters said. But Negro friends of Dr. Howard acted before the mob and spirited him and his family out of Mississippi in the early hours of Dec. 18, sendng him to Cleveland where they have relatives.

Winters said they were forced to flee after learning of the plot on their lives with only such possessions as they could cram into suitcases.

They were driven many miles from their home, they said and placed aboard the train for Cleveland.

Plot to Bankrupt

According to Winters, the Council plotted to kill off Dr. Howard's leadership of the state's Negroes by bankrupting him.

He said he was forced to accompany certain whites to the courthouse and handed some papers to sign. He claimed he did not know the nature of the documents, which were filed last October, until recently.

The family was put up at a Cleveland hotel and a "protective council," composed of the Call & Post, officials of the NAACP, and Urban League, formed to find Winters a job and the family a home.

Family Spirited Out of Mississippi to Cleveland

Bystander
Thurs. 1-5-56

CLEVELAND — Accompanied by his dazed and weary wife and five forlorn little girls, a man arrived here last week by train from Mississippi to identify himself as Jim

economic reprisals.

He warned that Louisiana Negroes may expect the same economic pressures from the councils later on.

Pastors send $4,500 to save gas station of squeeze victim

Afro-American
St. Louis, Mo.
Sat. 1-14-56

CHICAGO — The Christian Protective Association, a group of Chicago ministers, sent a $4,500 check to an embattled filling station proprietor in Cleveland, Miss., last week.

The recipient, Anzie Moore,

HOWARD SAYS DEMOCRACY IS MOCKERY IN MISSISSIPPI

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 1-11-56

BATON ROUGE, La. — (ANP) — Dr. T. R. M. Howard, militant civil rights champion, told an Emancipation Day anniversary gathering last week that Mississippi whites were conducting a campaign of violence and economic reprisal aimed at driving out a half million Negroes in the next 10 years.

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"They know that once the Negro gets the unrestricted ballot in his hands there will be some changes made in Mississippi," he added.

Dr. Howard said in spite of the Negroes' problem in Mississippi, "the federal government has done nothing to help."

"The FBI can pick up pieces of a fallen airplane on the slopes of Colorado and find the man who caused the crash," he added, "but they can't find a white man when he kills a Negro in the south."

The Mississippi leader said the white citizens' councils are spearheading the economic reprisals, "dedicated to the proposition of continuing segregation at all costs."

He said Negroes are fired from their jobs, refused credit, forced to move from their homes, denied ginning facilities for their cotton for either trying to vote or signing school integration petitions.

"As mean and as mentally ill as the white people of Mississippi are they are not going to murder 986,000 Negroes," Dr. Howard added. Instead, he said, they will rely on

had been denied credit from Mississippi lending institutions because of his activity on behalf of equal rghts.

The Rev. Montgomery G. Ward of the association said Moore is a supporter of desegregation in the schools and has been encouraging colored persons to vote.

NAACP urges prompt FBI probe of Dixie terrorism

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK—A resolution calling upon "the U.S. Attorney General to direct the Federal Bureau of Investigation immediately to investigate violations of civil rights of American citizens residing in Mississippi and report its findings to the Attorney General for appropriate action" was passed at the 47th annual meeting of the NAACP here, last week.

The resolution cited "what appears to be a conspiracy on the part of White Citzens Councils of Mississippi to deprive colored persons of their civil rights and liberities which conspiracy has not been opposed by the governor or attorney general of the state and, has been encouraged by statements of Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi in exhortations to defy recent Supreme Court decisions banning racial segregation."

Another resolution authorized by the meeting urged the majority and minority leaders in both houses of Congress to take leadership in securing passage of urgently needed civil rights legislation at this session of the 84th Congress.

U. S. RACE PROBLEMS WATCHED IN EUROPE

Commercial Appeal

Professor Tells Rotarians Of His Findings

MEETING IN GREENVILLE

Sat. 1-14-56

By HELEN SHEARON

From The Commercial Appeal Greenville, Miss., Bureau

P. 5

GREENVILLE, Miss., Jan. 13. —West European interest in American foreign policy is shared with a similar interest in United States racial problems, according to an American professor of sociology who recently returned from a visit to England, Austria, and West Germany.

Memphis

Dr. Joseph Baylen, head of the Social Science Department of Delta State Teacher's College at Cleveland, Miss., told members of the Greenville Rotary Club that the extreme interest in the race issue stems partly from the fact that Europeans face a race problem of their own and partly from European associations with American Negro servicemen.

Tenn.

Toured On Grant

Dr. Baylen visited Europe last year for study on an American Philosophical Society research grant in aid. While there he visited European Rotary Clubs and was interested in the foreign groups interest in promoting international understanding.

He said most Europeans with whom he talked were curious about the "American South" and that the number one question asked him was, "What is going to be done about integration?".

The English, especially Londoners, are facing a race problem of their own, Dr. Baylen said.

British subjects from the West Indies and the Caribbean colonies have streamed into England during the past two years to the tune of about 35,000 per year, he said.

They have primarily migrated to the larger cities of England, and as British subjects expect to better themselves economically and socially by the move from the crowded colonies, the sociologist said.

Run Into Barrier

These migrants run into an invisible barrier which limits them economically as well as socially, he said. Negro speakers in Hyde Park were primarily non-marxist, he noted, and these speakers tended to hold up the can go.

Dr. Baylen also remarked that United States as an example.

These speakers in many instances called the English hypocritical with their "invisible barrier" for Negro subjects, he said, while they stated that at least an "honest" condition exists in the southern United States as to "how far" the Negro can go.

the United States Supreme Court decision of May, 1954, to integrate schools may have had some influence in the pro-American statements made by the West Indians.

MISSISSIPPIANS SHOUT LOUDEST ON INTEGRATION

Daily Tribune Chicago Ill. Sat 7-14-56

Would Accept Adlai but Prefer Symington

[This is the sixth in a series of articles on the political situation in the south by the chief of The Tribune's Washington bureau.]

BY WALTER TROHAN
[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Jackson, Miss., July 13 — There is an old proverb along the lazy bayous of Mississippi that applies to all the sound and fury in the state over the controversial issue of segregation.

"People are like steamboats," the proverb runs, "they toot the loudest when they are in a fog."

Any visitor to the state—which is undoubtedly the farthest from integration of the white and Negro races in any degree—cannot help but be astonished by the violence of conversation on the social revolution occasioned by the Supreme court's decisions outlawing segregation in schools and public facilities.

What starts out as a pleasant dinner party winds up with angry shouting, table pounding, red faces, strained throat muscles and not a little hysteria. Curiously enough, the diners are not angry at one another or at Negroes.

Loudest When Wrongest?

It seems that they have to talk loud, and with conviction, perhaps to convince themselves. One cannot help but wonder if man isn't always at his loudest when he is at his wrongest.

Mississippi is a curious blend of tensions and frustrations. These are coupled with fanatical fervor that there shall be no mixing of the races.

What strikes the northern visitor is that Mississippians are not angry at Negroes individually. They don't hate Negroes as Adolph Hitler hated the Jews. Rather they are angry at the Supreme court, the federal government, the new crop of northern "abolitionists," and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro group fighting to advance Negro rights.

Incidents Are Few

There have been attacks on a few individual Negroes and there have been pressures on whites who do not conform to the anti-integration pattern. These incidents have not been typical. Incidents have been surprisingly few when measured against the intensity of emotions.

The one incident of national proportions was the killing of a 14 year old Chicago Negro boy. Two white men, tried for the boy's murder, were freed by a jury. Some whites tell you the killing was justified because the boy made an advance to a white woman when he was trying to impress colored companions with his worldliness. Other whites regret the killing of a 14 year old boy of any race for any reason.

The state has 1,188,632 whites or 55 per cent. The whites are in the majority but only in the last 10 years. Ten years ago the state's population was 60 per cent Negro. Negroes have been heading north.

Economically Important

Among sober minded Mississipians, there is concern because Negroes are economically important to the state not only because they represent a sizable portion of consumer purchasing power, but because they represent also a sizable proportion of the labor supply.

Mississippi is primarily agricultural. Cotton has long been king. It is a state of small towns. Only a score or so have more than 10,000 inhabitants. After a fashion, Mississippi might be called the Indiana of the south, if one would go back to the day—not too long ago—when Indiana was a state without the large industrial communities it has today.

It is oversimplifying the situation to say Mississippi whites are living in the past. Many are as forward looking as any other American. It is true that traditions and the agricultural background have led white Mississippians to determine there shall be no integration. There isn't any and there is no disposition to move toward any.

Counter-Measures Taken

No state has taken more measures against integration. Some of the things done here are:

1. Passage of a constitutional amendment which would allow dissolution of the state's school system and permit support of white private schools.

2. Enactment of a law banning white attendance with Negroes in public schools.

3. Passage of a law against "conspiracy to violate" segregation laws.

4. Passage of a law requiring those who seek to vote to "interpret" a passage of the constitution. It can be assumed this will operate to deprive Negroes of the ballot.

5. Initiation of the Citizens Council movement, which has spread to other states in the south. These white groups, which claim close to 100,000 members, are fighting desegregation with a variety of gospels from white supremacy to state rights to contention that segregation was ordained by God.

Law Dies Aborning

Another proposed law would have made it illegal not "to conform with established traditions." This law died aborning when it was observed that this could apply to attendance in the Baptist church or the eating of catfish.

On the other side, leaders among the Negroes recognize that integration at best is a long way off. No Negro has gone to a white school or applied for entrance in a white college, as has been done in other states. There is some talk of law suits. There were some applications for entrance into white schools last fall but these were rejected.

More than school integration, the Negroes want group recognition on the community level—a voice in the community of which they are a part. This is more important than the end of Jim Crowism, altho the two may go together.

In Political Fog

Politically Mississippians are in a fog, altho not so much so as they have been. They are in the Democratic party to stay, they say, unless Gov. Harriman of New York or Sen. Kefauver [D., Tenn.], should get first or second place on the Democratic ticket. They do not like their support of integration.

Mississippians would accept Adlai Stevenson, considering him a compromise candidate between enforcement by bayonet as proposed by Harriman and the segregation the south wants.

Mississippians would rejoice over the nomination of Sen. Symington [D., Mo.]. They are enthusiastic for the former air secretary who was born in Massachusetts, brought up in Maryland, and made his fortune—financial and political—in Missouri.

If pressed, Mississippians will confess they don't know what Symington stands for on segregation or other issues, but they will confide that they feel he is "one of us."

EDITORS WILL START TOUR OF MISSISSIPPI

Commercial Appeal Memphis Tenn. 11-7-56

New England Newsmen To See South Close Up

DELTA STOPS PLANNED

By KENNETH TOLER
From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss. Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 6. — Mississippi's "way of life" will be studied during the week by 21 New England editors and publishers on a state-community sponsored tour designed to get its "true story" to citizens in other sections from on-the-spot outside observers.

States represented are Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Rhode Island and Vermont.

Although racial segregation is not paramount in the study, it is expected to draw major interest of the "look-seers."

Arrived Last Night

The newsmen, who arrived here Saturday night, will visit a cross-section of the state to view its growing industrialization as a balance to its former one-sided agricultural economy. They will also see its playgrounds on the Gulf Coast.

Two days will be spent in the heavily Negro populated Delta, and a visit to the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou is scheduled. Another stop is the Mississippi Vocational College for Negroes at Itta Bena.

Hal Decell, public relations director of the sponsoring State Sovereignty Commission, said the newsmen will be given the opportunity to interview Negro leaders, including editors, educators, officials and churchmen.

On that score, the public relations official of the agency, created at the 1956 legislative session as a legal "watchdog" in the state's efforts to peacefully preserve segregation, said, "There is no attempt and no thought on my part to sell them segregation as such.

"Our aim is to show them Mississippi so they can make an opinion from their own observations and first-hand information rather than rely on national publications which through sensationalism have misrepresented the overall state of affairs in Mississippi. We will show them whatever they want to see," Mr. Decell said.

"We think they will get better opinions of Mississippi this way than from reading certain national magazines," he said.

Mr. Decell, like most of the visiting newsmen, is a weekly newspaper editor.

Will Meet Governor

Sunday afternoon Gov. J. P. Coleman, chairman of the Sovereignty Commission, will meet the editors and publishers at the executive mansion. That night, they will attend a barbecue at the suburban lodge of the Mississippi Valley Gas Co.

Monday morning the newsmen board a Continental Southern bus for the week-long tour after being breakfast guests of the Mississippi Press Association and its president, Louis P. Cashman Jr. of Vicksburg.

Monday they will lunch at Kosciusko then spend the night at Columbus. Local citizens have arranged programs at both points.

A stop at the Hugh White State Park at Grenada will be made Tuesday before a tour of the Mississippi Vocational College and then the night at Cleveland. That stop will give them an opportunity to visit Mound Bayou, 12 miles from Cleveland.

A night program has been arranged by the Mississippi Power & Light Co. at its lodge near Cleveland, and Wednesday morning the visitors head for Vicksburg for an overnight stop and a round of entertainment.

Thursday morning they board a U. S. Engineers steamer for a trip down the Mississippi River to Natchez, where they will stay overnight and visit ante-bellum homes.

En route to the Gulf Coast Friday, they will stop at Columbia for lunch where Governor Coleman will join the party.

At Biloxi, they will attend a round of entertainment, including Gus Stevens' night club, and Saturday they'll board Mississippi Seafood Commission boats for an inspection of oyster beds.

Sunday morning they tour the National Guard Air Base at Gulfport where they are scheduled to board Air Guard planes for their return home.

Those Making Tour

Heading the list of visitors are Alfred Ball, president of the National Editorial Association and publisher of the Woodhaven, Long Island, Observer; Robert S. Barram, secretary of the New England Weekly Press Association and professor of journalism at Boston University, and J. Clark Samuel, president of the Massachusetts Press Association and editor of the Foxboro Reporter.

Other editors and publishers due to make the tour include:

Gordon Seavey of the Belmont, Mass., Citizen; Herbert S. Austin of the Wellesley, Mass., Townsman; Don Hersam of the New Canaan, Conn., Advertiser; Robert J. Robertson and Charles Mitchell, both of the Darien, Conn., Review.

Roswell S. Bosworth Jr. of the Bristol, R. I., Phoenix; Paul C. Cummings Jr. of the Peterborough, N. H., Transcript; Albert Rowbotham of the Ramford Falls, Maine, Times; Benton Dryden of the Woodstock, Vt., Standard.

William B. Rotch of the Milford, N. H., Cabinet; Howard N. Fowler of the Mansfield, Mass., News; Custiss S. Johnson of the Deep River, Conn., New Era; Richard P. Lewis of the Franklin, N. H., Journal-Transcript.

Lewis H. Shattuck of the Hardwick, Vt., Gazette; Sydney L. Cullen of the Rockland, Maine, Courier-Gazette! John P. Kelly of the Bridgeport, Conn., Herald; James H. Marsden of the Foxboro, Mass., Reporter, and John C. Bond of the Rockland, Mass., Standard.

EDITORS TO VISIT SOUTH

Times P. 3-C

20 From New England to See Segregated Mississippi

New York

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 18 (UP) —Twenty New England newspaper editors and publishers will travel through Mississippi next month to view the segregated South.

Wed. 9-19-56

The State Sovereignty Commission's public relations director, Hal Degell, said yesterday the week-long tour would begin Oct. 7.

The trip is part of the state's program to publicize conditions in Mississippi, he said. The commission was organized by the 1956 Legislature to act as the state's "segregation watchdog."

JUDGE M'GOWAN RIPS ADLAI RACIAL POLICY

Commercial Appeal

Warns Citizens Council On Backing Democrat

P. 3

Special to The Commercial Appeal

SALLIS, Miss., Oct. 1.—A Jackson Circuit Court judge and leader in a States Rights movement told the Sallis Citizens Council Monday night "if Mississippians help elect a president advocating integration then the fight for segregation is doomed."

Addressing the Attala County group "dedicated to preservation of segregation" was Judge M. M. McGowan of Jackson, organizer of the Mississippians for State Rights who have qualified an independent slate of unpledged presidential electors in the November election.

Judge McGowan also said if "you help elect the nominees of either party, Democratic or Republican, then you had as well tear up the interposition resolution adopted by the Legislature and throw it in the waste basket."

Tues. 10-2-56

He centered his criticism on Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic nominee.

"You cannot lend your political support to an advocate of integration and then say you are going to resist him when he seeks to put into effect the very thing he ran upon, and the thing you have endorsed.

"Politics is the only weapon you have and when you hand it over to the enemy, he will of course knock your brains out with it," Judge McGowan said. "You use the ballot to set up and install the kind of government you want. If you want integration, then go ahead and vote for it.

"If any of you are laboring under the delusion that your Citizens Councils can maintain segregation in Mississippi after the people endorse and elect and throw this state to the integrationist candidates—just forget it," he said.

Segregation Will Remain, Coleman Tells East Editors

Commercial Appeal

P. 1

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 7.—Gov. J. P. Coleman told 20 New England editors and publishers Sunday that racial segregation will be maintained in Mississippi "for at least the next 50 years."

"That doesn't mean I think it will end then," he explained. "I just don't feel I can speak for the period beyond that."

Governor Coleman's views were given the newsmen as they prepared for a week-long bus tour of Mississippi for an on-the-spot observation and study of Mississippi's racial situation, as well as its general background.

Mansion Visited

The newsmen from seven New England states who arrived Saturday night, visited the Executive Mansion Sunday afternoon to meet Governor and Mrs. Coleman. They were served coffee.

Mon. 10-8-56

All phases of the state's problems dealing with the races were discussed by the Governor with the New Englanders, with particular interest shown by the visitors in school segregation, voting and Citizens Councils.

Governor Coleman's prediction of continuance of segregation was given in answer to a question from Richard J. Robertson of the Darien, Conn., Review.

"I feel that the whole argument (segregation vs. integration) will be a source of a lot of unrest and unhappiness in the next four to five years and then will settle itself of its own weight," the Governor said.

Pointing to the "natural reaction to the use of force" dating back to Civil War days, Governor Coleman said "any possibility of integration in the next 50 years was completely eradicated by the means to bring it about."

Legal Courses Cited

He said he referred to the force from the Federal Government level in not leaving the problem one for settlement by local state governments.

Governor Coleman said, "We don't intend to obey the Supreme Court's decisions because they are not based on law." At the same time, he said he was not going to criticize the court, because there are ample legal courses in Mississippi to preserve segregation.

Commercial Appeal

"As far as I am concerned, there will be no integration in Mississippi," he said. "I don't say that boastfully, but because it is not for the best interest of the state."

Mon. 10-8-56

He said indicative of the harmony existing between the races, "not a single suit has been filed to mix the races in the schools."

Governor Coleman attributed much of the "harmony" to the new school equalization program which is bringing educational opportunities for Negroes to an equal with the whites. He said he is approaching the situation "peacefully and with dignity" and has the co-operation of Negro leaders in the state.

Governor Coleman admitted a factor in the lack of integration efforts may possibly be the "stand-by" authority given the Legislature to abolish public education is integration is attempted.

"We do not anticipate any trouble between the races," he said. "There is no tension or malice or ill-will between the races."

Governor Coleman said he does not believe agitation will come from local Negroes, but if it does arise "it will be inspired by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

Negro Vote Cited

"However, the NAACP is not strong enough to bother us, and largely for that reason Mississippi has not sought to outlaw it," he said. "I feel if we have to contend with the NAACP it is better to have it in the open than underground."

The question of Negro voting was raised by Paul C. Cummings Jr., of the Peterborough, N. H., Transcript. The Governor said no effort was made to get Negroes to qualify for obvious reasons.

Asserting that Negroes vote in some areas, the Governor said, "I have not heard of any instance of trouble where they have voted."

Governor Coleman, in answer to a question about the Citizens Councils, said, "I think the movement was brought about by the Supreme Court decision and the NAACP movement." He added that "when the urgency passes, I feel that the Citizens Councils will pass along with it."

Governor Coleman assured the New Englanders that segregation is not maintained on a basis of hatred but on the "long experience of both races that each will be far better off and have less friction by being segregated."

He said the "idea of enforcing integration by force completely defeats any possibility of it happening."

Asked if Negroes were more highly educated would that lessen the effort for segregation, the Governor said:

"If a Negro had that much education, then the idea that he must associate with somebody else to bolster his position would be out of the window."

Tells Of Till Case

Defending the state's position in the famed Emmet Till case in Tallahatchie County, Governor Coleman said Mississippi employed outstanding counsel to seek conviction of the white men charged with murdering the teenage Chicago Negro.

"If the Negro Representative Diggs from Michigan and others had stayed out of the case, the chances are there would have been a conviction," he said.

Sitting in on the press conference at the mansion was Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith of the Lexington and Durant weekly newspapers. Mrs. Smith is an official in the National Editorial Association. The editors leave Monday morning for Kosciusko and Columbus.

SEGREGATION PRESSED

Times P. 16

Governor of Mississippi Says Schools Will Not Integrate

Thurs. 9-13-56

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 12 (UP) —Gov. James P. Coleman said today the state would have total school segregation "as long as the people want it."

New York

Mr. Coleman predicted that Negroes would not try to gain entrance to white schools in Mississippi this year. He gave the following as his reasons:

¶The firm policy "adopted by the state government and endorsed by the people" against racial integration.

¶The people of the state have paid no attention to outside agitators.

¶The way the state constitution was amended in 1954. This permitted abolition of public schools as a last-resort means of maintaining segregation.

¶Negroes are taking justifiable pride in having their own institutions.

Governor Predicts Negroes Won't Try For Integration

World P. 23

Wed. 9-19-56

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) —"As long as the people want it," declared Mississippi's Governor James P. Coleman last week, "the state will have total segregation.

Coleman predicted that Negroes would not try to gain entrance into white schools in Mississippi this year. He gave the following as reasons why Negroes would not attempt admission:

(1) The firm policy "adopted by the state government and endorsed by the people" against integration.

(2) The people of the state have paid no attention to outside agitators.

(3) The way the state constitution was amended in 1934, permitting abolition of public schools as a last-resort means of maintaining segregation.

(4) Negroes are taking justifiable pride in having their own institutions.

Coleman also said he knew a number of ways of avoiding enforcement of the Supreme Court's integration rulings in addition to the legal defenses the state has used.

'LEGAL RIGHT'

Eastland Asks Public Funds To Wage Integration Fight

Advertiser Fri. 4-27-56

Montgomery Ala.

TUPELO, Miss., April 26 (AP)—Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss today called for the use of public funds —"and we have a legal right to do so" — to fight integration.

Addressing the 1st Dist. convention of the Mississippi American Legion, Eastland said the South can no longer stay on the defensive.

P. 2-A

"The opposition has several million dollars," he said. "We must use public funds and we have a legal right to do so because in essence this is an attack upon the South.

"The first duty of the state is to protect its sovereignty. We must bring to the attenion of the people what integration will do to our school system."

The Mississippi Legislature recently voted $250,000 to finance the work of a newly created State Sovereignty Commission for the avowed purpose of resisting federal "encroachment" in any form. form.

The senator said the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People is "a front, an action group. Behind it is a more powerful group directing its every move."

He did not identify the directing group.

He said border states—those between the segregated South and the integrated North and Midwest —have "weak-kneed political leaders."

He said "if we can win the border states I am confident of the outcome. The determination of the South has caused the people of the North to stop and think. Now they say 'We had better go slowly.'

"The average man thinks exactly as we do. We are not going to permit NAACP agitators to take over and run our states."

The senator said segregation fights are being waged in the North "and the outcome there will determine what happens here."

Eastland said the last thing Mississippi will do is to permit the NAACP to play a political game at the expense of "our children."

"The first line of defense is the home," he said. "If we lose the minds of children there is no hope for the future."

in Chicago, said "if we attempted to enforce segregation we would be subjecting ourselves to lawsuits."

Both the state and city have statutes providing for segregation of white and Negro passengers on all common carriers.

The Inside Story

Newsweek P. 21

U.S. SENATE—Northern Democrats were really rocked by elevation of confirmed segregationist Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi to head Senate Judiciary Committee (see page 40). GOP orators now will urge Negroes to vote Republican to insure control of Senate and this key committee. Democrats can't figure out how to counter the argument that Democratic control means Eastland can block confirmation of any judge favoring integration.

Mon. 5-12-56

Dayton, Ohio

CAPITOL HILL—Don't be surprised if the antisegregationist forces pull an end-around play and try to tack a rider on the Health, Education, and Welfare Department money bill. It would be the same Powell amendment, barring aid to segregated schools, which has tied up the Federal school-construction bill in committee.

Newsweek P. 31

Mon. 5-12-56

Dayton, Ohio

WHITE HOUSE—President Eisenhower plans no special message to Congress on civil-rights legislation. Reason: He doesn't want to add to bitterness in the South; feels same purpose would be served by a letter from Attorney General Brownell urging specific civil-rights bills.

Jackson, Miss. To Continue Bus Segregation

Jackson Daily Herald Wed. 4-25-56

JACKSON, Miss., April 24 (U.P.) —Mayor Allen Thompson said today he believes segregation will continue on city buses here despite National City Lines' desegregation orders to drivers.

"There will be no change whatever in our policy of segregation on buses or in any other way in Jackson," Thompson said.

P. 30

The bus company, bowing to Supreme Court decision, told drivers here they "are no longer empowered to enforce segregation."

B. W. Franklin, president of the company with headquarters

Constitutional Group Leader To Join Eastland At Rally

Commercial Appeal Tues. 7-3-56 P. 13

By NEIL SANDERS

John U. Barr, chairman of the Southwide Federation for Constitutional Government, will help Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) give a verbal outline of Federal encroachment on states' rights during a July 4 rally at Overton Park Shell.

Memphis Press-Scimitar

Robert Dobbs, program chairman, said yesterday the New Orleans industrialist, head of the pro-segregation organization formed in Memphis last year, will deliver a short address after Senator Eastland's talk.

M. P. 'Hot' Moore

Mr. Dobbs said more than 5,000 persons are expected to pack the shell for the free rally tomorrow, which begins at 8 p.m. Senator Eastland, chairman of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee and outspoken foe of integration, will be featured speaker.

Motorcade Meeting

The Senator will drive from his Doddsville plantation tomorrow afternoon. He will be met at the Mississippi state line by a large motorcade of Memphians and will attend a dinner in his honor at the Chisca at 6:30 p.m.

The rally will begin with group singing led by Chalmers Walker. "God Bless America" will be sung first, then "Dixie."

M. P. 'Hot' Moore of Senatobia, Miss., a cattleman and longtime friend of Senator Eastland, will introduce the speaker. Dr. A. W. Dick of Second Presbyterian Church will deliver the invocation. Master of ceremonies will be Lake Hays, former county attorney.

On the platform with speakers will be representatives of the sponsoring organizations — West Tennessee division, Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government; We, The People; Citizens Council of Shelby County, and Pro-Southerners.

Overton Accepts Invitation

Mr. Dobbs said Watkins Overton, former mayor of Memphis, has accepted an invitation to the rally.

Purpose of the rally is to inform the public of encroachment of the Federal Government on the rights of state and local governments, Mr. Dobbs said.

Twenty New England Newsmen Will Make Tour of Mississippi

Times-Picayune Tues. 9-18-56

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 17 (AP)—The state Sovereignty Commission, set up to protect Mississippi's "way of life" and principally to maintain segregation, Monday announced 20 New Englanders will tour the state next month.

Most of the New Englanders are publishers. They include Alfred Ball, president of the National Editorial Association and publisher of the Woodhaven Observer of Woodhaven, Long Island, N. Y.

Hal Decell, public relations director for the commission, called the Oct. 7-14 tour "the latest move to get the truth about Mississippi to the citizens in other parts of the nation."

He said the tour will include stops in the towns of Jackson, Kosciusko, Columbus, Grenada, Cleveland, Vicksburg, Natchez, Columbia and a week end on the Gulf coast.

Decell quoted a letter from J. Clark Samuel of Foxboro, Mass., president of the Massachusetts Press Association, as saying:

"Everyone I have talked to is very much interested in the trip. They not only look forward to it as an enjoyable time, but apparently you will reap a harvest of well-written articles and pictures, from the way the boys have talked.

"We all seem to be unanimous in the feeling that Mississippi is doing something constructive in placing its viewpoint to Northern readers from a grass-roots base. They feel flattered that you have singled out the grass-roots press for your experiment. It could well be one of the finest things that has been done."

The Sovereignty Commission was created by the 1956 Legislature and given $250,000 to work with for two years. It has five full-time employes, headed by state Rep. Ney Gore as director. The work is overseen by a 12-member appointive commission of which Gov. J. P. Coleman is chairman.

The commission has authority to hire secret investigators. Whether it has done so has not been announced.

Talking Sense On The Race Problem In Mississippi

Advocate Sat. 9-15-56
Jackson, Miss. P. 4

During the past several days developments in the school desegregation efforts in several states have served to focus the attention of responsible citizens everywhere on the depth of feelings and emotions that can be aroused regarding the issue, yet nothing in this great challenge to the individual states, and to the nation justifies the conclusion that the Negro Citizens are solely responsible for these developments and therefore should have every stumbling block put in their road to continued progress.

From over in Ashville, North Carolina, the Ashville Times, one of that state's leading dailies (white) has come forth with an editorial calling upon all citizens of the state to start talking sense about the race problem in their community and state, which can well be used as a call for talking sense on the race problem in Mississippi.

The Ashville Times Editorial says:

It is imperative now that responsible citizens, irrespective of color or creed, talk sense about race problems in their communities and state. In resolving this crisis over public schools it is vital to the honor, peace and progress of the state that there be mutual respect, goodwill and intelligent cooperation between our white and colored races.

In the promotion of these objectives it is up to the white people to lead the way because the advantages of economic and political power are on their side.

Their first move should be to do everything they can to banish forever what is left of the cruel and absurd notion that there could possibly be any stigma attached to any human being because of race, color or other physical characteristics. The Creator never stigmatizes anybody . . .

The next step our white people should take to help create a wholesome climate for tolerance justice and interracial cooperation is to try to convince everybody, especially themselves, that in democratic America no citizen's rights are meted out on a basis of color, creed, occupation, education, intelligence, wealth or social position. Human dignity, freedom, justice and civil rights are indivisible—all our citizens must have them equally or none can ever be secure in them.

All our people, colored and white, need also to understand the vast difference between civil-legal rights and personal-social privileges. In the latter field discrimination is not a bad word nor an evil practice. In our personal affairs and social relationships we all discriminate and, indeed, must do so to get along.

In these relationships background, color of skin and other factors can and frequently do make practical differences which must be considered. Recognition of such differences does not reflect on anybody. Difference is not stigma, not sin. It is natural and necessary. A free society is full of differences and benefits enormously from them.

It is violently contradictory in a free nation for anyone to insist that "white supremacy," or any sort of racial "supremacy that can properly be a part of our government is the supremacy of individual freedom, justice, fair and equal treatment under law." Interracial conferences on segregation problems that do not start from the basis can accomplish no lasting good.

History and our own experiences teach us that attempts to force the mixing of the races in some areas of life, ignoring the customs and preferences of the people involved, are not only unrealistic but dangerous. Progress in these field must come slowly and naturally by mutual acceptance or the great gains already achieved could suffer a severe setback or be lost altogether . . .

For instance, the largest public swimming pool in the Asheville area has just been abandoned and our Municipal Golf Course seems to be on the way out because leaders of our white and colored citizens failed to face up to realities and agree on a voluntary arrangement whereby both of these splendid facilities could continue to serve this community . . . It could be decades, even generations, before the colored people of most communities could afford their own private recreational facilities.

By sensible cooperation on a fair and equal voluntary basis our white and colored citizens can "have their cake and eat it too" in public school, public recreation, in their churches and in many other fields . .

Because our Negro citizens are a minority group with relatively little political or economic power they would be severely penalized in the "private enterprise" developments in all the fields under discussion . . .

Our white citizens have delayed much too long in sharing policy making responsibilities in civic, educational and governmental affairs with colored fellow citizens. For instance, the case for public school segregation is greatly weakened without proper Negro representation on school boards and commissions.

The best insurance for a segregated public school system, voluntarily maintained, would be integration on the official level, giving Negroes a proportionate voice in the operation of separate schools, which most of them, as sincerely as the whites, genuinely desire. Furthermore, there should be a proper ratio of Negro representation on the official level in other governmental agencies, local and state.

We appeal to our Negro citizens to cooperate in voluntary segregation in the areas mentioned here not only to promote general peace and progress in North Carolina but for their own sake. It must be obvious to them that if undue pressure is applied to force racial integration in these sensitive fields in the months and years just ahead enormous damage could and would be done to our public service institutions and facilities as well as to existing friendly relations between our white and colored races.

Should disasters take place in this connection all informed people surely must realize which race would suffer most grievously. The Negro race has been handicapped far too much already. Our colored and white citizens owe it to themselves and to each other to cooperate intelligently in peaceful and constructive evolution rather than to allow their current racial difficulties to precipitate chaos and revolution. — Asheville (N.C.) Times.

Help needed from 'outside' editors told

Afro-American P.3

Sat. 10-20-56

MOUND BAYOU, Miss. (ANP) — "The job must be done from the outside if colored people are to gain their full rights in Mississippi," an unidentified clergyman told visiting New England editors last week.

The 20 New England editors, down South for a "firsthand" look at segregation, were told by citizens of this all-colored town of Mound Bayou that efforts to secure "education, voting rights, and equal justice" were subjected to heavy pressure.

Baltimore

C. V. THURMOND, colored postmaster, said the "unseen pressure" in parts of Mississippi denies them equal justice or equal education, and often means that colored people do not even try to vote.

"In some areas, it would mean suicide to try," Thurmond added.

Gov. J. P. Coleman told the writers that Mississippi does not encourage colored people to vote but added that their failure to do so stems only from unwillingness to pay a poll tax or from an inability to pass a literacy test.

* * *

H. G. HUMES of Greenville said that colored people there vote freely, but complained of unequal rights before the courts. "We have a dual system of justice when it comes to colored people," Humes said.

-Colored leaders in Mound Bayou (population 1330) were forthright in their talks with the editors. C. P. Hall, commander of the town's American Legion, said he felt that he was taking chances by his stand. "Life is dear," he said, "but so are other things."

A minister at the Mississippi Vocational College at Itta Bena told the editors that after he voted in 1953, his house was burned, he was put in jail and his license to operate several small businesses was revoked.

PRO SEGREGATION

COLUMBIA, S.C. — (ANP)— Dedicated to the principles of white supremacy and the preservation of segregation in the South, a new labor union called "The United Southern Employes Association, Inc.," seeks domestication here.

Mississippi's Way Of Life Pitted Against Human Dignity Editors Told

Advocate Sat. 11-20-56

Biloxi, Miss., Oct. 15.—The nineteen white New England editors, concluding a tour of the state, left by plane for their homes Sunday after hearing a Negro declare "Mississippi's way of life is pitted against human dignity. P. 1

The declaration came from a Negro who had written last month asking to be heard by Alfred Ball, president of the National Editorial Assn., and head of the delegation which made a week's first-hand study of segregated Mississippi.

Friends of the Negro asked that he not be identified in news accounts, saying this would endanger his livelihood or worse.

Ball met the Negro in the corridor of a "whites only" hotel at nearby Gulfport last night and asked him to speak to the other editors as well. In the corridor and in talking later to three of the editors, he said:

"You should weigh the value of Mississippi's way of life against the value of human dignity. Mississippi's way of life is pitted against human dignity. A way of life that destroys a man should be done away with. P. 8

Not Happy

"The press outside Mississippi has done as much for the Mississippi Negro as he has been able to do for himself. Please don't be carried away by the favorable things you saw and spread the idea that the Mississippi Negro is happy. He is not."

William B. Rotch, editor and published for the Milford (N. H.) Cabinet, called the incident "the high point of the trip for me." He was one of three editors who asked to talk to the man at greater length away from party.

The weekly editors were guests of the State Sovereignty Commission on the "see for yourself" tour. The commission, created by the 1956 legislature to preserve Mississippi's way of life and segregation, said the tour's purpose was not to "sell" segregation but to allow the editors to form their own opinions first-hand.

The Negro told the editors that his race votes freely in only a very few Mississippi counties, among them Harrison (Biloxi and Gulfport) and Warren (Vicksburg).

Charge Intimidation

When he began talking about education, Hall and a number of Mississippians present interrupted, declaring Mississippi is doing her utmost to give the Negro equal educational facilities.

Voices grew high-pitched and two New England editors protested the Mississippians were "intimidating this man right here."

The Negro then went on to say that the visitors were shown Gulfport's new Negro school but were not shown "a rundown little Negro school on the other side of town, about four blocks from a splendid white school."

"It's not economically sound to replace that run-down school with a new Negro school, just for the sake of equal facilities," he argued.

The Negro said he felt the purpose of the tour was to "give Mississippi a better press"—a more favorable opinion in the nation's newspapers. "Why not merit a better press," he asked.

MISSISSIPPI

Mound Bayou Negroes Tell Editors Of Pressure Handicap

Advocate Jackson, Miss. Sat. 10-13-56

Mound Bayou, Miss., Oct. 10—Negro Citizens of this famed all-Negro town of the State of Mississippi, told a group of New England editors touring the state observing the effects of segregation that that is heavy pressure against the effort of Negroes for education, voting rights and equal justice.

In talks before the 18 editors and publishers here on tour to study "Mississippi's way of life," the Negro leaders spoke bluntly.

"There is a dual system of justice in Mississippi when it comes to the Negro," said the Rev. H. H. Hume of Greenville, president of a National Baptist Association.

C. V. Thurmond, postmaster of this all-Negro town (pop., 1,330) that lies in the rich Delta, said it is "the unwritten law and unseen hand that keeps Negroes under pressure."

The editors are making a week-long tour of the state as guests of the State Sovereignty Commission, set up to fight any move toward racial integration in the schools or elsewhere.

Advocate 2a

Stop At College

They met with Negro spokesmen in the city hall after stopping off at Mississippi Vocational College for Negroes at Itta Bena. P. 2

One of the crowd of students intrviewed on the college campus told the editors he had no desire to "be a white man but I want to be treated as a man."

An editor said a Negro minister visiting on the campus told him "the job must be done from the outside" if Negroes ever "gain their full rights" in Mississippi. He did not identify him.

The editor added that the Negro clergyman told him that after he cast a vote in the 1953 election "his house was burned, he was put in jail and his license to operate several small businesses was withdrawn."

Sat. 10-13-56

Some of the editors, who told newsmen privately that their schedule was so tight they could not talk to enough Negroes, had ample opportunities for interviews today.

Whistles at woman, forced to leave Miss.

Afro-American Baltimore Md.

Sat. 10-20-56

TUPELO, Miss. (ANP)—Arrested last week and charged with "conduct calculated to lead to breach of the peace," a yardman was given the choice of either going to jail or leaving the city for whistling at a white woman. P. 19

In the state where 14-year-old Emmett Till was lynched last year for the same offense, City Judge C. B. Hutchinson offered the alternatives to James Darden, 48, after he pleaded guilty as charged.

* * *

DARDEN AGREED to leave the city rather than get a $100 fine and a 30-day jail sentence.

Mississippi police said the incident happened on Main St., here, Oct. 1. Darden was arrested immediately. Darden was not represented by attorney and offered no testimony. Neither did he indicate where he would go.

One Out Of 22

are american

Mississippi segregationists, it now develops, were able to indocrinate one of those New England editors after all.

Twenty-one of the 22 small town newsmen recently conducted on an expense-paid tour of the Magnolia State returned home "shocked" and "appalled" by the injustices they saw.

Wholesale inequities in schools, parks, playgrounds and other tax-supported facilities were bad enough.

Oct. 15-16

But the most disturbing discovery, they reported, was the brazen manner in which Mississippi officials are violating the constitutional guarantee of the right to vote.

Baltimore, MD

While 21 members of the group were observing these alarming hallmarks of fascism in America, the 22nd apparently was stubbornly looking the other way.

Sid Cullen, city editor of the Rockland (Maine) Courier-Gazette, somehow reached the fantastic conclusion that colored people in Mississippi had no desire for first-class citizenship nor were they seeking an end to their separate but unequal existence.

What a lobster of a lie!

Since Cullen comes from an area where few, if any, colored people live, it is not surprising that he could be so easily fooled by his magnolia-mannered hosts.

But surely he must realize that he is parroting the same old line segregationists have been using since emancipation.

Moreover, on what logical basis can Cullen, after a five-day guided visit in the state, make the absurd claim that a million Mississippians are not just as anxious to be full-fledged citizens as residents of Missouri, Massachusetts or even his native Maine?

Slavery And Segregation

Afro-American

Mississippi's Senator James O. Eastland, in one of his expansive oratorical moments while addressing the Klan-like and subversive White Citizens Council, declared that slavery was the finest thing that had happened to the ignorant African people.

Sat. 2-7-56

It is pretty difficult for us in this day to understand what slavery was like. But you can get some idea if you want to read some of the biographies of men who were slaves.

P. 4

And you wouldn't take the word of some slaves who described their condition because you would know that they would be prejudiced or one-sided, or that they would be moved by hatred of their masters.

But most anybody would take Booker T. Washington's word.

THIS IS WHAT he says about slavery. It is told by Dorothy Canfield Fisher in the December issue of the American Heritage Magazine:

"I was born a slave on a Virginia plantation about 1858.

"My home had been a log cabin with a dirt floor about 14 by 16 feet square.

Baltimore, Md.

"We slept on the frowsy piles of filthy rags laid on the dirt floor.

"Until I was quite a big youth, I wore only one garment—a shirt made out of rough refuse flax.

"We slaves had cornbread and pork because they could be grown on plantations without much expense.

"I had never seen anything except the slave quarters on the plantation where I was born, with a few glimpses of the 'big house' where our white owners lived.

"I cannot remember ever, during my childhood and youth, not one single time, when the family sat down together at a table to eat a meal as human families do.

"We ate as animals do, wherever an edible morsel was found.

"**WE USUALLY** took our food up in our fingers, sometimes from the skillet, sometimes from a plate held on our knees and as we chewed on it, held it as best we could in our hands.

"Life outside the cabin was as slovenly and disorderly as inside.

"The white owners made no effort to keep things up.

"They really could not.

"Slaves worked; any form of work was too low for the white people to do.

"Since white folks did not work they did not know how work should be done.

"The ignorant slaves, already ignorant of better standards, seldom got around to mending the fences, or putting back a lost hinge, or a sagging gate or door.

"Weeds grew wild everywhere, even in the yard.

"Inside the big house when a piece of plaster fell from a wall or ceiling, it was a long time before anybody could stir himself to get it replastered."

* * *

THIS IS Booker T. Washington's estimate of slavery as it affected him and it is an ugly picture.

The only reason that Senator Eastland says that slavery was good for colored people is because he would like to continue imposing segregation on them today.

That is, a condition in which he lives off the work of somebody else. He would like that.

There are a lot of people in the world who would like it, but it doesn't do them any good, nor does it do the slaves any good.

And you only have to read Booker T. Washington's words to realize how much of ill it would do both races.

Fortunately for us, slavery wasn't about to master Booker T. Washington. He had two things on his side: love of freedom, and the help of God-fearing, dedicated New England people.

Those same agencies are at work now and the number of white people who hate segregation and slavery as much as the old New Englanders did is greater than ever.

We Don't Believe It

Dixie newspapers have been playing up a report that the Board of Aldermen of all-colored Mound Bayou, Miss., is going to bar what they call race agitators, including the NAACP, from holding meetings there.

We don't believe it.

Mississippi is getting a lot of unfavorable publicity. It would like to silence the colored protestants altogether, just as it is now forbidding them from voting and expressing themselves politically.

It would like to make it appear that there is no protesting voice in Mississippi against the lawlessness and terrorism that currently are gripping that state.

The constitutional right of freedom of speech and assembly is denied colored people in most Mississippi towns.

It is not likely that Mound Bayou would join this conspiracy of silence.

Especially is this so, since the votes of Mound Bayou's citizens are not counted in state elections any more than the other individual colored voters in other parts of the state.

Mound Bayou is one oasis of freedom in all Mississippi.

We don't think it will dry up.

Legal Headache Ahead

Efforts of the bitter-end states to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision on parks and recreation areas may result in prolonged and fruitless litigation.

The Virginia proposal to dispose of public parks to private interests in order to avoid integration has already run into disapproval of a Federal District Court.

But the state's attorney general, refusing to see the handwriting on the wall, has already served notice of plans to appeal to the Supreme Court, if necessary.

Many of the state parks and city recreation areas are erected on lands given by public-minded citizens, who inserted in the deeds a provision that the property would be returned to the irginal owner or his heirs if it is not used exclusively for the purpose it was given.

In some cases the property was given for public parks, without any mention of race.

In others, the deeds restricted its use to white persons only.

In either case, there is going to be enough court action to give the South a real legal headache if serious attempts are made to transfer public parks to private interests.

Merely A Smokescreen

The Florida Pardons Board has commutted to life imprisonment the sentence of Walter Lee Irvin, 28, who twice has been sentenced to the electric chair in the Groveland, Fla., 'little Scottsboro' case.

Gov. Leroy Collins, who recommended the Pardons Board action, criticized the NAACP for its interference in the Irvin case and other cases involving civil rights.

However, except for the NAACP's intervention, Irvin would have been executed.

It was the NAACP which dug up the facts and exposed the lack of due process in the Florida court's handling of the Groveland affair.

If the courts and Governor Collins could have been depended upon in the first instance to see that justice was done there would have been no reason for the NAACP's alleged 'interference.'

The governor's criticism of the NAACP is a smokescreen set up to hide the incompetence and prejudice of Florida courts where justice to colored people is involved.

Saboteurs At Work

The Corpus Christi segregationists who made the ridiculous objection to the inclusion of a colored wise man in The Nativity scene in a downtown park appear to have started something.

The legend seems well authenticated that one of the three wise men was an Ethiopian.

Now the White Citizens Council has indicated they would like to go even further.

They want to delete from the Bible all references to the fact that Moses' wife was colored; that Ethiopia's Queen of Sheba visited King Solomon and that Simon the Cyrenian, who helped Jesus with His cross on the way to Calvary, was not white.

Not satisfied with having perverted history and subverted the Constitution, they now would rewrite the Holy Scripture itself.

CIO asks Ike to stop Miss. hate

Afro-American

Sat. 2-7-56

P. 20

ATLANTIC CITY—The following resolution condemning the White Citizens Council in Dixie and calling on President Eisenhower to stop the reign of terror in Mississippi was passed by delegates to the 14th State CIO Convention here recently.

"Whereas: The New Jersey State CIO Council is greatly disturbed and concerned about the revival of the old Ku Klux Klan under the term White Citizens Council, and

Baltimore, Md.

"Whereas: we believe that the time for concerted action is at hand and racial tension in the South is the tightest it has ever been; and

"**WHEREAS:** increasing violence is reported in many sections, although official statistics are sadly lacking, and suspicion and fear between the races are reaching new heights; and

"Whereas: in the White Citizens Council, unlike the Ku Klux Klan, the leaders are not thugs or hoodlums, but are on the contrary, in most cases, men who are leaders in the community, in business, in society and in churches.

"This Council has mushroomed into an organization in Mississippi with a reported membership of some 65,000 persons; and

* * *

"**WHEREAS:** the literature of the Council spells out clearly that the nature of the organization is to accomplish the denial of civil rights and civil liberties, through economic pressure, against members of the colored race who are not cooperative.

"These economic pressures deny businessmen the right to purchase supplies, deny veterans

the right to own a home, de. them freedom from fear and also forces citizens to violate the laws of this nation.

"Now, therefore be it resolved that we urge every Congressman to pledge that in 1956, when the Congress reconvenes,

* * *

"TO SUPPORT a resolution or introduce a resolution that will bring about a reduction in the Congressional representation of those states which deny any of its inhabitants the right to exercise his vote; and

"Be it further resolved that we firmly believe that Congressional committees already established should investigate denial of civil liberties and civil rights in this country.

"We strongly believe in Article 14, Section 2 of the Constitution which states:

"REPRESENTATIVES shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective number, counting the whole number of persons in each state, including Indians not taxed;

"But whenever the right to vote at any election for electors of President and Vice President, or for United States representatives in Congress, executive and judicial officers.

"Or the members of the Legislature therof, **is denied** to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being 21 years of age, and citizens of the United States,

"Or in any way abridge, except for participation in rebellion or other crime.

* * *

THE BASIS of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

"And, be it further resolved that we call on the President of the United States to stop this reign of terror . . . "

Mass. Group Asks Justice In Miss.

Afro-American

Sat. 2-7-56

BOSTON — The Liberal Citizens of Massachusetts last week went on record as condemning the law enforcement authorities of Mississippi for failure to obtain convictions in the slaying of three colored persons.

Copies of the statement, in the form of a resolution, have been sent to the Department of Justice and members of the Massachusetts Congressional delegation.

The resolution was drawn at the organization's recent annual meeting and signed by John N. M. Howells of Weston who is chairman.

IT CALLS attention to the legal power of the Department of Justice to intervene when the basic rights of any citizen are abridged and local authorities fail to correct the situation.

And the resolution further demanded that the attorney general investigate and take action against those responsible for the kidnap - murder of Emmett Louis Till, the Rev. George W. Lee and Lamar Smith.

Complete text of the resolution follows:

* * *

WHEREAS, the Liberal Citizens of Massachusetts has long maintained that the purposes of American democracy cannot be completely fulfilled while second-class citizenship is permitted to exist anywhere in our land;

And whereas, the denial of civil rights, including specifically the rights of colored citizens to vote in many of our Southern states, assumes the proportion of a national scandal;

And whereas, there has been an outbreak in the state of Mississippi of crimes against colored people which has outraged the conscience of America, including:

A. The shotgun slaying of the Rev. George W. Lee of Belzoni for registering to vote and for urging others to register;

B. The murder of Lamar Smith on the courthouse square at Brookhaven for registering to vote despite the threats of violence against him;

C. The brutal kidnap - murder of 14-year-old Emmett L. Till in Money;

* * *

AND WHEREAS, local authorities appear either unwilling or unable to cope with this wave of terror, as perhaps most schockingly exemplified by a grand jury's refusal to indict Emmett Till's confessed kidnappers;

And whereas, statutory law empowers the Department of Justice of the United States to intervene when the fundamental rights of any citizen, under the law, are abridged and local authorities refuse or fail to remedy the evil;

And whereas, the Liberal Citizens of Massachusetts, its membership being of all derivations, at its annual meeting held at the Parker House, Boston, did unanimously condemn the shameful miscarriages of justice as above set forth:

* * *

NOW THEREFORE be it resolved that while condemning this patent mal-administration of justice, our organization emphasizes that the intolerance and prejudice against racial segments manifested throughout the United States and in other areas of the world bear a degree of responsibility for these crimes against humanity perpetrated in Mississippi;

And be it further resolved that we, the Liberal Citizens of Massachusetts, respectfully petition the Attorney General of the United States under his statutory powers,

To investigate and to take federal action against the persons responsible for these unpunished crimes.

And to secure for all our citizens, wherever resident, the equal rights which they are guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States;

And be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to such public servants, associations and publications as may be deemed appropiate.

Times says Eastland cannot halt fight against jim crow

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Jan. 1-14-56

WASHINGTON — The New York Times, Thursday, registered a strong protest against the current hearings being staged by a Senate Subcommittee headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (Dem., Miss.)

The Times accused the Senate probers of singling out the newspaper because of its editorial policies.

The editorial followed the questioning of seven witnesses on Communist infiltration of the press in Wednesday's hearings.

Three of the witnesses were present Times employees, three were former employees, while the seventh was a theatre owner.

* * *

"WE DON'T question the right or the propriety of any investigation of the press by any agency of Congress," the editorial said.

"It is the inescapable responsibility of Congress, however, to make certain that such inquiry be conducted in good faith and not motivated by ulterior motive," it continued.

* * *

THE EDITORIAL went on to state that it was the policy of them to not "knowingly employ a member of the Communist Party in the news or editorial departments because we would not trust his ability to report the news objectively or to comment honestly.

The discovery of present Communist Party membership on the part of such an employee would lead to his immediate dismissal."

The editorial said that it was "possible to atone through good performance for past error."

* * *

"IT IS OUR business to decide whom we employ. We do not propose to hand over that function to the Eastland Subcommittee," it continued.

It seems to us ... that the Times has been singled out for this attack precisely because of the vigor of its opposition to many of the things for which Mr. Eastland, his colleague, Mr. Jenner (Sen. William E. Jenner, Rep., Ind.) and the subcommittee's counsel stand—that is, because we have condemned segregation in the Southern schools;

"Because we have challenged the high - handed and abusive methods employed by various congressional committees;

* * *

"BECAUSE WE have denounced McCarthyism and all its works; because we have attacked the narrow and bigoted restrictions of the McCarran Immigration Act;

"Because we have criticized a security system which conceals the accuser from his victim; because we have insisted that the true spirit of American democracy demands a scrupulous respect for the rights of even the lowliest individual and high standards of fair play," the editorial stated.

"If this is the tactic of any member of the Eastland Subcommittee, and if further evidence reveals that the real purpose of the present inquiry is to demonstrate that a free newspaper's policies can be swayed by congressional pressure, then we say to Mr. Eastland and his counsel that they are wasting their time.

"This newspaper will continue to determine its own policies. It will continue to condemn discrimination, whether in the South or in the North.

* * *

"IT WILL continue to defend civil liberties. It will continue to challenge the unbridled power of governmental authority.

"It will continue to enlist good will against prejudice and confidence against fear.

"We cannot speak unequivocally for the long future. But we can have the faith.

"And our faith is strong that long after Eastland and his subcommittee are forgotten; long after segregation has lost its final battle in the South, long after all that was known as McCarthyism is a dim, unwelcomed memory; long after the last congressional committee has learned that it cannot tamper successfully with a free press, the New York Times will still be speaking for the men who make it, and only for the men who make and speaking, without fear or favor, the truth as it sees sees it."

Court-Attacking, Fiery Eastland Called Ardent Foe Of Red-Inspired Integration

Advertiser 2-4-56 Montgomery, Ala.

Sun. 2-5-56

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4 (AP)—Wags in Congress say the two southernmost parts of the United States are Key West, Fla., and Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

Due north of Eastland, they say, lies the 20th century.

Eastland, fast emerging as the top Southern spokesman in the bitter fight over racial segregation in public schools, ignores such tongue-in-cheek sallies.

He is too busy, too intent on one goal: to save, if he can, the "Southern way of life." And he is convinced that this way of life is under heavy attack from both communism and the U.S. Supreme Court. As Eastland sees it, the targets are not too far apart. He is a long-time foe of communism, and with dark suspicion he regards the nine black-robed Supreme Court justices as "brainwashed" victims of Red plotting.

COMMIE PLOT

The Communist scheme, he says, is to destroy states' rights as an initial step toward eventual overthrow of the United States government.

As part of his campaign to forestall such a threat, he currently is priming his guns for a fresh assault on alleged Communist infiltration in newspapers, TV stations and perhaps other segments of the communications field.

Wary at tipping his hand, Eastland says only that his Red-hunting Senate Internal Security subcommittee is investigating "a former Communist cell" of people once employed on a Long Island, N.Y., newspaper and "a Communist now employed by a television station in a major Southern city."

"The subcommittee," he says, "will continue its investigation of communism and Communist activity no matter where it may lead us."

CITES EVIDENCE

The Senate group already has turned up evidence of what Eastland describes as "a significant effort on the part of Communists to penetrate leading American newspapers."

The New York Times, acknowledging congressional authority to investigate the press, contended Eastland had failed to prove that any of the former Communists exposed during a three-day hearing on Capitol Hill last month actually twisted or "slanted" the news while employed on various New York newspapers.

Editorially the Times said it had reached "the obvious conclusion that the Times has been singled out for attack precisely because of its opposition to many of the things for which Mr. Eastland stands."

Among other things, it noted the Times has frequently denounced segregation in Southern schools.

'SEES RED'

The subject almost literally makes Eastland see Red and his critics contend that his fierce and nostalgic affection for the traditions of the old Deep South—including segregation—reflect a man at war with changing times.

They declare further that in the controversy over school segregation the senator represents a minority of die-hard Southern extremists rather than the South as a whole.

But the 51-year-old Mississippian has a host of warm admirers, and many serious thinkers agree, in whole or in part, with his view that the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in public schools trespasses on the sovereignty of the individual states.

"The problem of segregation must be solved at the state level and cannot be done at the federal level," says Sen. Walter F. George (D-Ga).

STEPPED OUT

And Gov. Allan Shivers of Texas says the high court justices "stepped out of their judicial robes when they ruled segregation in Public schools is unconstitutional."

Eastland declares that the "best elements" are on his side in the dispute, and he adds: "Those who would mix little children of both races in our schools are following an illegal, immoral and sinful doctrine . . ."

Such a doctrine, Eastland maintains, plays right into the hands of communism.

In defying the Supreme Court's school decision, he said in a Senate speech:

"Investigation of the authorities upon which the Supreme Court relied (in formulating its decision) reveals to a shocking degree their connection with and participation in the worldwide Communist conspiracy.

"Our court has been inductrinated and brainwashed by left-wing pressure groups."

NO COMPROMISE

Declaring the court's ruling will result in a "century of litigation" in the South, Eastland says:

"There will be no compromise. The Southern people will not give an inch."

Unlike Dixie's congressional firebrands of the past—such as Sen. Theodore Bilbo and Rep. John Rankin of Mississippi and Sen. Huey Long of Louisiana—Eastland is a taciturn, soft spoken man who seldom raises his voice in anger. He smoulders, but rarely flames.

He is scrupulously polite. With almost courtly grace, he addresses white witnesses before his Senate subcommittee as "Mr." or "Mrs." Negro witnesses he calls either by their first name or "boy."

Shy on theatrics, Eastland is nevertheless an effective speaker and frequently sprinkles his remarks with scholarly allusions to Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and his No. 1 idol, John C. Calhoun. He is a profound student of what is known in Dixie as the War Between the States—and an ominivorous reader of real-life detective magazine stories. These factual whodunits he devours at a rate of two a day.

Mississippi Parley On Religion Periled By Ban on Minister

Times P.1

By MILTON BRACKER

The segregation issue may lead to the cancellation of an annual religious emphasis program that has been held at the University of Mississippi since 1939.

Sat. 2-11-56

Four out of five main speakers and seminar leaders who were to have appeared between Feb. 19 and 22 have withdrawn. They acted primarily because of the previous withdrawal by the university of an invitation to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw of Oxford, Ohio.

New York,

Meanwhile, one professor at the university and another at Mississippi State College resigned in related protests. The state Legislature formally praised the chancellors of the institutions for accepting the resignations.

N. Y.

Mr. Kershaw, a white member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had declared he would not promise not to discuss the segregation question if it were raised from the floor. His announced theme was "Religion and Modern Drama."

William Campbell, director of religious life at the university, said by phone last night that the holding of the meeting was "questionable at this moment."

Mr. Campbell explained that the program was arranged by a group called The Committee of 100, made up of students, faculty members and local clergymen. Funds are raised privately. The state-owned university simply furnishes the place and the essential utilities.

Times

The executive committee of The Committee of 100 will decide next week whether it can go ahead with the project. The committee membership itself was said to have "mixed feelings."

Two Professors Resign

The resignation at the university was that of Dr. Morton King Jr., Professor of Sociology. He took the step on the ground that the university no longer would defend freedom of speech and thought.

P.C-32

At the Mississippi State College, William Buchanan, Professor of Government, also resigned.

The resignations were accepted by Cancellor J. D. Williams of the university and Chancellor Hilbun of State College.

A resolution adopted by the state House of Representatives in Jackson praised the chancellors for their attitudes as expressed in the acceptances of the resignations.

The four speakers who have notified the university that they would not attend the religious emphasis program are the Rev. Joe Earl Elmore, minister of the Methodist Church of St. Paul and St. Andrew, Eighty-sixth Street and West End Avenue, in New York; the Rev. George Chauncy of the First Presbyterian Church, Monticello, Ark.; the Rev. Joseph H. Fichter of Loyola University, New Orleans, and Rabbi Milton L. Grafman of Temple Emanu-El, Birmingham, Ala.

'Shock' Is Expressed

In a telegram sent Thursday night, Mr. Elmore informed the sponsors of the program:

"I am compelled to express my sense of shock that an academic institution dedicated to the search for truth would carefully screen all prospective speakers * * * to the end of excluding anyone whose views might be controversial. The action of the University of Mississippi is an affront to the maturity and intelligence of its student body, faculty and staff, and it is a disservice to education, democracy and the Christian faith. * * *"

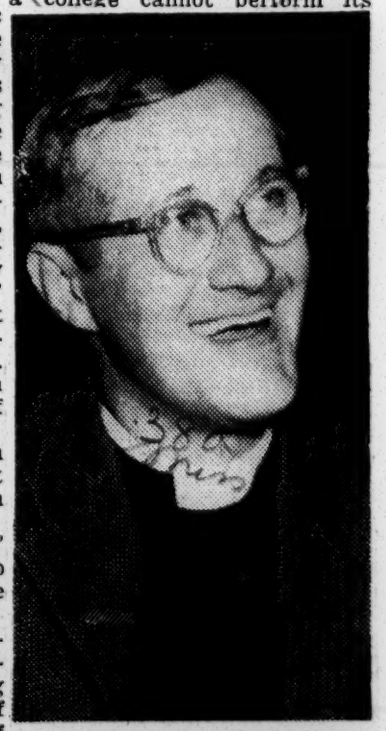
The speaker, who has not withdrawn as of last night, according to Mr. Campbell, is Col. Francis T. Miller, a Virginian who once ran for Governor of that state.

In his letter of resignation Professor Buchanan said last night he had made five main points:

1. The Board of Trustees' screening order, applying to any potential speaker on the campus.
2. The successful efforts to prevent Hodding Carter, southern editor, from addressing the State College chapter of the American Association of University Professors last spring.
3. The introduction into the Legislature of a bill "which apparently would make it a crime for a teacher of government [or anyone else] to criticize any official or policy of the state government." Professor Buchanan explained that this was a criminal libel and slander bill, which had not yet been acted upon.
4. Chancellor Williams' apparently successful efforts at the University of Mississippi to prevent a minister of the gospel [Mr. Kershaw] from discussing "music and religion" with students at the university.
5. The statement by a trustee "which we heard this morning [Feb. 8] to the effect that while everyone has a right to think what he pleases, we have the right to know what an employe thinks—and the right not to hire him if we do not approve of it." Professor Buchanan di dnot name the trustee. He said this version of what had been said was based on notes taken by several persons.

Professor Buchanan's letter concluded:

"When ministers are prevented from speaking to students and editors from speaking to faculty members, and when trustees feel the ymust screen not only our speakers but our thoughts, it appears to me that a college cannot perform its functions as an institution of



The Rev. Alvin Kershaw

higher learning.

"Before the law is passed which might make the expression of these sentiments a criminal act, I wish to submit my resignation effective as of the termination of my present contract."

Chancellor Hilbun, whom Professor Buchanan described as "quite fair and generous," replied with a general statement of his own life-time devotion to the principle of academic freedom. Then he added:

"I should like to state here what I've previously said: There is a line between the promulgation of the findings of scholarship and the promulgation of opinions and personal bias. You have failed, it seems to me, to distinguish between them."

Chancellor Hilbun relieved Professor Buchanan as of Feb. 9, but said his salary would continue at the discretion of the president of the college and the Board of Trustees. Their next monthly meeting is Feb. 16.

Legislature Lauds Action

The legislative resolution praising the acceptance of the two resignations said in part:

"Our state-supported institutions of higher learning should reflect the thinking of our people and, of right, should be the primary exponent and protectors of our culture and traditions.

"There have been attempts by misguided reformers from both within and without willfully or unintentionally to teach ideologies contrary to and undermine the traditions and culture of the South."

Representative Joel Blass of Stone County opposed the resolution. He said the problem had been solved by the resignations and "I don't want to see us take action that will mark us as a vindictive people."

The religious emphasis program decision is expected to be made by the executive committe on Monday night. The possibilities are: cancellation of the program, or replacement of those who have wtihdrawn by local speakers.

Mr. Kershaw, an Episcolalian, recently won $32,000 for an expert knowledge of jazz, as displayed on The $64,000 Question television program.

Controversy on Campus

It was confirmed in Oxford, Miss., that a related campus controversy has built up about a student who said at an Ohio conference he would seek to set up inter-racial meetings when he returned to Mississippi.

The student is Billy Ray, a senior of Eupora, Miss. He attended a Christian conference at Athens, Ohio, Dec. 27 to Jan. 1. A source not strongly identified with either side in the general segregation issue said there had been rumors of serious trouble when Mr. Ray returned, and that he had unquestionably encountered "some disfavor" on the campus.

But despite the uncomfortable atmosphere, this sourse added, Mr. Ray had contitnued as a feature writer on the university publication, The Mississippian, and had not suffered loss of official status or association.

ANOTHER PROFESSOR QUITS IN MISSISSIPPI

Commercial Appeal P. 1

Instructor At State College Hits 'Thought Screening'

Sun. 2-10-56

STARKVILLE, Miss., Feb. 9.—(UP)—An assistant government professor at Mississippi State College resigned Thursday in protest of what he called high-level efforts to "screen our thoughts."

President Ben Hilbun accepted the resignation and relieved him of his duties immediately.

Memphis Press

William Buchanan leveled broadside criticisms at legislative and administrative policies in higher education in Mississippi.

His resignation followed by two days that of a University of Mississippi department head, Dr. Morton King, who quit because the university cancelled the scheduled talk of a minister who favors racial integration.

Professor Buchanan listed among the developments which "disturbed" him the screening of speakers at state-supported schools, restrictive measures now before the Mississippi Legislature, and the withdrawal of a speaking invitation to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw, Ohio Episcopal minister, by the University of Mississippi.

He also charged that President Hilbun had successfully prevented Greenville, Miss., newspaper editor Hodding Carter from addressing a campus faculty organization.

President Hilbun replied that "To my way of thinking, the scholar not only has the right but the duty to seek the truth and to follow the pursuit wherever it may lead.

"These rights and obligations of duty have not been violated at Mississippi State College during my long experience nor will they be as long as I am in the president's office."

Kershaw Action Echoes

Commercial Appeal

Four clergymen announced decisions not to appear on the Religious Emphasis Week program Feb. 20-22 at the University of Mississippi and two college professors submitted resignations in protest of the cancellation of an invitation to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw to speak there. Chancellor J. D. Williams of Ole Miss cancelled the invitation after the Episcopal minister from Ohio revealed he is a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Decisions not to visit Ole Miss were announced by the Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, sociology professor at Loyola University, New Orleans; the Rev. George Chauncy, Presbyterian minister at Monticello, Ark.; the Rev. Joe Earl Elmore, New York Methodist minister, and Rabbi Milton Grafman of Birmingham.

Dr. Morton B. King Jr., chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Ole Miss, announced his resignation, effective at the end of the current school year.

William Buchanan, assistant professor of government at Mississippi State College, resigned in protest of what he called high-level efforts "to screen our thoughts." President Ben Hilbun accepted the resignation and relieved him of his duties immediately.

Parents of 33 Negro children, represented by top Negro lawyers of the NAACP, filed court action at Little Rock asking for an immediate end to segregation in the Arkaknsas capital city's public schools. It was the most significant filing yet made by the NAACP on the integration question in Arkansas.

A suit charging the Hoxie, Ark., School Board with illegal employment and purchasing practices was dismissed at Walnut Ridge, but Chancellor Thomas F. Butt ordered the board to meet promptly with patrons who oppose racial integration in the small town's public schools. The suit was filed last fall by pro-segregationists following a bitter dispute that arose after the board ordered classes integrated.

Rain coupled with a brief hailstorm and a trace of snow competed with brief periods of sunshine on the local weather front last week.

Gift deluge aids needy in Mississippi

Pittsburgh Courier P. 19

Afro-American Sat. 2-11-56

Baltimore, Md.

MOUND BAYOU, Miss. — The Mississippi Council of Negro Leadership announced, Friday, that tons of clothing and food and several thousands of dollars had been distributed to 10,000 hard-pressed colored residents of Mississippi.

The regional council acknowledged the receipt of $1,300 raised by ministers of Gary, Ind.; $2,325 raised by Curtis McClain, NYC attorney; and $550 raised by the Rev. Thomas Horton of NYC.

A train carload and two 33-foot truck loads of clothings, toys and food were received from Los Angeles.

* * *

HUNDREDS OF POUNDS of candy was sent by the National Committee for Rural Schools, Inc., of New York City. Mrs. Cordie King Brown and friends in Chicago sent $342 and the Grant Memorial AME Church, $373.66.

Thousands of articles of food and clothing were sent by the Emma Lazrus Federation of Jewish Women.

More than 10,000 needy people in Mississippi have received clothing, food, toys, coal or money.

Dr. T. R. M. Howard, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, in New York City, and Gary, Indiana, has placed $3,000 in escrow at the Tri-State Bank of Memphis, to guarantee a loan to Amzie Moore of Cleveland, Miss. to prevent foreclosure.

The regional council also provided that $2,500 more be placed in escrow at the Tri-State Bank to complete a guarantee of loan of $5,500 to Mr. Moore.

Senator backs Miss. probe

Afro-American Sat. 2-11-56 P. 1

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON — "Frankly I agree with this petition" said Senator William Langer, a member of the subcommittee for Constitutional Rights.

The petition calling for the subcommittee to hold hearings in Mississippi, was presented to Senator Langer Friday by a delegation of 20 persons led by Bishop Edgar A. Love, Methodist Bishop of Baltimore.

Afro-American

IT WAS signed by 2500 persons, from all parts of the country. Bishop Love stated that names of Mississippi signers were omitted for fear of possible revenge.

P. 2

The Rev. W. H. Jernigan, pastor, Mount Carmel Baptist Church, told the Senator "the eyes of the world are upon us, we must take a stand."

* * *

JOINING IN the chorus of protest, Aubrey W. Williams, outspoken editor of the Southern Farm and Home, magazine, asked Senator Langer:

"If Kefauver can go to New York, why can't a committee go to Mississippi?

* * *

SENATOR LANGER, addressing the delegation, agreed that government action was necessary to stop terrorism in the South.

"The President" continued the Senator," has time and again pledged himself to the principle of justice for all."

In his closing remarks to the delegation he promised to do "all within his power, to get a complete investigation of Missisippi violence."

Other members of the delegation were:

Mrs. Ethel Clyde, Huntingtpn N. Y.; Mrs. A. J. E. Davis vice president, Council of Church Women, Arlington Va.; the Rev. Charles L. Evans, executive secretary, Allied Baptist Bodies of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia;

Marcus I. Goldman, Ph. D., D. C.; E. B. Henderson, president, NAACP, Virginia; James L. Hupp, W. Va. Weleyan College; the Rev. M. M. L. Perdue, Louisville, Ky;

Mr. and Mrs. Donald Stephens, Wilmington, Del.; Mrs. Andrew Simkins, secretary of the NAACP, Columbia, S. C.; Dr. Lewis S. C. Smythe, professor, College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky., the Rev. Franklin Auld, Methodist, Baltimore, Md.; and Dr. James A. Dombrowski, New Orleans, La.;

Signers of the petition included 316 educators, 124 ministers, rabbis and bishops, 68 physicians and dentists, and 30 attorneys.

and presented a petition bearing the names of 26,000 persons from all 48 states.

The delegation was headed by Bishop Edgar A. Love of the Methodist Church, and included both Negroes and whites.

One white member of the group, Aubrey Williams of Montgomery, Ala., said he wanted to speak as a white Southerner about a "situation in the South which is becoming worse."

He told Langer that the Supreme Court decision on school segregation had "unleashed all the forces of prejudices and hate that had been receding" in recent years.

Bishop Love said that "in the state of Mississippi, a dominant faction is defying the Constitution of the nation, flouting the authority of the Supreme Court, perverting state institutions of justice, condoning the murder of Negro citizens who attempt to exercise their civil rights and driving fair-minded white citzens into frightened silence by economic boycott or the menace of physical violence."

Petitioners Ask Race Inquiry In Mississippi

Daily World P. 4

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON -(ANP) - The Senate Subcommittee Constitutional Rights has been asked to hold hearings in Mississippi to expose violations of rgnts of Negro citizens.

Wed 2-8-56

A delegation of 20 persons called on Senator William D. Langer.

J. P. COLEMAN
. . . Inaugurated

News P. 1
Jan. 1-17-56

In Mississippi—

Coleman: Segregation peacefully

Birm. Ala.

BY SAM JOHNSON

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 17—(AP)—Gov. J. P. Coleman told his state and the nation today that Mississippi will keep segregation without violence and despite the federal government.

In all history "... there cannot be found one single instance where a government has forced one race against its will to integrate with another," he said in his inaugural address.

"With all due respect to the mighty power of the United States government, it will never be able to force racial integration in Mississippi nor in any other state where the people are unwilling to have it done," the 42-year-old governor declared.

He urged the rest of the nation to consider Mississippi's position before passing judgment. "... We are entitled to the sympathetic understanding of our friends in the remainder of the country.

"... THE WHITE people of Mississippi are not a race of Negro killers.

"We ask you to remember that by reason of the numbers involved, this problem is more acute here than in any other state in the nation.

"It is not something which can be viewed with complacency or ignored, and if you lived in Mississippi and knew the full situation, you would look upon it as we do."

Negroes form 45 per cent of Mississippi's population.

The tall, husky governor succeeded Gov. Hugh White.

News + Observer

COLEMAN PREDICTED to a joint session of the Legislature on the Capitol steps that when he ends his term four years from now:

P. 3

"The separation of the races in Mississippi will be left intact and will still be in full force and effect in exactly the same manner and form as we know it today.

"If the rules of racial separation are intact when we leave office, our place in history will be secure.

"If we should fail, there is nothing which will excuse that failure in the eyes of the people of Mississippi."

TURNING TO the nation again, Coleman said, "I want to tell you that during the next four years the full weight of the government will unfailingly be used to the end that Mississippi will be a state of law and not of violence.

"I want to remind you that for over 90 years the white and Negro people of Mississippi have lived side by side in peace and harmony.

TURNING HIS speech to Mississippi Negroes, Coleman asked: "Have you ever thought of the fact that a Negro can attend a mixed school in most ... states, but few of those states will hire him as a teacher?"

He told Negroes if they accepted the opportunity to help themselves with state assistance, "It will mean better days for all of us.

"If you reject it, the responsibility must be yours."

Speaking to white citizens of Mississippi, the new governor declared, "We must keep cool heads and calm judgment in the face of all the provocation which is being hurled upon us from almost every direction.

"The obvious intention of this propaganda is to frighten us, to throw us into panic, to destroy our judgment, and to render us incapable of defending ourselves."

Coleman, one of the youngest governors in Mississippi history, reviewed some of his campaign planks and called for stricter regulation of public utilities, better law enforcement, aid to farmers and fewer pardons and paroles.

He also asked support for repeal of the black market tax on illegal liquor, a constitutional amendment guaranteeing homestead exemptions, now provided by statutes.

KEEP COOL HEADS, MISSISSIPPI URGED BY NEW GOVERNOR

Commercial Appeal P. 1

Coleman Is Confident Of Maintaining Lawful Segregation

Wed 1-18-56

MAKES UNITY APPEAL

Memphis, Tenn.

Loyal Negroes Promised Consideration Of Their Problems As Head Of State Takes Office

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 17. — J. P. Coleman became Mississippi's 51st Governor Tuesday, confident that racial segregation will be lawfully maintained during his four-year administration. He was inaugurated on the capitol steps.

The 42-year-old Choctaw Countian called on citizens to "keep cool heads and calm judgment" and in no uncertain words said "the full weight of the government will unfailingly be used to the end that Mississippi will be a state of law and not violence."

Lived Side By Side

Stating that for more than 90 years whites and Negroes have lived side by side in peace and harmony, Governor Coleman said "the great overwhelming majority of the white people are not now guilty and never intend to be guilty of any murder, violence or any other wrong-doing toward anyone."

In a strong appeal for "unity," which he said "must be preserved at all costs," Governor Coleman asked for co-operation of all persons and groups in the effort to preserve segregation.

In a special word to "loyal Negroes unwilling to be made victims of propaganda from professional agitators," he promised "sympathetic consideration to any of your problems which deserve the assistance of the state government."

"If you accept this opportunity, it will mean better days for all of us," the Governor said. "If you reject it, the responsibility must be yours."

Ruling Is Defied

Governor Coleman reminded the Negroes that "there cannot be found one single instance where a government has forced one race against its will to integrate with another."

"And," he added, "with all due respect to the mighty power of the United States Government, it will never be able to force racial integration in Mississippi nor in any other state where the people are unwilling to have it done.

"The sentiment of Mississippi is unanimous—so we have nothing to fear unless it be 'fear itself,'" he said.

Then to the "few who have unjustifiably substituted fear for confidence," Governor Coleman, reminded them that "even the United States Supreme Court did not undertake to say how or when its decision of May 17, 1954, could or would be enforced."

On that premise, he reiterated his campaign statement that "there will be no necessity to abolish public schools, nor will there be any mixing of the races in any of the state-operated educational institutions."

Fears No Chaange

"I have not the slightest fear that four years hence when my successor assumes his official oath, the separation of the races in Mississippi will be left intact and will still be in force and effect in exactly the same manner and form as we know it today," Governor Coleman said.

"Let us then exercise all possible soundness of judgment, sincerity of purpose and calmness of mind to the end that we shall not fail."

Without specificably mentioning his controversy with Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) over use of nullification, Governor Coleman said he is in daily contact with other Southern governors and that whatever resolutions the Legislature considers should harmonize with those of the other states.

To Rest Of Nation

Addressing himself "to the remainder of the nation," Governor Coleman said "that while we, the people of Mississippi, are unalterably determined as a matter of right and justice that the necessary rules of society shall be maintained, we do not any more approve of violence and lawlessness than you do.

"We ask you to remember that by reason of the numbers involved, this problem is more acute here than in any other state in the nation," he said. "It is not something which can be viewed with complacency or ignored, and if you lived in Mississippi and knew the full situation, you would look upon it as we do.

'Not Negro Killers'

"Despite all the propaganda which has been fired at us, the country can be assured that the white people of Mississippi are not a race of Negro killers," he added.

Governor Coleman said the 1954-enacted Gore pupil assignment law, not yet challenged, is a complete remedy at the present time to maintain segregation.

Asserting that Mississippi "has not begun to exhaust the resources at our command," Governor Coleman urged the citizens to follow the admonition of Elbert Hubbard: "Go as far as you can see, and when you get there you'll see farther."

"I face the future, not with fear but with confidence, not in panic but in calmness born of the strength of our position and the weight of our power," the new Governor said. "I hope the people, without surrendering any part of their alertness, will join me in this feeling."

Senator Eastland's Strange Contribution

The Louisville Courier-Journal

[Senator Eastland will speak at a meeting of the Montgomery White Citizens Council Feb. 9—Ed.]

COMPARED to Senator James Oliver Eastland, who is justifiably flattered by the comparison, John Caldwell Calhoun was an intellectual giant. There are other differences. Calhoun was a gentleman. His tongue was bitter but his epithets were civilized and his insults were polished. Eastland has called witnesses before Senate hearings a "God-damned son of a bitch" and a "Nigger," and shouted "liar" at an elderly colleague on the Senate floor.

When he could stay clear of his obsession with the virtues of slavery, Calhoun spoke well and debated with dignity and coherence, Eastland models his debating style on those of his fellow senators Knowland and McCarthy, demanding the "ejection" of Russia from the United Nations and the armed defense of Formosa, announcing that the Supreme Court, "as now constituted, is not judicially honest" and declaring—in 1952—that "a state of internal security emergency" existed which called for the round up of between 20,000 and 50,000 "agents of the Kremlin" amongst us, these to be consigned to concentration camps.

Senator Eastland's contributions to our war-time harmony were to proclaim that Negro troops "would neither work nor fight" and to disclose a "mass rape" of German women in a Stattgart subway by Senegalese soldiers with French occupation forces. Undersecretary of War Robert Patterson refuted the first charge; General Devers denied the second after correspondents pointed out: (a) that Stattgart has no subway and (b) that there were no Senegalese with the French occupation forces.

But this is beside the point. We are more concerned with some parallels between Calhoun, upon whom history places much of the blame for the one-way road taken by Southern leaders between 1820 and 1861, and Eastland, who is now loudly demanding that the South return to that same devastated path.

Calhoun, who started as a nationalist and a constitutionalist, came in the end to demand a virtual prohibition of public debate on slavery, that the mails be searched for material opposing it and that the individual states should decide which federal laws to obey and which court decisions were applicable to them. "Nullification" of any act of Congress which displeased any individual state, became a Southern rallying cry and the inevitable end was the Confederacy and the war.

Governor Coleman And The Mississippi Negro

We feel certain that we are joined by the vast majority of the intelligent and responsible Negro citizens of the state in complimenting incoming Governor J. P. Coleman for the admirable restraint with which he spoke regarding the emotionally-packed and highly explosive subjects of segregation, integration, and race-relations in Mississippi, in his inaugural address here Tuesday.

There are still a large number of able and intelligent Negroes in Mississippi of leadership caliber, who have not yet lost their welcome in the councils of authority, who, realizing with the great statesmen, politicians and diplomats of all the ages that compromise is the key to progress, should be willing to take a stand for some compromise plan to reduce the tension and growing hatred and ill-will between the races in the state.

It should be easily discernable to any intelligent observer that the issue between the proponents of total integration and of total segregation have reached a point of ever widening diversion, and unyielding determination.

That the new Governor said in his inaugural address that he was ready to give sympathetic consideration to any problem concerning the Negro citizens of the state that deserves the attention of the state Government is a challenge that should be met by a well organized and well prepared group of intelligent and responsible Negro citizens, imbued with the idea that the concern and progress of the Negro concerns the progress of the entire state, a group to which the Editor and the Jackson Advocate is ready to give one-hundred percent support and cooperation.

MISSISSIPPI PROBE URGED

NEW YORK — The Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights has been urged to conduct an investigation of Mississippi election by the American Civil Liberties Union here.

Negro Says Hate Comes from Top

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Feb. 16 (AP)—A Mississippi Negro leader said Wednesday night that "poor whites" and Negroes in that state are "played off against each other by the richer whites."

Dr. Theodore R. M. Howard, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, told a news conference at Harvard university that "The hate is coming from the top and not from the bottom."

He said that Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.) represents the top in Mississippi and is the "greatest threat to American democracy."

Dr. Howard, who speaks at Harvard Thursday night before the Society for Minority Rights, said he was disappointed in the civil rights stands of both Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.), candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination.

He said that "direct federal intervention is the only salvation" in the Mississippi civil rights problem.

MISSISSIPPI PLANS A RELIGIOUS WEEK

May Shift Emphasis Now to Discussion of Issues That Disrupted First Program

By MILTON BRACKER

Open discussion at campus meetings of some of the issues that led to the end of Religious Emphasis Week as originally planned at the University of Mississippi now is likely.

The program, an annual feature of life at the university since 1939, was scheduled for Feb. 19-22. All five main speakers and seminar leaders have withdrawn.

Their action stemmed from the previous withdrawal by Chancellor J. D. Williams of the university of an invitation to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw of Oxford, Ohio.

Mr. Kershaw, an Episcopalian, is a white member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He was to have discussed "Religion and Modern Drama." But he declined to promise that he would not discuss the segregation question if it were raised. That caused Chancellor Williams to cancel his invitation.

Some Programs Is Likely

William Campbell, staff director of religious life for the university, said by phone from there yesterday that "the feeling at this time is that some type of program will be held, using faculty, staff and local ministers to discuss some of our problems and how to reach a solution."

He added that there was already a "great deal of discussion as to the implications of these people withdrawing."

Mr. Campbell emphasized that the actual decision as to the amended character of the meeting, if there was to be one at all, rested with the executive board of the Committee of 100. He said this was an "independent, democratically elected" unit, drawn from members of the faculty, student body and local religious community. The board was due to meet tomorrow night.

While rain pattered on the Mississippi campus—it is at University, across a bridge from the town of Oxford—Mr. Campbell said it was "quite probable" that the very issue that lay behind the Kershaw incident might now be discussed to a degree that might not have been the case had the Ohioan attended.

Last Speaker Withdraws

The sincere efforts of the "little Christian group that's trying to be decent and tolerant" at the University of Mississippi were praised by the final original speaker to withdraw. He was Francis Pickens Miller of Charlottesville, Va., who often has participated in the program in the past.

Mr. Miller, a retired colonel and anti-Byrd leader in Virginia, said he had been concerned lest the incident and the withdrawals might cause that little group to "suffer." But, after talking to old friends at Mississippi, he wired his withdrawal to Mr. Campbell yesterday.

His telegram expressed deep regret, adding that he had been forced to the conclusion that "the Christian cause will be better served" by his not attending. Mr. Miller said he was "distressed beyond measure" at the situation.

Here in New York, the Kershaw-Mississippi case and its implications will be discussed today by another of the five who withdrew from the Religious Emphasis program.

He is the Rev. Joe Earl Elmore, assistant minister of the Methodist Church of St. Paul and St. Andrew, Eighty-sixth Street and West End Avenue. At the request of the minister, the Rev. Barber L. Waters, Mr. Elmore will speak in the chapel at noon, after the regular morning worship. From 1952-4, Mr. Elmore was director of the Methodist student foundation at Mississippi.

Mississippi Roundup—

House OKs Segregation Bills On Waiting Rooms

Post-Herald Sat. 1-28-56 P. 12

Birmingham

JACKSON, Jan. 27 (AP) — Negroes will not use white waiting rooms and toilet facilities in railroad and bus stations, the Mississippi House of Representatives said today in three bills which received unanimous votes.

Parts of the bills apply to all passengers, whether interstate or intrastate.

Ala.

The bills seek to wipe out the recent Interstate Commerce Commission order requiring integrated waiting rooms for interstate passengers—those traveling across state lines.

The Senate now must act on the bills. Passage there virtually is certain. The bills received votes of 104-0, 103-0 and 104-0 in the House.

The bills give support to action of some city officials in Mississippi when the ICC order went into effect Jan. 10. In Jackson, police put up their own signs after Illinois Central Railroad officials obeyed the ICC order and removed segregation signs.

Officials of several other cities said they would do the same thing if necessary.

Persons entering a waiting room or rest room marked for the other race could be fined $1000 and sent to jail for one year under the bills passed today.

Railroad and bus companies which fail or refuse to provide segregated waiting and rest rooms for intrastate passengers could be fined $1000 a day. The state also could get an injunction requiring them to provide such facilities.

"Any time a colored man enters a white rest room, he is (would be) guilty of a misdemeanor," declared Rep. Luther Simms of Lowndes County. If an interstate passenger comes in there (wrong room), he's guilty.

One of the bills also seeks to protect officers and railroad and bus company employes who enforce segregation in compliance with the proposed new laws. It would deny a person the right to sue the officers or employes for damages for false arrest.

of an intensive 10-day search last Summer when his plane went down in North Pacific waters near Japan.

Marine 2nd Lt. David Winston Bell, of Minnesota, also was presumed lost in the accident. No trace ever was found of the wreckage.

Montague is survived by his widow; a son and a sister, Mrs. Betty Nell Montague, all of Jackson.

Mississippi U. Calls Off Talks On Religion

Courier Journal Wed. 2-15-56 P. 3

Kershaw Controversy Causes Cancellation

Louisville, Ky.

University, Miss., Feb. 14 (AP) —The University of Mississippi today called off its Religious Emphasis Week after five ministers suggested the "Kershaw incident" had ruined the religious atmosphere of the program.

The five also canceled their speaking engagements for the program next week, saying:

". . . We feel the excitement engendered throughout this controversy would make it difficult to maintain an atmosphere in which real religious values could be given proper consideration."

The executive committee of the Committee of 100, which handles the program, substituted a 30-minute period of silent prayer and meditation next Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.

Giving to N.A.A.C.P.

The controversy began when the Rev. Alvin Kershaw of Oxford, Ohio, a former Louisvillian, a key speaker, announced plans last summer to donate part of his television-quiz-show winnings to the National Association for The Advancement of Colored People.

Last month he wrote Chancellor J. D. Williams that he was a member of the N.A.A.C.P. and would speak on segregation if the question arose. He was scheduled to speak on "Religion and Drama."

Williams revoked the invitation.

Then five out-of-state ministers canceled their speaking engagements. A university sociology professor and a Mississippi State College government professor resigned in protest against what they called an abridgment of freedom of speech.

Senators Asked to Hold Mississippi Rights Probe

Post & Times Herald Washington, D.C. Sat. 2-4-56 P. 15

Associated Press

A biracial delegation of 20 from nine Southern states yesterday asked that the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights to held hearings in Mississippi as soon as possible.

Headed by Methodist Bishop Edgar A. Love, Baltimore, the delegation, presented petitions to Sen. William Langer (R-N. D.), Republican member of the Subcommittee, urging the hearings.

Love, a Negro, said the petitions were signed by some 26,000 residents of the 48 states.

Love told Langer that in Mississippt, a "dominant faction is defying the Constitution of the Nation, flouting the authority of the Supreme Court, perverting State institutions of justice, condoning the murder of Negro citizens who attempt to exercise their civil rights, and driving fair minded white citizens into frightened silence by economic boycott or the **menace of physical violence."**

Aubrey Williams, Montgomery, Ala., a member of the delegation, said he wanted to speak as a white southerner about a "situation in the South which is becoming worse."

He said the Supreme Court decision banning school segregation had "unleashed all the forces of prejudices and hate that had been receding" in recent years.

Many whites in the South, Williams said, are back of the Supreme Court decision but hesitate to speak out.

"What we need is for the Committee to come down and get the story," he said. "If congress can send a Committee to New York to investigate crime, why not to Mississippi where basic laws are flouted and lives threatened."

Langer complimented the group and said he would present the petition to the Judiciary Committee.

Clergymen give up on 'Ole Miss.'

Hero-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 2-18-56

UNIVERSITY, Miss. — Clergymen from three major faiths cancelled speaking engagements at the University of Mississippi for Religious Emphasis Week in the wake of the "Kershaw incident."

Two Protestant ministers, a rabbi ,and a Catholic priest withdrew acceptance of speaking invitations because the university revoked its invitation to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw of Oxford, Ohio, and Episcopal minister and member of the NAACP.

The first to withdraw was the Rev. Joseph Fichter, sociologist at Loyola University, New Orleans, La.

JOINING HIM, Friday, were the Rev. George Chancey, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Monticello, Ark.; the Rev. Joe Earl Elmore of NYC; and Rabbi Milton Frafman, Temple Emmanuel at Birmingham, Ala.

Two members of the faculty, Dr. Morton King Jr., head of the university's sociology department, and Dr. William D. Buchanan, assistant professor of government resigned in earlier protests against action in the Kershaw case.

The Rev. Mr. Kershaw, a jazz enthusiast, won $32,000 in the television show "The $64,000 Question."

He became a center of a campus controversy when he let it be known that he intended to contribute part of the money to the NAACP.

HOWARD 'MISTAKEN' ABOUT LOAN CHARGE

Commercial Appeal

Clarksdale Negro Undertaker Given $5,000 By Union

Special to The Commercial Appeal

CLARKSDALE, Miss., Feb. 13. —R. L. Drew, a Negro undertaker, said Monday that Dr. T. R. M. Howard was "mistaken" when the Mound Bayou Negro physician told a New York audience that a Clarksdale bank had threatened to foreclose on a home loan if Drew did not repay the loan at once.

Memphis

A drug employes union after an address by Dr. Howard granted a loan of $5,000 to Drew.

Dr. Howard, speaking at the annual Negro history week celebration of the Drug Employes Local 1199 of the retail, wholesale and department store workers, said the Coahoma County Bank & Trust Co. here threatened to foreclose on a $3,000 loan on Drew's home it he did not repay at once. The Negro physician attributed the bank's action to "economic pressures" advocated by white Citizens Councils.

"I was denied a $300 loan three months ago, and was told a bank official that the denial was because of my activities for integration," Drew said Monday. "But I still owe $2,000 on the home loan, and no notice has been given me that I must repay at once.

"Dr. Howard probably assumed that I would get such notices because I had been denied the smaller loan," added Drew, 59-year-old owner of Royal Funeral Home. "I'm making no howl about being denied the small loan."

Drew said a white friend loaned him the needed $300.

R. E. McInnis, cashier at the bank, Monday would not deny that Drew had been denied the loan because of his stand against segregation.

Drew, a close friend of Dr. Howard, was chairman of the Clarksdale chapter of the NAACP when signed a petition for integrated schools here several months ago. He is now vice president of the chapter.

He said he will use $5,000 loan to pay off the mortgage on his home. The remainder will be use dto pay off smaller debts, he said.

ACTION ON KERSHAW ECHOES AT OLE MISS

Commercial Appeal P. 1

Loyola Sociology Professor Won't Be In Religious Education Week

Special to The Commercial Appeal

UNIVERSITY, Miss., Feb. 6.—A sociology professor at Loyola University of the South informed authorities here Monday he will not appear on the University's Religious Emphasis Week program because of the withdrawal of an invitation to the Rev. Alvin Kershaw.

The Rev. Joseph Sicther of New Orleans told the Rev. James Brett, pastor of St. John's Catholic Church here, by telephone he would not appear.

Refuses In Protest

"He said his refusal to speak was in protest against the University's attitude in general regarding segregation, and in particular regarding the withdrawal of the invitation to the Rev. Mr. Kershaw," said the Rev. Mr. Brett.

Memphis

A letter from the Rev. Mr. Sicther saying he will not appear was mailed Monday to the Rev. William Campbell, director of religious life at the YMCA on the Ole Miss campus, said the Rev. Mr. Brett, who is chaplain of Catholic students at Ole Miss.

'Would Be Unwise'

The Rev. Mr. Kershaw, of Oxford, Ohio, was told last week by Chancellor J. D. Williams that his scheduled visit here the week of Feb. 19 "would be unwise." The advice came after the Episcopal minister revealed he was a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

A controversy flared over the Rev. Mr. Kershaw's scheduled appearance after he reportedly said he would donate part of $32,000 won on a television quiz show to the NAACP.

GOVERNOR COLEMAN REAFFIRMS STAND AGAINST INTEGRATION IN TUESDAY'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Hattiesburg

Say More Whites Killed By Negroes Than Negroes By Whites In State

Jackson, Miss.

Promises Sympathetic Consideration Of Problems Of Negroes Which Deserve Attention Of State Government

A man with a story-book career in Mississippi politics, Attorney General J. P. Coleman took the helm as the new Governor of the state in Inaugural ceremonies here Tuesday, backed by the ringing praise and endorsement of his predecessor Governor Hugh White, one of the few men in the state's history who was twice elected to the state's highest office.

Only a few Negroes could be seen on the fringes of the crowd estimated at some 4,000 which came from every section of the state to hear him deliver his inaugural address from a new platform built in front of the South entrance of the New Capitol Building.

Sat 1-21-56

After touching upon the general and ordinary affairs of the state, the new Governor re-affirmed his stand against integration of the public schools concerning which he said:

"With all due respect to the mighty power of the United States government, it will never be able to force racial integration in Mississippi nor in any other state where the people are unwilling to have it done .. Our pupil assignment law, which has been on the statute books since 1954, and which has not yet been challenged, is, in my opinion, within itself, a complete remedy at the present time ... There is no occasion for the excitement of fear."

Hattiesburg

Although a number of other southern states appeared to be planning to move ahead immediately on the subject, notably Virginia, Georgia, and South Carolina, the new Governor seemed less enthusiastic over the matter of interposition, concerning which he said:

"We have plenty of time. You will be kept fully informed of all developments. So I respectfully request that all action of this kind be withheld until you shall have heard my special message" to be delivered on this subject at a later date.

Revealing his concern with the continued criticism the state is receiving as a result of well known recent incidents the new Governor said:

With the indulgence of those present, I should like now to address a word to the remainder of the nation. I want to tell you that during the next four years the full weight of the government will unfailingly be used to the end that Mississippi will be a state of law and not of violence.

I want to remind you that for over 90 years the white and the Negro people of Mississippi have lived side by side in peace and harmony. I would like you, our friends outside Mississippi, to know that the great overwhelmingly majority of the white people of Mississippi are not now guilty and never intend to be guilty of any murder, violence, or any other wrongdoing toward anyone.

History shows that the first white man ever to be legally hanged in Mississippi was executed for the murder of a Negro slave.

I repeat that while we, the people of Mississippi, are unalterably determined as a matter of right and justice that the necessary rules of society shall be maintained, we do not any more approve of violence and lawlessness than you do.

We ask you to remember that by reason of the number involved, this problem is more acute here than in any other state in the union. It is not something which can be viewed with complacency or ignored, and if you lived in Mississippi and knew the full situation, you would look upon it as we do.

Despite all the propaganda which has been fired at us, the country can be asured that the white people of Mississippi are not a race of Negro killers. Official statistics for the state of Mississippi for 1954 show that in that year, the last for which we have figures available, eight white people were killed by Negroes and only six Negroes were killed by whites, while 182 Negroes were killed by members of their own race. In other words, there are 30 times as many Negroes killed by members of their own race as by members of the white race.

Now, for a word to those loyal Negro citizens of Mississippi who love their state and who are unwilling to be made the victims of propaganda from professional agitators.

I must remind you that when one searches the entire history of all nations, peoples, governments, and minority populations there will be found examples of extinctions, enslavements, torture, and exile, but there cannot be found one single instance where a government has forced one race against its will to integrate with another.

With all due respect to the mighty power of the United States Government, it will never be able to force racial integration in Mississippi nor in any other state where the people are unwilling to have it done.

What have integrated schools in other sections been worth to the Negro? Have you ever thought about the fact that a Negro can attend a mixed school in most of those states, but few of those states will hire him as a teacher? The State of Connecticut does not have 25 Negro teachers. The City of Albany, the capital of New York, the home of Harlem, employs only three Negro teachers. The city of Newark employs 2200 school teachers, but only 70 of them are Negroes, and none is a principal.

I am pledged to the maintenance of the separation of the races at all costs, but I want to say this further word to the Negroes of Mississippi. As Governor, I shall always give sympathetic consideration to any of your problems which deserve the assistance of the state government.

If you accept this opportunity, it will mean better days for all of us. If you reject it, the responsibility must be yours.

The address was concluded with remarks on the subject of segregation and integration directed to the white people of the state during which he re-affirmed his campaign statements in regard to the subjects, and by pointing out that present state laws are adequate to meet conditions of the present.

Negroes generally were all but unanimous in saying that the speech carried a much better tone than most had expected because of present conditions of race relations in the state.

All Out-of-State Ministers Cancel Trips to Ole Miss

Times Picayune

New Orleans, La.

Reject Invitations Over 'Kershaw Incident'

Sat. 2-11-56

UNIVERSITY, Miss., Feb. 10 (AP)—Three more ministers Friday cancelled their scheduled appearances for the University of Mississippi's Religious Emphasis Week over the "Kershaw incident."

The cancellations wiped out the slate of out-of-state clergymen who were scheduled to speak on the campus Feb. 19-22.

A Catholic priest from New Orleans said earlier this week he would not appear.

The clergymen who said Friday they will not appear:

The Rev. George Chauncey, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Monticello, Ark.

The Rev. Joe Earl Elmore of New York City, former director of Methodist student work at the University of Mississippi.

Rabbi Milton Grafmon, Temple Emanuel, Birmingham, Ala.

Committee to Meet

The University of Mississippi committee which sponsors Religious Emphasis Week will meet Monday to decide whether to continue its efforts to put on the program.

The university withdrew the invitation extended the Rev. Alvin Kershaw because the Episcopal minister from Oxford, Ohio, is a member of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Earlier this week, the Rev. Fr. Joseph Fichter, S. J., a sociology professor at Loyola University of the South in New Orleans, said he would not appear on the program.

The university's student newspaper, the Mississippian, commended Chancellor J. D. Williams Friday on his withdrawal of Kershaw's invitation.

The newspaper's editorial was entitled "He didn't Let Us Down."

Incident Reviewed

The "Kershaw incident" began when the minister, also an expert on jazz music, won $32,000 on the television program "The $64,000 Question." He said he might give part of the winnings to the NAACP.

That brought a demand from several state officials that his invitation, given some time earlier, be withdrawn.

The college board, which controls all of Mississippi's state-supported colleges, left the final decision to Chancellor Williams with the recommendation that the minister be allowed to speak.

Kershaw was scheduled to speak on "Religion and Drama."

A short time later, the minister said in a letter to the university newspaper he would answer any questions on segregation students asked during his stay at the university.

The chancellor then withdrew the invitation.

Racial Crisis

Dear Sirs:

As a lifelong citizen of Mississippi I want to thank you for publishing the wonderful article by Hodding Carter [RACIAL CRISIS IN THE DEEP SOUTH, Dec. 17] . . . Carter has reported the facts so objectively and so clearly that anyone with an open mind can see the prejudice evident on both sides of the question. . . .

The South is going to have to rise again. We are being persecuted and ridiculed and pushed around, and we don't like it any more than any other American does. . . .

MRS. WALTER L. MCKEE
Ripley, Miss.

Dear Sirs:

Hodding Carter . . . has succeeded in putting down in black and white the twisted, perverted, racially angled, reactionary ideas of the too-long decadent, decrepit, all but dead South. . . . Carter has proved why the Negro does not have a chance in the South. . . .

LAWRENCE D. FAULKNER
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Sirs:

. . . The Supreme Court decision can bring nothing but bloodshed on a scale never before seen in our land, and before it happens the court will have to put troops in every classroom.

JAMES E. BURNS, JR.
New Orleans, La.

Dear Sirs:

I wonder what Mr. Hodding Carter . . . did besides mere "rabble-rousing." He is evidently soliciting pity rather than condemnation. . . .

GLENN FLINCHBAUGH
Hamburg, Pa.

Dear Sirs:

. . . It was inherent and inescapable, from the day the white man in his greed introduced the first black slave into America, that a dreadful retribution was in store for him, and retribution almost without end, as someday there will be fifty million Negroes here, not fifteen. What then? . . .

A. BAXTER
Santa Monica, Cal.

Dear Sirs:

. . . Mr. Carter should have included in his ample report on fears the more hopeful side represented by the active and successful efforts of churches and other organizations to get people of both races to work out together a sane solution of their problems. For example, the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta and its affiliate state organizations, such as the Texas Commission on Race Relations, certainly have demonstrated this formula. . . .

I predict Mississippi will meet its unique challenge and become a model of interracial love in our lifetime. Southerners are basically too kind and polite to let meanness get out of hand.

THOMAS S. SUTHERLAND
Executive Director
Texas Commission on Race Relations
Austin, Texas

EDITOR SAYS TIME TO EASE RACE SPAT

Carter Sees Improvement In Negro Dispersal

NEW YORK, March 8.—(UP) — Hodding Carter, editor and publisher of the Delta Democrat-Times at Greenville, Miss., said Thursday he sees no immediate solution to the racial dispute which racks the South, especially in the areas of heaviest Negro concentration.

In an interview by Dave Garroway on NBC-TV's "Today" show, Mr. Carter said he believed the situation would improve in time if the current dispersal of the Negro from heavily populated areas continues. Time, he said, is "The only specific way out."

"I see no solution," Mr. Carter said, "but I do see amelioration through one, the realization by the Negroes that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People does not have all the answers, and the realization by the Southern whites that the violent extremes of the organized groups is not the answer either."

Mr. Carter said he foresaw "violent forcible reactions" in certain areas of the South where tensions are the strongest. But he said he believed the "critical area could be bridged" in other areas depending upon the leadership on both sides. If this leadership fails, "You are going to have boycott fighting boycott before very long," he added.

Grant Reynolds Blasts Dixie Editor

Courier Sat. 1-28-56 P.6

Hodding Carter Called 'Overrated Southerner'

Pittsburgh, Pa.

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.—In a letter to the editors of The Courier, Atty. Grant Reynolds offers a blistering commentary denouncing writer James Desmond's "effort to make an equalitarian out of Hodding Carter."

Mr. Reynolds, who ran for Congress against Adam Clayton Powell in New York several years ago, refers to an article which appeared in The Courier Jan. 14, by-lined by Mr. Desmond under the head "Editor Leads War Against Kluxers!"

Mr. Reynolds

Hodding Carter is editor-owner of the Delta Democrat Times, published in Greenville, Miss.

Lashing out vehemently at Desmond's appraisal of Carter, Reynolds called the editor " . . . the most overrated Southerner of our times."

In the article in The Courier, Desmond writes that Carter uses front page editorials to slam at the economic sanctions of the White Citizens Councils. "Yet Carter is no desegregationist," Desmond states.

• • •

ATTORNEY REYNOLDS maintains that "a Southerner can be against both the Ku Klux Klan and the WCC and remain as opposed to conformity with the Supreme Court's interpretation of the U. S. Constitution as Governor Griffin of Georgia.

"I have read Hodding Carter's books and all of his magazine articles since 1944," Reynolds continues, "In none of them has he the honesty to state that the current tension in Mississippi is historically rooted in a misguided and bigoted political leadership using scientifically discredited myths with which to exploit both Negroes and poor whites.

"This man differs from the other opponents of desegregation only in terms of his opposition to violence and restrictions on the citizen's constitutional rights to the franchise."

• • •

REYNOLDS HIT at Carter's inferences that the NAACP is to blame for the current breakdown of law and order in his state and charges him with a form of subversion in advocating a philosophy entirely alien to democracy.

"Hodding Carter," charges Reynolds, "chooses to be silent in his articles that respect for law is an American heritage—that ours is a land of laws and not men."

In a final statement aimed at what he calls Desmond's "glorification" of Hodding Carter, Reynolds concludes, "Let us . . . save our halos for the Judge Warings and the Dr. Howards, all Southerners, but stalwart defenders of the American dream who warrant our adoration."

Carter Says Integration Far Off

Defender P.3
Sat. 10-20-56
Chicago, Ill.

PRINCETON, N. J. — (INS) — Pulitzer prize-winning publisher Hodding Carter of Mississippi told some 200 Princeton students last week that "integration won't be complete in 50 years" in the South.

Carter who publishes the Greenville, Miss., Delta Democrat-Times also claimed that "as of now, the Citizen's Councils are not dangerous," and although they are "not powerful as they were a year ago, they will continue to exist in the background for a long time to come."

Speaking in Whig Auditorium on the topic "Role of Man of Letters in Public Affairs," Carter foresaw a "reduction of the number of people against (integration) and a narrowing of the gap between the two cultures."

NO VIOLENCE

He said in the fight for integration, "there may be local strife, but no real violence, and I can't see the use of force to accomplish integration."

He continued, "The North should not leave the South alone at all in this question. We should realize that this is a problem and one that all sections of the country should share."

Carter, who has published the prize-winning Delta Democrat-Times for 25 years, claimed, "a lot of things have changed in the newspaper world" except what he called the laxity of public officials and the need for new interests

Eastland Made Head of Judiciary Unit

Post & Times Herald 8/1 Sat. 3-3-56

Senate Adheres To Its Seniority Rule In Approving Motion

Washington, D.C.

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) leading critic of the Supreme Court's school integration ruling, was approved by the Senate yesterday as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee despite the sharp protests of two colleagues.

In so doing, the Senate adhered once again to its traditional "seniority" rule, advancing Senators in committee rank according to their years of service.

To no avail Senators Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) and Herbert H. Lehman (D-N.Y.) urged the Senate to forget seniority in this instance because of Eastland's "partiality" on the segregation issue and some of his recent activities and statements.

By a voice vote, with only a few "noes," audible, the 51-year-old Eastland, a member of the Senate for 15 years, was advanced to the powerful chairmanship recently left vacant by the death of Sen. Harley M. Kilgore (D-W.Va.).

Sen. Earle C. Clements (Ky.), acting Senate majority leader, made the motion that Eastland be named to the post, saying that as ranking Democrat he had been recommended by the Senate Democratic Steering Committee.

Senate Republican Leader William F. Knowland (Calif.) went along with the appointment, saying it is the responsibility of Democrats to fill their own committee posts. Otherwise there would be "chaos," Knowland said.

Morse said he was not questioning Eastland's right to sit in the Senate, but he was opposing his promotion to the Judiciary chairmanship because of his attacks on the Court in the integration matter and his effort to get Southerners to defy the ruling.

D.C.

He noted that Eastland favors the interposition doctrine Southern leaders are using to fight the decision. Said Morse: "I hold to hte proposition that this country cannot survive if we return to the nullification doctrine of Calhoun. . . . Interposition is nothing but nullification in disguise."

Post & Times Herald

Morse also cited newspaper reports that Eastland opposed confirmation of the Presidents' appointment of Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff of Maryland to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals. He noted that as Judiciary chairman Eastland would have great "influence" in passing on judicial nominations and other matters affecting the Federal judiciary. He said Eastland was quoted as taking note of the fact that Sobeloff favored integration in the schools. Morse said he hopes the Senate has not reached the point where a nominee is passed over because he "holds to the position of the Supreme Court."

The Oregon Democrat quoted Eastland as referring to the Supreme Court as "incompetent" on the floor of the Senate, and as having charged it was "indoctrinated and brainwashed by left wing pressure.

Morse further quoted from a speech attributed to Eastland, made in Mississippi during his last campaign for the Senate, in which Eastland talked about his job as chairman of the Civil Rights Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, in 1951 and later.

He quoted Eastland as saying: "And ever since then the CIO and these organizations have been yapping and yapping that I was arrogant and high hatted with them, and so I was; they said I broke the law, and so I did.

"You know, the laws says the committee has got to meet once a week; and there I was chairman of the committee, and there were Northerners up there, Yankees, that didn't know anything about the question, who were lined up against us. Do you know what happened? Why, for the three years I was chairman that committee didn't hold a meeting."

Sen. Lehman followed Morse with a charge that Eastland is "a symbol of racism in America" and "a symbol of defiance to the Constitution."

Said Lehman: "Sen. Eastland is precluded by philosophy, conviction and activities from presiding over the Senate Judiciary Committee as chairman in an impartial way."

CONGRESS CITED AS SOUTH'S HOPE

Times Picayune New Orleans, La.

Eastland Urges Control at Neshoba Fair

8-10-56

By DOUGLAS STARR

PHILADELPHIA, Miss., Aug. 9 (AP)—Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.) said Thursday the South must control congressional machinery because "we are not going to get a presidential candidate to take the stand we desire."

Eastland addressed thousands of central Mississippians at the 67th annual Neshoba county fair, one of the nation's oldest campground fairs and a "battleground" for governmental philosophy.

Eastland said it is "important that the vice president be an honest man . . . because he should interpret the rules of the Senate as they should be."

The senator spoke immediately after Mississippi Secretary of state Heber Ladner. Ladner called upon Democrats to nominate Gen. Matthew Ridgway, a Southerner, for vice-president.

Congressional Rule Cited

Eastland said it is only by congressional rule that Southerners "have been able to fight off the onslaught of our opponents" in Washington.

He said the south has "greatly prospered" because the Southerners in Congress have warded off attacks. The state's senior senator said opponents have made progress only through judical interpretation of the laws and the US constitution.

"Tides have been running against the Southern people," Eastland said. "But for the past year the tide is turning because we (the South) have stood firm against those who would harm us."

Segregation Aired

On segregation, the senator said:

"If we can prevent gradual integration in certain Southern states, we will win a tremendous victory. I think that will be done."

He listed the border states as Florida, Tennessee, North Carolina and western Arkansas, saying "each state evidenced gradual erosion and infiltration of racial integration."

Eastland said a special session of the Virginia Legislature is scheduled within two weeks to consider a plan for preventing school integration in that state.

Eastland described the plan as "providing for pupil assignments under control of the governor on the theory that a contempt citation cannot reach a governor in the discharge of his duties."

Mississippi Has Pupil Law

Mississippi has a pupil assignment law but it is not under the control of the governor. It is under the control of the state department of education and the school districts.

The senator described the US foreign aid program and added: "American farmers were sacrificed and have borne the brunt of our foolish, silly foreign-aid program."

Ladner said "I would like to see a Southerner nominated for vice-president."

The state official said Gen. Ridgway, a southerner from Virginia, would be able to "pull in millions of voters who today recognize the United States in losing the cold war with communism."

Would Assure Victory

Times Picayune

Ridgway's nomination "would be a natural in assuring Democratic victory in November," Ladner said, "and would bring great prestige to the party both at home and abroad."

New Orleans, La.

He said the general "no doubt would serve a good purpose in bringing solidarity to the party."

Ladner blasted any idea of a two-party system in Mississippi, saying "in my judgment, under the circumstances, this would be fatal" because the Natl Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People would control politics in 12 to 15 counties and put pressure on the governor's office.

Sen. Earl Evans of Canton, speaking at the fair Wednesday, disapproved of Adlai Stevenson as a presidential candidate but said he probably would be nominated.

Evans urged that the state Democratic convention be recalled and name two slates of electors, one pledged to the party nominee and the other to an unnamed states' rights candidate. He said this would give Mississippians a chance to cast a conscientious vote without endangering their standings as Democrats.

If enough states do this, said the president pro tem of the state Senate, the presidential election could be thrown into the U.S. House of Representatives where each state has but one vote.

The state senator said the South could not possibly receive help from either national political party as a result of the presidential election.

Ladner blasted the Republican party, saying President Eisenhower "broke faith" with the voters by trying to "make vassals of all the states."

He said Eisenhower implied before he was elected that he was for states' rights, local self-government and farmers.

Instead, Ladner charged, Eisenhower set up a Civil Rights Commission with authority to attempt to mold thought and action of a sovereign people.

In addition, Ladner said, Eisenhower "catered to the whims and designs of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People in sponsoring such diabolical legislation."

Says Ike 'Misled' Farmers

He said Eisenhower "misled" farmers by promising 100 per cent of parity for farm commodities and advocating 75 per cent as soon as he was in office.

The state official said the South "has definitely lost the executive and judicial branches of government" and must keep control of the nine standing Senate committees and 12 standing House committees.

Evans also objected to a two-party system in Mississippi, saying it would result in both parties wooing the Negro vote.

Barnett Speaks

The senator said if the nominee of neither national party is acceptable to the South, "the only way to prevent a split in the (state) party is to make adequate provision for . . . permitting a Mississippi Democrat to vote for any candidate of his choice in a presidential election without affecting his status as a Democrat."

Ross Barnett, twice a loser in running for governor, told the fair crowd that Southern delegations to the Democratic national convention should each support a favorite son to "give the South an opportunity to present . . . our side of the picture" to the nation via radio, television and newspapers.

Barnett said Adlai Stevenson's support of the supreme court integration ruling is no surprise "to those of us who know the feeling and purpose of the political opportunist." He said Stevenson has said "on all occasions that we must integrate" and said the former Illinois governor is not an acceptable presidential candidate.

The Jackson attorney, criticizing Gov. J. P. Coleman, said the governor "is not furnishing us with a positive, forceful, straightforward leadership so badly needed in Mississippi.

SOUTH GAINS BACKING ON RACIAL POSITION

Commercial Appeal 8/1

Eastland Claims Sentiment Changing, Cites School Situation In Capital

Memphis Tenn.

"Rebellious feeling" among Washington residents is making school integration in the nation's capital a "deplorable situation," Mississippi's senior senator declared in Memphis yesterday.

Senator James O. Eastland, en route to Washington after taking his family to his Doddsville, Miss., home for the summer, said letters his office has received from throughout the nation convinces him the South "is gaining ground—public sentiment is turning in our favor."

8-18-56

Nation Better Informed

He attributed the change to increased publicity which Negro bids for integration have brought, leading to a nation which is better informed on the Negro-white problem.

"People are beginning to realize that we're not mistreating the Negro in the South. And they're realizing we can make more progress with separate (educational) institutions."

He also said a "Supreme Court which has gone too far in protecting communists" has created a public sentiment favorable to the South.

GOP Strategy Scored

Commenting on a Republican strategy to discourage Northern

Negroes from voting for Democrats—claiming a vote for Northern Democrats is a vote for Southern "race baiters"—Senator Eastland declared. "The Republican Party is willing to destroy our system of government to cater to pressure groups." Among those groups, he said are the NAACP, CIO and Americans for Democratic Action.

DR. CHARLES G. HAMILTON

Cleric Out To Unseat Eastland

Delegate P.1
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 8-18-56

An Episcopal minister from Mississippi served notice as the Democratic convention got underway this week that he will wage a fight to prevent the seating of the regular Mississippi delegation, which he charges is controlled by Sen. James O. Eastland.

Dr. Charles G. Hamilton, a former newspaper reporter, heads what he calls the "true Democratic delegation" and has declared that the state's Democratic organization "is a conspiracy to violate the Constitution."

Hamilton, who was scheduled to testify before the national convention's credentials committee, charges that the Coleman delegation is controlled by Eastland and Walter Sillers, speaker of the state house of representatives.

"The Eastland-Sillers group even includes persons who at this very time are indicating publicly their support either for President Eisenhower on the Republican ticket or an independent third party candidate," Hamilton said.

He told reporters that the July convention of the Mississippi Democratic party required that any one voting in the Democratic primary must declare under oath his support of the principle of segregation.

Defender

"Pressure is much worse in Mississippi now than it was when I fought the Ku Klux Klan and the Dixiecrats," Hamilton said. "I am not making public the names of our delegates because I want them to keep their jobs back home a few days longer."

This marks the third straight year that Hamilton has tried to get his delegation seated at the convention.

He said that if Democrats are to win votes away from the Republicans this year they must abandon links with Eastland.

Dr. Hamilton has been serving churches in Northeast Mississippi for 29 years and was named Mississippi "Minister of the Year" in 1953. He is said to be the only white Mississippian with an honorary degree from a Negro college.

Sat 8-18-56

Former chairman of the elections committee in the Mississippi House under three governors, author of the soldier voting and free textbook laws of his state, he was a delegate to the 1940 National Democratic convention and has been active in all conventions since then, acting as one of the spokesmen for the 1952 contestants.

He is on the staff of the Christian Century, a Chicago Protestant weekly, of the Chicago Jewish Forum, and contributed to the new Jesu-Maria parochial school textbooks of the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago.

South Is Making Steady Headway, Eastland Declares

Herald P.3-a

STARKVILLE, Miss. —(AP)— Sen. James Eastland, Mississippi Democrat, says he believes well-financed propaganda favors integration nationally, but that the South "is making headway."

Wed. 9-19-56

Eastland, addressing the Oktibbeha County Farm Bureau Federation, said if the South can stand united, "it can preserve our heritage."

Miami, Fla.

Mississippi's senior senator said "the great danger is the precedent just set by Kentucky and Tennessee where state police power has been used to enforce the integration decision of the U. S. Supreme Court."

The National Guards of both states were called out to prevent violence in integrated white schools.

"The hope for the South," Eastland said, "is in following the example of Gov. Allen Shivers of Texas who used the police power to preserve segregation in education in order to prevent riots and disorders."

The move is legal, Eastland said, because segregation is only prohibited if based solely upon race.

Eastland reviewed some of his actions in the Senate Judiciary Committee, saying he prevented the submission of civil rights legislation backed by the Eisenhower administration.

Many times, he said, he avoided calling a meeting of the committee, of which he is chairman, and many times appointed himself chairman of each subcommittee called to consider each judge named to federal benches.

"In time," he continued, "there was so much pressure built up from various members of the committee who wanted to get their nominees approved, that I was able to get the Judiciary Committee to approve or reject bills and to name judges I wanted."

He said such power and advantages stem from Southern seniority in Congress.

"Lacks Impartiality"

Mississipian To Head Civil Rights Controlling Judiciary

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 3-3-56
38a

BY WILLIAM THEIS

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The Senate overwhelmingly approved Friday the appointment of Sen. James O. Eastland (D) Miss., as Senate Judiciary Chairman in the face of protests that he "lacks impartiality" on the segregation issue.

By a voice vote, in which only a few "noes" were heard, the Senate upheld its tradition of seniority in promotion of Senators and affirmed Eastland's right to the chairmanship. He succeeds the late Sen. Harleynkilgore (D) W. Va.

Negative votes were registered by Sens' Wayne Morse (D) Ore., and Herbert Lehman (D) N. Y., who challenged the property of giving Eastland the job.

Morse opened the drive against Eastland. Morse said he opposed Eastland's appointment because of the Mississippi Democrat's demand that all Southerners defy the Supreme Court's ruling declaring public school segregation unconstitutional.

Lehman followed by charging that Eastland is now a "symbol of racism" and a "symbol of defiance of the Supreme Court."

But the Mississippian was defended by his colleague, Sen. John Stennis (D) Miss., who argued that Eastland was entitled to the chairmanship by his long tenure and had shown "moderation" in his speeches on the race question.

The Morse-Lehman move was doomed from the start because Eastland's promotion had the support of both Democratic and Republican leaders.

Stennis, a Senator highly regarded for his legal ability, said of Eastland: "He has always cautioned and counseled legal approaches, lawful procedure and orderly conduct."

Stennis defended the Southern organization of white citizens' councils' active since the Supreme Court Anti-Segregation decision. He said it is to these organizations that "many of our colored leaders go for guidance" because they are "confused" by outside influences.

Stennis said the councils "largely represent the constructive, patient, understanding leadership" of white residents of the Southern states who, he said, have been working for 100 years to improve race relations.

Stennis commended both Morse and Lehman for their "impersonal" treatment of the chairmanship issue.

Mississippi terror victim questioned by Sen. Eastland

Afro-American p. 18
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 3-17-56
38a

By ALICE DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON

"Who shot you?"

This was the question asked Gus Courts by Senator James O. Eastland. The meeting was in the senator's office, Tuesday, when Courts and C. R. Darden, chairman of the Mississippi delegation to the Civil Rights Assembly, visited Eastland.

The Mississippi senator greeted his two constituents warmly, and seemed anxious to hear what they had to say.

Courts informed the senator that he had recently heard him making a television address in which he said he was not opposed to the colored people of Mississippi voting.

* * *

"WELL I GOT SHOT," said Courts, "because I was encouraging colored people of Belzoni to vote."

"Who shot you?" asked Eastland.

When Courts said he did not know, Eastland replied that he heard Courts knew who shot him.

"Senator Eastland seemed to be interested in me, and seemed sorry for what happened in Belzoni," Courts later declared.

* * *

THIS MILITANT LEADER had, on the previous night, reviewed before a large audience the attempt made upon his life a number of months ago.

He told how he was shot down in his own store. He said it was because he had encouraged colored people of his county to register and vote.

He reviewed how he had been called before the White Citizens Committee and instructed to take his name from the registration list. When he refused he found himself the victim of an "economic squeeze."

Wholesalers refused to sell him groceries. The landlord refused to accept his rent. Consequently he was put out of the building.

* * *

HE TOLD HOW his life had been threatened and how his friend and co-worker, the Rev. George Lee, was killed in cold blood for the same reason.

He reviewed in detail the shooting. And after he recovered, the White Citizens circulated the false statement that someone of his own race had shot him about a woman, he declared.

He claimed that the FBI came down to investigate but instead of asking him questions they told him what the White Citizens had said.

And finally, he said, he was warned by the council that there was no need of him going to Washington to tell his story because they had Senator Eastland up there to take care of the situation.

* * *

"HE SEEMED determined to see us," said Darden, although he was terribly busy. He had several conferences and had to go to the Senate, but he gave them a few minutes before being called to the floor.

He informed them that he would have to go, but he would talk with them some more if they had time to wait around until 5 p.m.

Senator Eastland shook the delegates' hands and asked what he could do for them.

When he was asked how he stood on certain civil rights legislation, he replied that he was in favor of protecting the rights of voters.

He also favored legislation to protect citizens from mob violence.

* * *

THE SENATOR added that he is against lawlessness and violence, but he didn't know what could be done about it.

"Both the Democrats and Republicans are guilty of 'kicking civil rights around,'" said Eastland.

He argued that the President has the power to act in these matters. If he doesn't act; Eastland recommended, "You should elect a President who will."

When questioned on whether he would make every effort to bring civil rights bills out of the Judiciary Committee, which he now heads, Eastland replied that there is nothing he can do to block these bills.

"If the subcommittees have voted the bills out, there is nothing I can do as chairman to keep them from coming out of committee," said the senator.

* * *

EASTLAND SAID he favored legislation which guaranteed the right to vote in Federal elections. As for the other bills supported by the Civil Rights Assembly, Eastland said he had not read them, didn't know what they contained. He would not commit himself on them either one way or the other.

* * *

THE MISSISSIPPI delegation also visited Rep. Frank Smith. He told them that he did not favor any civil rights bills, because he didn't think they would do any good.

"You must be patient and wait on time," he urged. "You must wait until people change their minds."

He argued that no Federal law will help change the present status quo.

"We were getting along fine in the State of Mississippi. But the situation there has been aggravated by the NAACP."

NAACP Aide Hits Eastland As 'Albatross'

Constitution
Mon. 3-5-56
Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, March 4 (AP) — A Civil Rights Assembly of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People today heard Sen. Eastland (D-Miss) called a "stinking albatross" around the neck of the Democratic party.

Clarence Mitchell, director of NAACP's Washington bureau, used the expression in an opening address to a three-day conference

called in an effort to get federal civil rights legislation passed at this session of Congress through personal contacts with lawmakers.

PARTIES SHARE P. 2

Asserting both major parties share an obligation in this field, Mitchell declared with reference to the Democrats:

"If they're going to keep a stinking albatross like Sen. Eastland around their neck, they've got to kiss our votes goodbye."

Eastland, an outspoken foe of racial integration, last week succeeded to the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee on the death of Sen. Kilgore (D-WVa). This is the committee that considers most civil rights legislation.

The conference site shifted tonight from a Baptist church to the government's Interdepartmental Auditorium. Permission was granted for the group to use the meeting hall, in the Labor Department building, despite a protest by 30 Southern Democratic members of Congress.

URGES CONGRESS

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary and chairman of the conference, urged Congress to keep pace with the Supreme Court and the executive branch in civil rights lest "wholesale violence" develop.

Asserting the White Citizens Councils formed in the South to fight school integration "work openly against law and order," Wilkins declared:

"The federal government thus far has offered no relief from this situation, grown so intolerable that public predictions are freely made that wholesale violence will be touched off at any minute. . .

Negro Speaker Raps Eastland As Meet Opens

Advertiser Mon. 3-5-56 Montgomery, Ala.

By ED CREAGH

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COED IN WASHINGTON

Autherine Lucy, the Negro student whose attempt to enter the University of Alabama touched off rioting, came to Washington in advance of the meeting but did not appear at the opening session. Some 1,800 persons were in attendance.

The conference site shifted tonight from a Baptist church to the government's Interdepartmental Auditorium. Permission was granted for the group to use the meeting hall, in the Labor Department building, despite a protest by 30 Southern Democratic members of Congress. The lawmakers contended the auditorium should not be used for "political" gatherings.

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary and chairman of the conference, urged Congress to keep pace with the Supreme Court and the executive branch in civil rights lest "wholesale violence" develop.

Advertiser P. 24

ADDRESS PREPARED

Wilkins said in a prepared address the Lucy incident emphasizes that "the judicial and executive branches of government have progressed with the times, but Congress has failed to pass any civil rights measures in 75 years."

Asserting the White Citizens Councils formed in the South to fight school integration "work openly against law and order," Wilkins declared:

"The federal government thus far has offered no relief from this situation, grown so intolerable that public predictions are freely made that wholesale violence will be touched off at any minute. . .

NAACP delegates have arranged to see members of Congress in groups tomorrow and Tuesday to urge passage of federal laws against assaults on Negroes and guaranteeing their right to vote.

Nation's Press On Eastland

Aro-Hinencot Decatur, Ill.

NEW YORK TIMES: "James Oliver Eastland, Democrat, of Doddsville, Mississippi, will be 52 years old on Nov. 28 next, and is therefore not an old man as national legislators go.

"As a member of the United States Senate in continuous service since 1943, he has, however, acquired that mystic legislative virtue known as seniority.

In our congress, seniority endows a member with infinite wisdom, even when nature has neglected to do so, and lifts him to the rank of stateman, even when his interpretation of the functions of a state in the Federal Union is fourscore and eleven years out of date.

"A decision of the Supreme Court may be mocked as one has been by James Oliver Eastland, but the laws of seniority are seemingly immutable and stand forever.

"Maybe there is no easy substitute for seniority. There is no substitute for wisdom, either. There is no substitute for faith in the American system of democracy. If something has to give way it had better be seniority."

Sat. 3-17-56

LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL — "Indeed, no other member of the Senate, not excepting McCarthy, has so forgotten his oath of loyalty and his responsibility to the whole nation as Senator Eastland. P. 3

"It is a national embarrassment to have such a man as chairman of this powerful committee.

* * *

NEW YORK POST — "Once again the rules of the club have routed the rule of reason.

"James O. Eastland of Mississippi, the most raucous racist in the Senate and spiritual leader of the inflammatory White Citizens Councils, has been elevated to the chairmanship of the powerful Judiciary Committee left vacant by the death of Senator Kilgore.

"His glory is the country's grief.

"Every consideration of justice and decency warranted rejection of Eastland. But he had the magic asset—"seniority." It was, we are told, a matter of old Senaee Custom —a custom time and again discredited by promotions of the wrong man to positions of eminence.

"Eastland now assumes new and significant powers. He becomes the overseer of the Justice Department.

"He rules the committee which must approve all federal judicial appointments, review all constitutional amendments, weigh all immigration and civil rights bills.

"With this expanded domain, he'll haunt the Democratic Party more than ever. But this eminence is a challenge to Republicans and Democrats alike.

"It took the political masterminds a long time to realize they could not deal with McCarthy by pretending he didn't exist.

"Must the country endure the same gruesome spectacle of cowardice and evasion before democracy catches up with Eastland?"

* * *

ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH —"Senators Lehman of New York and Morse, Oregon, did the used, is too biased in his views of civil rights to preside fairly over the committee which must pass on all rights legislation and on all appointments to the federal judiciary.

"The Mississippian, as these two of his fellow Democrats argued, is too biased in is views of civil rights to preside fairly over the committee which must pass on all rights legislation and on all appointments to the federal judiciary.

"Actually "bias" is much too mild a word to describe the attitude of a senator who is openly in defiance of the Supreme Court's unanimous decision.

"He is one of the worst men in Congress and in our opinion belongs at the very bottom of the list of the Democratic side of the Senate."

Eastland To Call Judiciary Leadership

Pri. 3-9-56 Kansas City, Mo.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—The Senate Friday approved the selection of Senator James O. Eastland, of Mississippi bitter pro-segregationist and critic of the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools as chairman of its powerful Judiciary Committee.

In so doing the Senate refused to put aside in Eastland's case the "seniority rule" under which Senators are advanced to important committee assignments on the basis of length of service and without regard to their ability.

Approval came on a voice vote after two Senators had urged the Senate not to give to Eastland the vacancy caused by the death last week of Senator Harley M. Kilgore, of West Virginia. The Mississippian was next in line on the seniority ladder.

Senators Wayne Morse, of Oregon, and Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, both Democrats, who took the floor to oppose Eastland, were heard to vote "No!" Two of three other Senators voted "no." All other Senators in the chamber at the time voted in the affirmative.

Pri. 3-9-56

The nomination for Eastland's appointment as chairman of the Judiciary committee came from the Democratic steering committee. It was presented by Senator Earle C. Clements, of Kentucky, acting Democratic leader.

Before the vote there was no demand for a quorum call to get Senators to the floor. Nor was there after the voice vote a demand for a record vote.

Kansas City, Mo.

Question His Impartiality

Speaking against the appointment, Senator Morse said he believed that the Supreme Court was "irrefutably right" in its decision against segregated schools. He said the position taken by Eastland on the decision "raises serious questions as to his impartiality to serve" as chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

Morse said he was not arguing that if one takes a view contrary to the Supreme Court on the integration issue, he is disqualified to serve, but he objected to the language Eastland has used in his public speeches.

The Oregon Senator quoted from speeches of Eastland bitterly attacking the court and said Eastland's utterances showed that he cannot be impartial in carrying out the duties of the chairmanship.

He also pointed out that Eastland has been quoted as saying he was opposed to confirmation of United States Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff as a judge of the Fourth United States Circuit Court of Appeals because he had strongly advocated integration in the public schools before the Supreme Court.

He contended that these statements indicated that judicial nominations would not receive from Eastland "impartial treatment."

Senator Lehman said it seemed "almost incredible" that the Senate was called upon to consider making Eastland chairman of the Judiciary committee.

Views Disqualify Him

He said Eastland's prejudices, views and activities "completely disqualify him from presiding as chairman of the Judiciary committee.

Lehman pointed out that Eastland had, on the floor of the Senate, advocated white supremacy, called the CIO and its Political Action Committee "communist organizations," and said the Supreme Court has become "indoctrinated and brainwashed by leftwing pressure groups.

He also said Eastland has urged southern states to defy the Supreme Court decision and assumed a leadership role in the so-called White Citizens Councils.

"I believe that Senator Eastland is a symbol of racism in America," Lehman declared.

He also called the Mississippian "a symbol of defiance to the Constitution of the United States as interpreted by the Supreme Court."

Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, Republican, of California, said the only question before the Senate was whether Democratic Senators have the right to determine Democratic membership of committees and, under the long established custom, who the chairman of the committee shall be.

He said he question the seniority rule as it has been passed down but he conceded that the Democratic members had the right to present the resolution naming Eastland to the chairmanship of the Judiciary committee.

He reminded Morse that five years ago he had been elected as a Republican but had seen fit to change his party affiliation and move over to the Democratic side of the Senate.

If he had not made this change, Kuchel said, Republicans would be in control of the Senate and the question of Eastland's appointment to the Judiciary committee chairmanship would never have arisen.

Senator Alben W. Barkley, Democrat, of Kentucky, defended the seniority rule. He said he differed with Eastland on a great many issues.

"It is unfortunate and regrettable that any member of the United States Senate should anywhere, under any circumstances urge our people to nullify or disrespect or flout the decisions of our Supreme Court," Barkley said.

Eastland Vows Races In South Won't Integrate

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Sen. James O. Eastland (D) Miss., a leader in the fight against school integration, charged last night that left wing groups "are in control of both major parties and the Government of the United States."

The Mississippi Democrat accused the Supreme Court of being "indoctrinated and brainwashed" by such groups in writing its school segregation decision.

He told a nationwide television audience on the BC show, "Meet The Press," that the high court ruling "is a clear invasion of the Constitution. . .that will destroy the states."

VOWS DISOBEDIANCE

The Senator vowed that Southerners will find a way of getting around the decision.

He suggested two courses:

1. Adoption of interposition legislation declaring that the court decision does not apply to the states. This would be followed by a constitutional amendment guaranteeing to the states jurisdiction over health, education, marriage, morals and "good order."

2. The segregation of students for reasons of health, morals or academic standards. The court decision bans segregation only for racial reasons.

Eastland declared: "I believe in full economic equality for every man regardless of race. . .but there are social questions and we have a social problem that we think we know more about than people who do not have the problem."

"DECISION ILLEGAL"

He argued that "any competent lawyer in the United States knows the court's decision was illegal."

Eastland said the South will not obey the ruling and "The reason for it is exactly what happened in the Northern states under the 18th Amendment . . . The law is what people want it to be."

The 18th Amendment brought prohibition to the U. S., and later was repealed after more than 12 years of bootleggins and countless violations of the law.

Eastland asserted that "There is no demand in Mississippi for integration by any race." He added: "No race wants it. Nobody wants it. . .we've got the Constitution of the United States with us."

The court decision, however, will be resisted "by legal means," the Senator emphasized.

HAS NO CANDIDATE

Asked whether he would support Ohio Gov. Frank Lausche for the Democratic presidential nomination, Eastland replied: "I don't know a thing about Gov. Lausche. I don't have a segregation candidate and I don't have an integration candidate. I just don't have a candidate."

Sen. Richard Russell (D) Ga., and other Southern leaders have indicted they would approve Lausche's nomination.

The Governor plans to be a favorite son candidate from his state, but claims he is not actually running for president. Lasuche is a supporter of states rights, but opposes segregation.

Eastland stated: "Segregation is not based on any doctrine or racial superiority. . .Segregation has been found necessary by the people who have the problem to promote a harmonious relationship between the races."

D. C. Integration Truths Hidden, Eastland Charges

Evening Star Fri. 1-27-56

The office of Senator Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, yesterday made public the following excerpts from a speech prepared for delivery last night in Columbia, S. C., before the South Carolina Association of White Citizens' Councils. P. A-3

"A concerted attempt is being made to suppress the truth of what is going on in the Washington school system." Washington, D.C.

"President Eisenhower promised that the Washington schools would be a laboratory to demonstrate to the world how easily and effectively integration and democracy would work. President Eisenhower's own grandchildren have been removed from a system that permits integrated schools and placed in a private segregated Episcopal school in Alexandria, Va.

Standards in Jeopardy

"They boasted that Washington schools would be an example of how good racial integration would be. Now they do everything possible to hide their example and secrete the hideous facts.

"In a recent meeting of the city Commissioners in Washington, one Commissioner charged that promotions in the District of Columbia city schools were made by weight and poundage. To this, the superintendent of schools replied that it was not true that promotions in the District of Columbia schools are by size but it is true that promotional standards from one class to another will have to be lowered to accommodate the average.

"Both Negro and white teachers admit there is a definite lowering of standards in the integrated schools. The white children are being pulled down to the intelligence level of the Negroes. A Negro principal said: 'I wonder if it isn't more important to American cultural progress to sacrifice scholastic standards for the additional value of both groups sharing the experience of living together.'

Cites Examinations

"How low these standards are was recently revealed by examinations. Of 4,155 tenth grade pupils enrolled last fall, 1,004 of them had reached only a sixth grade or under level in reading; that of 3,979 tenth grade pupils, 1,798 had reached only a sixth grade or under level in arithmetic. The school authorities refused to break these figures down as between white and Negro children. But, is that necessary to form the proper conclusion?"

Asked for comment on the Eastland charge about the President's grandchildren, White House explained:

Maj. John Eisenhower's son, Dwight David II, 7, and daughter Barbara Anne, 6, attended the Fort Belvoir post school for a short time last fall but were transferred several months ago to the St. Agnes Episcopal School in Alexandria. Susan Elaine, 4, is now attending the Fort Belvoir nursery school.

There are at least two colored children in Susan Elaine's room, according to a spokesman at Fort Belvoir.

There is only a small number of colored pupils in the post schools, however. All three Eisenhower grandchildren attend a biracial post Sunday school, the spokesman added.

Stern Resistance Urged By Senator Eastland

COLUMBIA, S. C., Jan. 27 (AP). —The South Carolina Association of Citizens' Council was told by Senator Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, last night that "stern resistance" is the "only course open to the South" as a result of the United States Supreme Court decision against segregated public schools.

Senator Eastland addressed a crowd that filled the Columbia Township Auditorium well beyond its 3,500 capacity. He was applauded loudly and frequently.

Senator Eastland, introduced by Senator Thurmond, Democrat of South Carolina, asserted that the resistance "inspired" by the councils in Southern States "has spread all over the United States." The councils have maintenance of segregated schools as one objective.

Calling for a "united Southern front," Senator Eastland said 'Southern people are right legally and morally" in the issue.

The South "must take the offense," he maintained, and see that it gets its side of the case to every section of the country. He said public funds must be used to combat what he called a flood of propaganda directed against the South's stand and traditions by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, backed by "church groups, racial organizations, labor unions and liberal groups of all shades."

Get set, Dixie

Nat'l News P. 1

NEXT WEEK Time Magazine is set to print a cover story on Sen. James O. Eastland (D., Miss.).

Sat 3/17/56

If earlier Time coverage of the school segregation issue and its previous comments on Eastland are any indication, the South and the Southern wing of the Democratic Party are in for a roasting. And the chances are strong that Eastland will be attacked not only as a political personality in his own right but as a symbol of Dixie's opposition to integration in the schools.

SEN. EASTLAND

B'ham, Ala.

It WOULD NOT be surprising, too, if the magazine contended that Eastland, single-handedly, has already split the Democratic Party beyond all repair in 1956.

'LEGAL RIGHT'

Advertiser

Eastland Asks Public Funds To Wage Integration Fight

Fri. 4-27-56 P. 2-A

Montgomery, Ala.

TUPELO, Miss., April 26 (AP)—Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss) today called for the use of public funds —"and we have a legal right to do so" — to fight integration.

Addressing the 1st Dist. convention of the Mississippi American Legion, Eastland said the South can no longer stay on the defensive.

"The opposition has several million dollars," he said. "We must use public funds and we have a legal right to do so because in essence this is an attack upon the South.

"The first duty of the state is to protect its sovereignty. We must bring to the attenion of the people what integration will do to our school system."

The Mississippi Legislature recently voted $250,000 to finance the work of a newly created State Sovereignty Commission for the avowed purpose of resisting federal "encroachment" in any form. form.

The senator said the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People is "a front, an action group. Behind it is a more powerful group directing its every move."

He did not identify the directing group.

He said border states—those between the segregated South and the integrated North and Midwest —have "weak-kneed political leaders."

He said "if we can win the border states I am confident of the outcome. The determination of the South has caused the people of the North to stop and think. Now they say 'We had better go slowly.'

"The average man thinks exactly as we do. We are not going to permit NAACP agitators to take over and run our states."

The senator said segregation fights are being waged in the North "and the outcome there will determine what happens here."

Eastland said the last thing Mississippi will do is to permit the NAACP to play a political game at the expense of "our children."

"The first line of defense is the home," he said. "If we lose the minds of children there is no hope for the future."

SENATOR SCORES SUPREME COURT

New Orleans, La.

Eastland Charges Further Slash at States

Wed. 4-11-56

WASHINGTON, April 10 (AP)—Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.) said Tuesday the Supreme Court "has slashed still further the rights of states and their subdivisions" by overturning the dismissal of a New York teacher who invoked the 5th Amendment.

"If this decision stands, it may be impossible for states and their subdivisions to protect themselves from Communist infiltration and influence,' Eastland said i'n a statement at the conclusion of a Senate internal security subcommittee hearing.

Eastland, the subcommittee chairman, struck out at the court's 5-4 decision yesterday that New York city had no right to fire Dr. Harry Slochower as an associate professor of German at Brooklyn College just because he had invoke his 5th Amendment protection against self-incrimination.

Slochower, in testifying before the internal security subcommittee in 1952, refused to say whether he had been a Communist in 1940 or 1941 but swore he had not been since then.

The Supreme Court ruled that the dismissal of Slochower for using his 5th Amendment protection violated the Constitution's guarantee of "due process of law."

In accusing the court of "slashing" states' rights, Eastland said that "New York city has the responsibility of hiring suitable teachers for the children of its citizens, who are entrusted to it for their education and training."

He added that it seemed to him to be "a misinterpretation of the intent of statutes," such as the New York city code, to hold that "the spectacle of a college professor refusing to deny before a duly-authorized tribunal that he had been a communist cannot justify New York city in concluding that he is disqualified from holding a position of trust and confidence."

"These statutes do not impute guilt, as the court seems to imply," Eastland said, "but rather bear on the fitness of a public servant who should be above suspicion."

Eastland said the subcommittee would take up with Dr. Joseph Cavallero, president of the New York city Board of Higher Education, and Dr. Harry R. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, "the problems that now confront them."

Subcommittee Counsel Robert Morris said that Cavallero had been scheduled previously to testify before the subcommittee in the next few weeks with respect to the administration of the New York city employe loyalty program.

The court's decision yesterday appeared to have no practical effect for Slochower. President Gideonse of Brooklyn College said in New York Slochower would be reinstated and then suspended on other charges.

Battle over Eastland

Times Herald 3-6-56

SOME SIGNIFICANT backstage conferences took place before and after Sens. Wayne Morse of Oregon and Herbert Lehman of New York made their fight against Sen. James Eastland of Mississippi to be chairman of the key Judiciary Committee.

One conference took place the day before the Senate fight when a group of liberal Democrats tried to persuade Morse from taking a stand against Eastland. They told him he was sure to lose, was fighting a hopeless battle.

SEN. EASTLAND

"Eastland's friends will retaliate against by cutting appropriations for public works," Morse was advised, referring to the fact that public works are important to the Far West.

"All you're doing is guaranteeing that I make the speech," Morse replied.

He went on to argue that Eastland had virtually accused the U. S. Supreme Court of treason, therefore should not be in charge of judicial matters; that he had investigated The New York Times when other members of his committee knew almost nothing about the investigation; and that in general, Eastland had out-McCarthy'd McCarthy. To make a man of this type chairman of a committee which passes on 50 per cent of the Senate's legislation merely because of the accident of seniority, Morse argued, was a mistake.

But of the liberals present, only Neuberger of Oregon and McNamara of Michigan agreed to go along with him on a roll-call vote.

Southern Democratic Chairman

Inquirer Sat. 3-17-56 p. 10

Clarence Mitchell, Washington representative of the NAACP, has called Senator Jim Eastland "a stinking albatross" around the neck of the Democratic party. Senator Eastland recently succeeded the late, liberal Senator Harley M. Kilgore of West Virginia as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. The customs of senority being what they are, of course, there was not much else that the Democrats could do except to let this hate- monger from Mississippi become head of their Senate committee which is the guardian of the U. S. Constitution. It smelled so bad that Democratic Senators Lehman of New York and Morse of Oregon felt compelled to protest.

This case of Senator Eastland raises the whole question of Southern Democratic chairmen of committees in both houses of the Congress. It must be quite embarrassing to Democrats in other sections of the nation. Worst of all it puts these Southern Democratic chairmen in the public eye in this year of presidential as well as congressional elections.

Houston, Tex.

With civil rights, for instance, as one of the big issues before the country today, how can the Democrats make any promises that they will do anything in the Congress about civil rights legislation as long as Jim Eastland is chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee? It poses quite a question.

Of course, the Republicans have no congressional record either in favor of civil rights since Rutherford B. Hayes turned the fortunes of Negroes over to the South in 1887. But at the same time the Republicans are trying to take advantage of the embarrassment of the Democrats without doing much for civil rights legislation. It may be however, that a wise Providence will so shape the issues that the citizenship rights of Negroes will be benefited by this great dilemma which faces both Republicans and Democrats. The only advantage that the Republicans have is that they are not saddled with such congressional chairmen as Jim Eastland and the rest of the Southern chairmen of committees.

KILGORE DEATH PUTS EASTLAND IN POWER POST

Daily Tribune Wed. 2-29-56 Chicago, Ill.

Washington, Feb. 28 (AP)—The death today of Sen. Kilgore [D., W. Va.] means a sharp change in control of the senate's powerful judiciary committee of which he was chairman. Kilgore, 63, suffered a stroke Saturday and died in Bathesda naval hospital. P. 5

The new chairman, under the seniority rule, will be Sen. Eastland [D., Miss.], a conservative southerner who has taken a leading role in the south's fight against school integration.

Kilgore, who had headed the the committee since the Democrats regained control of Congress in January, 1955, generally was a New Dealer who supported such liberal legislation. He was head of the subcommittee on immigration and strongly favored liberalization of the immigration law.

Foe of Civil Rights

Eastland has been one of the strong senate opponents of civil rights legislation of the kind advocated by former President Truman, including such measures as a fair employment practices commission. He frequently expressed views similar to those of late Sen. McCarran [D., Nev.], who headed the judiciary committee for many years. McCarran died in September, 1954.

The judiciary committee is one of the senate's most important, having the largest staff and largest budget of 15 standing committees. The senate recently voted it more than a million dollars in extra funds for various investigations.

The committee handles more than half of all the bills introduced in the senate; many of these, however, are private claims and immigration measures. It also passes on all Presidential nominations to the federal judiciary, from the Supreme court downward.

Handles Important Bills

The group also works on mportant legislation, including constitutional amendments, immigration bills, and nearly all of the controversial civil rights measures.

The Mississippi senator practiced law at Ruleville, Mass., before entering the senate. He operates a cotton plantation near Ruleville and has been interested in cotton legislation thruout his senate career.

Since January, 1955, he has headed the important internal security subcommittee of the judiciary group. This subcommittee has made many widely publicized investigations of communist influence since it was set up by McCarran five years ago. Eastland may retain the chairmanship of internal security committee. McCarran held both posts.

Sen Harley M. Kilgore

New Bills To Test Fairness Of Eastland

Defender Sat. 3-17-56

WASHINGTON — (ANP)—Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland, who recently assumed chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee, will have his "impartiality" tested when the committee begins consideration of four civil rights bills.

Chicago, Ill.

Eastland's claim of impartiality came after his appointment was severely criticized because of Eastland's extremely pro - segregation activities. P. 1

The bills were put to the Judiciary Committee by the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights, headed by Senator Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri.

Hennings said the measures would protect the voting rights of all citizens in federal elections and primaries, establish new civil rights enforcement machinery in the Attorney General's office, provide protection against physical harm for members of the armed forces and create an anti-lynch law.

Our Opinions

Sat. 1-28-56 p. 9

Chicago, Ill.

Conscience Hurting?

Defender p. 9

The FBI has suddenly become supersensitive to criticism. Stung by charges of laxity over crimes involving Negroes in the South, J. Edgar Hoover, the director, has demanded that Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mississippi either support or retract his specific accusation that the bureau leaked information about Negro slayings in Mississippi.

We believe there is ample evidence to support allegations of terrorism and violence against Negroes all throughout the South. Nobody needs to consult any law books to prove this. In Mississippi, helpless Negro citizens are existing under a state of anarchy and fear, such as has never been seen in the darkest dungeons behind the Iron Curtain.

Chicago, Ill.

The FBI has said time after time that it had no authority to go in and investigate cases like that of the brutal lynching of 14-year old Emmett Louis Till. This leaves Negro citizens in the position of being without protection either from local and state authorities nor from the Federal government itself. Where, then, are they to turn to?

If consciences are being stung, these are hopeful signs that instead of indifference to brutality, maybe at long last some laws can be passed and the machinery provided so the FBI can have no excuse for not moving into Mississippi, and any place else where they are needed.

Mr. Hoover is riding the wrong horse when he castigates Dr. Howard for saying what are the thoughts of decent people all over the country. "Where is the FBI? Can't they do something about this?"

Negro Leader Chided For Criticizing FBI

World-Telegram & Sun

Thurs. 1-19-56 p. 39

By the United Press

MEMPHIS, Jan. 18.—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover challenged a Negro civil rights leader to produce evidence to back up "false and baseless" charges on the FBI's handling of Negro killings in Mississippi.

In a letter released last night by the FBI office here, Mr. Hoover told Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., he should either support or retract charges that the FBI "leaked" information about Negro slayings in Mississippi.

Mr. Hoover also took Dr. Howard to task for telling a Negro organization that "we must find out why Southern investigators for the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Dr. Howard, reached in Los Angeles, said he based his statements on "reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in various sections of Mississippi."

New York

Dr. Howard told the Memphis Commercial Appeal by phone he had not received the FBI letter.

N. Y.

Of the charge that Southern FBI agents can't seem to solve a Negro slaying, Mr. Hoover pointed out that it is the FBI's duty merely to investigate reports of alleged civil rights violations and report their findings to the Justice Department.

Defender

"The Challenge of the South Today".

The militant leader of the Mississippi Regional Council has been on a cross-country tour to tell the nation what is happening in his home state.

His most recent clash was with J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director, who challenged him to prove his charges of FBI failure to investigate crimes against Negroes and of "leaks to local law officers on Negroes who complain of mistreatment."

Dr. Howard described Humphrey County, Miss., the seat of which is Belzoni, as the "No. 1 Grade A Hell Hole" of the state. He said conditions there were indescribable and horrible beyond conception.

The meeting voted unanimously to send telegrams to J. Edgar Hoover and President Eisenhower saying that Dr. Howard is not alone in wondering why the FBI is not more effective in its investigation of atrocities against Negroes.

Sat. 2-11-56

The audience which had paid $1 per person admission took up a collection of $378 to give to Dr. Howard for the Mississippi Regional Council to buy badly needed coal for the victims of the current economic squeeze.

The mass meeting was under the joint auspices of the Missionary Society of the church, Mrs. Minnie Walden, president, and wife of the pastor, Dr. Harvey E. Walden, and the COS club, Mrs. Alberta Gibson, president.

Dr. E. Milton Johnson was master of ceremonies. Dr. Homer Wilburn gave the welcome address and Dr. Howard was introduced by Dr. Roscoe Giles.

DR. T. R. M. HOWARD (center) militant fighter for civil rights in Mississippi, is guest speaker at Grant Memorial church, 4017 Drexel blvd. With Dr. Howard in photo, made just before meeting, are Rev. E. Milton Johnson and Dr. Roscoe Giles. A capacity audience heard Dr. Howard.

1,400 Hear Howard Rip Mississippi 'Hell Hole'

By ETHEL L. PAYNE

More than 1,400 persons crowded into the auditorium of Grant Memorial AME church, 4100 Drexel blvd., on Sunday to hear Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss. deliver a fighting speech on

Dr. Howard To Tell Chicagoans Mississippi Story

Call p.3
Fri. 1-27-56
Kansas City, Mo.

CHICAGO. — (ANP) — "The Mississippi Story" will be told in detail to an expected capacity audience at Grant Memorial AME church here by Dr. T. R. M. Howard, president of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership and prominent Mound Bayou, Miss. physician. Dr. Howard will be featured on a program sponsored jointly by the Missionary society and the COS club, Sunday, Jan. 29 at 3:30 p.m.

In his talk, Dr. Howard will give a comprehensive report on the reported widespread reign of terror against Negroes in that state. He is also expected to give a detailed account of the recent murder of Emmett Till, Chicago schoolboy, for which two Mississippians, J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant, have been tried and acquitted. Dr. Howard helped spearhead an investigation into the murder.

The Till murder case has taken on new national significance in the wake of a story published in the current issue of Look magazine charging that one of the two men acquitted murdered Emmett because he bragged about his relationship with white girls, and wouldn't scare.

Music on the program will be furnished by the senior choir and the Imperial male chorus under the direction of Prof. Elmur E. Simpson.

The Rev. Harry E. Walden is pastor.

Senator Daniel Rudsten (D) Sixth Suffolk District, Wards 12, 14 and 18 today pledged an all out fight to fill thousands of petition with names protesting the exclusion of Miss Autherine Lucy, Alabama coed from admission to the University of Alabama.

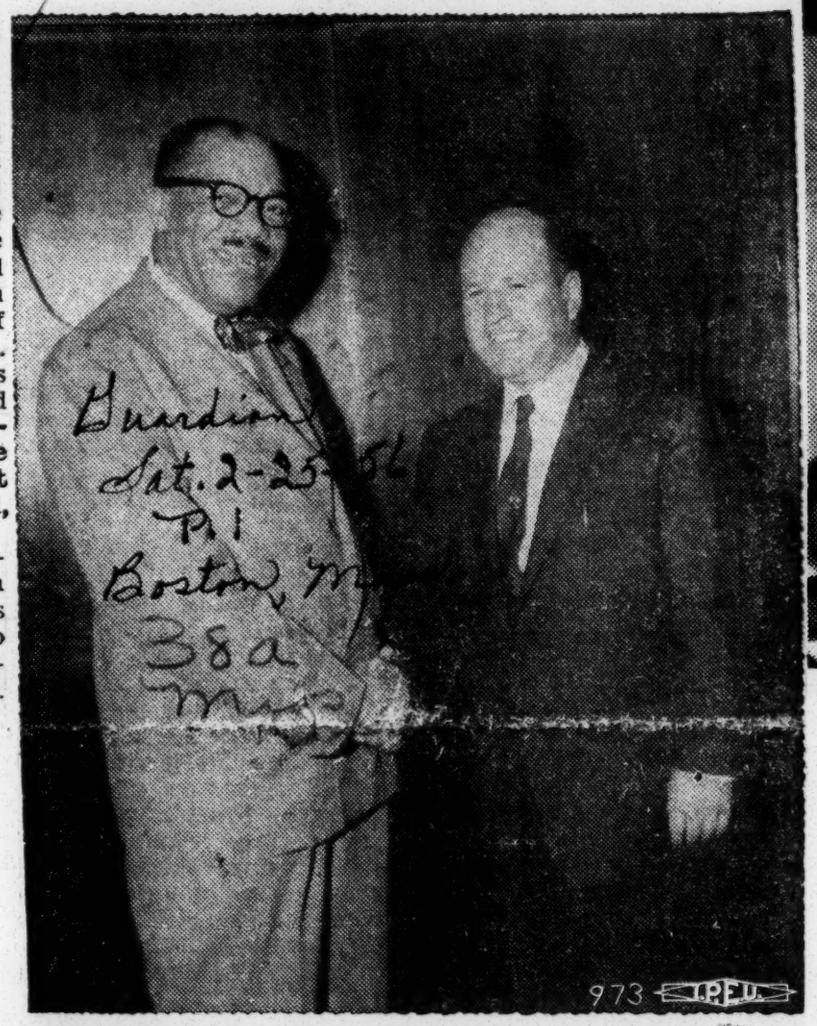
Guardian
Sat. 2-25-56
P. 1

Declaring that her exclusion from school is a mutiny against the United States Government and a most recent edict of the United States Supreme Court, Rudsten said he is circulating petitions throughout his District asking thousands of American Citizens to join with him in protesting this action and urging United States Attroney General and the Department of Justice to take immediate action to grant Miss Lucy her Civil Rights.

Rudsten stated that he was inspired into this effort by the recent visit of Dr. Thurlow Howard from Mississippi who last week was the guest of Senator Rudsten in the State Senate where he addressed the assembled Senators. Rudsten stated that in all his civic and political experience he has never heard a greater speech dedicated to human rights and liberty than the short one delivered by Dr. Howard in the State Senate where he pointed out that depriving freedom from one American is o loss of freedom to every American. "No man" said Rudsten, "is an island unto himself, and when a clot of earth is washed away from the sea or the manor of thy friend do not ask for whom the bells toll, they toll for thee."

RAudsten asked that all petitions be sent back to him as soon as possible. He plans to present these petitions to the Mass. Congressional Delegation in Washington, D.C. personally.

Senator Rudsten Leads Petition Fight Against Alabama Outrage



Senator Daniel Rudsten of Roxbury congratulating Dr. Thurlow Howard of Mississippi on his stirring address before the State Senate as a guest of Rudsten.

Dr. T. R. M. Howard Addresses N. A. A. C. P. Mass Meeting

Call Fri. 4-6-56
Kansas City, Mo.

Special Emphasis On Integration in Kansas City, Kas., Schools

P. 17

"We're on the march today, I believe God permitted us to pass through 250 years of slavery and ninety-three years of part freedom to prepare for this hour" stated Dr. T.R.M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., at a N.A.C.C.P. mass meeting on civil rights at Memorial Hall Sunday at 3:30 p.m. before more than 2,500 people.

"The doctrine of gradulism" said Dr. Howard" has no place in this country even though the president has spoken of gradual approach to racial problems.

"The time is ripe today. Tell them ... an of Asia and Russia is watching and, even if the Negro is willing to wait, the period of history in this world is not going to wait."

In speaking about the recent incidents in Mississippi and Alabama he praised the Negro Ministers and their non-violent leadership in proving to the world that a "new Negro" has come forth.

Adding a touch of humor, he added that when the Bible says "Feed my Sheep" it meant to be fed a balanced diet and not just a piece meal.

"We have taken the white man's religion and the white man's law to make a chain," he continued, and we are using it to squeeze him into doing what he needs to do."

DR. T. R. M. HOWARD

Dr. Howard stated he was somewhat surprised to hear the statements made by Atty. Elmer C. Jackson, who briefly but effectively reviewed integration in the public schools of Kansas City, Kansas, and that a suit had to be filed in the so called "free state of Kansas" in order to integrate certain schools." We have it in Mississippi but I thought you did'nt have any Mississippi problems in Kansas."

The program was opened by the presiding officer the Rev. I. B. Henderson Sr., president of the Kansas City branch of the N.A.A.C.P. Prayer was offered by the Rev. E. A. Freeman, and the scripture lesson was read by the Rev. E. T. Thornton.

Dr. William M. Blount introduced Dr. Howard after which Wendell Robbins accepted the offering. The music was furnished by combined choirs and choruses from local churches, Mrs. Eunice Jackson, director and Mrs. Gladys Cushon, organist.

The Rev. S. J. Mashaw gave the benediction.

Faulkner Will Fight For Mississippi

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala. 38a

The Noted Novelist, Though Against Enforced Segregation,

Says He'll Join The Whites And Shoot

Negroes, If Forced By Pressure

Sat. 3-17-56 P. 4-A

Russell Warren Howe In The Reporter

¶ *Howe, New York correspondent for the* London Sunday Times, *interviewed William Faulkner Feb. 21 on recent troubles in the South. The following is Howe's account of the interview as published in* The Reporter *magazine. Faulkner has long opposed compulsory segregation. In a recent issue of* Life *magazine, he expressed similar opposition to compulsory integration. Noting that the tactics of NAACP were forcing moderates into the camp of the white Southern extremists, Faulkner urged Negroes and liberals to ease the pressure on the South.—Ed.*

"MY POSITION is this," said Mr. Faulkner. "My people owned slaves and the very obligation we have to take care of these people is morally bad. It is a position which is completely untenable. But I would wish now that the liberals would stop—they should let us sweat in our own tears for a little while. If we are pushed by the government we shall become an underdog people fighting back because we can do nothing else. Our position is wrong and untenable but it is not wise to keep an emotional people off balance.

FAULKNER

"The Negroes have had 90 years of that sort of life and now that they are winning it would take a lot of wisdom to say 'Go slow.' Perhaps it is too much to ask of them, but it is for their own sake. I have known Negroes all my life and Negroes work my land for me. I know how they feel. But now I have people who say they are Negroes writing to me and saying, 'You mean well for us but please hush. You mean good but you do harm.'"

The Long View

Q. Wouldn't a "go slow" strategy lose some of the ground already gained?

A. I don't know. I try to think of this in the long-term view. Now, I grant you that it is bad that there should be a minority people who because of their color don't have a right to social equality or to justice. But it is bad that Americans should be fighting Americans. That is what will happen because the Southern whites are back in the spirit of 1860. There could easily be another Civil War and the South will be whipped again.

In the long view, the Negro race will vanish in three hundred years by intermarriage. It has happened to every racial minority everywhere, and it will happen here.

Q. What would be the best strategy for the liberals?

A. Let the people stop awhile. If ~~that~~ girl Autherine Lucy goes back to Alabama University . . . she will be killed. The NAACP should forget about Alabama University. It should send people now to the Universities of Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina and let them be thrown out of each of those places, too, until the white people of the South get so sick and tired of being harassed and worried they will have to do something about it . . .

The South Is Armed

Q. Have you heard reports of arms buying in Tuscaloosa?

A. Yes. If that girl dies, two or three white men will be killed, then eight or nine Negroes. Then the troops will come in. You know, we've never had race riots in the South before. They've had race riots in the North but in the South we just have persecution.

The South is armed for revolt. After the Supreme Court decision [of May 17, 1954, on school integration] you couldn't get as much as a few rounds for a deer rifle in Mississippi. The gunsmiths were sold out. These white people will accept another Civil War knowing they're going to lose. If the North knew the South they would know that this is not a theory or a moral convention which they are up against but a simple fact. I know people who've never fired a gun in their lives but who've bought rifles and ammunition.

Q. How long do you think it will be before the concrete aspects of discrimination — in housing, employment, enfranchisement, education, social contacts—will have disappeared?

A. In the Deep South, I don't know. As it was, in 15 years the Negroes would have had good schools. Then came the decision of the Supreme Court and that will mean probably 20 years of trouble. I think that decision put the position of the Negro in the South back five years.

Q. Does that mean that you disapprove of the court decree?

A. I don't disapprove it. It had to be promulgated and it just repeated what was said in January, 1863. If white folks had given Negroes proper schools there would have been no need for the court's decision.

The Negro in the Deep South doesn't want to mix with the white man. He likes his own school, his own church. Segregation doesn't have to imply inferiority.

Take Off The Pressure

Q. How would you re-educate the Southern white to a different way of thinking?

A. First of all, take off the pressure. Let him see just how untenable his position is. Let him see that people laugh at him. Just let him see how silly and foolish he looks. Give him time—don't force us. If that girl goes back to Tuscaloosa she will die. Then the top will blow off. The government will send in its troops and we shall be back at 1860. They must stop pushing these people. The trouble is the North doesn't know that country. They don't know the South will go to war.

Laughing At Montgomery

Q. The Negroes of Montgomery, the capital of Alabama, have been boycotting the city's buses since Dec. 5. Do you think this sort of passive resistance is a good idea?

A. Yes, anything they do is good as long as they don't carry it too far. Today the white women of Montgomery have to go and fetch their Negro cooks by car. It is a good step, to let the white folks see that the world is looking on and laughing at them.

But I don't like enforced integration any more than I like enforced segregation. If I have to choose between the United States government and Mississippi, then I'll choose Mississippi. What I'm trying to do now is not have to make that decision. As long as there's a middle road, all right, I'll be on it. But if it came to fighting I'd fight for Mississippi against the United States even if it meant going out into the street and shooting Negroes. After all, I'm not going out to shoot Mississippians.

Q. You mean white Mississippians?

A. No, I said Mississippians—in Mississippi the problem isn't racial. 90% of the Negroes are on one side with the whites, against a handful like me who believe that equality is important.

Q. Some of your remarks could eb interpreted as disapproval of the existence of militant Negro defense organizations. How do you feel about the NAACP?

A. That organization is necessary, but it must know when to let the opponent make the next move. 90 years of oppression and injustice are there, but it is a lot for the white man to have to admit. It takes an extremely intelligent man to stop dead after 90 years of wrongdoing, and the Southerner isn't that intelligent. He has to feel that what he is doing (when he reforms) is not being forced on him but is spontaneous. We have to make it so that he feels that he is being not just honest but generous. Give him time—right now it's emotional and he'll fight because the country's against him.

Q. In the European press, "go slow" is criticized on the grounds that the susceptibilities of the persecuted deserve more consideration than the susceptibilities of the persecutor. How would you answer that criticism?

A. The European critics are right, morally, but there is something stronger in man than a moral condition. Man will do certain things whether they be right or wrong. We know that racial discrimination is morally bad, that it stinks, that it shouldn't exist, but it does. Should we obliterate the persecutor by acting in a way that we know will send him to his guns, or should we compromise and let it work out in time and save whatever good remains in those white people?

I will go on saying that the Southerners are wrong and that their position is untenable, but if I have to make the same choice Robert E. Lee made then I'll make it. My grandfather had slaves and he must have known that it was wrong, but he fought in one of the first regiments raised by the Confederate army, not in defense of his ethical position but to protect his native land from being invaded.

Q. Do you believe regional loyalty is

'GROSSLY MISQUOTED'

OXFORD, Miss., March 16 (UP)—Novelist William Faulkner said today he apparently was "grossly misuoted" in the current issue of The Reporter *magazine as saying he would fight for Mississippi against the United States if he had to choose*

"I did not see the magazine," Faulkner told UP, "but it was read to me over the telephone and quoted me as saying the South is armed to oppose integration and if I had to choose between the United States and Mississippi, I would choose Mississippi even to going out and shooting Negroes in the street.

"That's foolish. Of course, I didn't say that because I don't believe it's come to that. I don't know where that came from."

Faulkner said he did not remember talking to a reporter for the magazine. He said other portions of the article as read to him were correct, that he did believe the South would resist racial integration "by force and violence."

a good quality?

A. Well, you must believe in something.

Q. What about your belief in the principles expressed in your books?

A. I shouldn't be betraying them. My Negro boys down on the plantation would would fight against the North with me. If I say to them "Go get your shotguns, boys," they'll come.

Q. Is the basic cause of race prejudice economic, in your opinion?

A. Absolutely. To produce cotton we have to have a system of peonage. That is absolutely what is at the bottom of the situation.

Q. Are the psychological rationalizations for prejudice something grafted onto the economic root?

A. Yes. I would say that a planter who has 1,000 acres wants to keep the Negro in a position of debt peonage and in order to do it he is going to tell the poor class of white folks that the Negro is going to violate his daughter. But all he wants at the back of it is a system of peonage to produce his cotton at the highest rate of profit.

The Heritage Of Man

Q. Do you agree that the ambition spur provided by persecution has made the Negro potentially the more capable of the two "races" in the South?

A. Certainly. He's calmer, wiser, more stable than the white man. To have put up with this situation so long with so little violence shows a sort of greatness. Suppose two Negroes had murdered a white Emmett Till — there would have been a flood of emotionalism. The Negro rose above his anger. He knows that the problem [of his equality] will be solved because it must be. But these ignorant white people have got to be let alone so that they can think that they are changing on their own initiative.

The poor white man knows that although the Negro can only buy the worst land, has bad tools and inferior livestock, he can make a living better than white men could. With a little more social, economic, and educational equality the Negro will often be the landlord and the white man will be working for him. And the Negro won't come out on top because of anything to do with the race but because he has always gotten by without scope—when they are given scope they use it fully. The Negro is trained to do more than a white man can with the same limitations.

The vices that the Negro has have been created in him by the white man, by the system. He will make his own contribution to our society. Already his music and poetry have passed to the white man, and what the white man has done with them is not Negro any more but something else.

There is no such thing as an "Anglo-Saxon" heritage and an African heritage. There is the heritage of man. Nothing is extinct in any race, only dormant. You are brave and tough when you have to be. You are intelligent when the age demands it. There are al lthings in like degree in all races.

TODAY AND TOMORROW

What Faulkner Left Out

News P. 4 Fri. 3-9-56 Birmingham, Ala.

Letter To Magazine Made Sound Appeal; But Nullification, Lucy Case Disturb North

BY WALTER LIPPMANN

LIFE MAGAZINE publishes a letter addressed to the people of the northern states by William Faulkner, the eminent novelist. Mr. Faulkner is a native of Mississippi. He speaks as a Southerner who not only believes in "the simple incontrovertible immorality of discrimination by race" but also that this discrimination is an evil which will be cured eventually by the Southerners themselves. The point of this letter is to warn Northerners that discrimination will not be cured, will in fact become all the sharper, if legal coercion is used to enforce the Supreme Court's decision.

Mr. Faulkner, as a Southerner who is opposed in principle both to segregation and to enforced integration, regards his position as being in the "middle." He sees himself as pressed from two sides between the Citizens Councils on the one hand, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on the other. He is between those who would uphold "white supremacy" by nullification of the Supreme Court's decision and those who would use the federal power to abolish segregation. Where, he asks, will Southerners like himself go if federal enforcement is attempted? They will go, so he says in effect, with the resistance of the Citizens Councils.

The burden of Mr. Faulkner's plea is that the Northerners should not now press for federal enforcement. For this would make it impossible for Southerners like himself to work for the gradual acceptance of integration.

To this there is something which must be said for the Northerners who will understand and sympathize with Mr. Faulkner's argument. These Northerners include the President and Gov. Stevenson, and they are quite surely a majority today. But their position is threatened by the Southern extremists who not only proclaim the doctrine of nullification but, as in the Lucy case in Alabama, connive at mob violence.

Northern Moderates Can't Acquiesce On Violence

FOR THE MODERATE Northerners it is impossible to accept the gradualism that Mr. Faulkner advises if at the same time they have to acquiesce in what happened at Alabama University. To do so would be to surrender two elementary principles. One is, as Mr. Faulkner defines it, that discrimination by race is immoral. The other is that the laws of the Union bind all who live within the Union. To acquiesce and not to protest would make the middle position unprincipled and in the end untenable.

The situation is one in which all the strong passions tends to run to the two irreconcilable extremes—towards the fierce defense in the Deep South of the white way of life, towards a militant demand by the Negroes and their friends for the vindication of their indubitable human rights. There is little reason to believe that the issue can now be dealt with in the South as it was after the Civil War—by nullification with the assent of the North. There is a new dynamic factor in the situation today—the rise of the American Negro to a position of very considerable economic and political power.

We have seen the first beginnings of what this may bring in the boycott in Montgomery. There the Negro population have practiced passive resistance — the classic tactic of weak and subject peoples. There is every reason to suppose that uncompromising and militant resistance by the Citizens Council in the Deep South will — if it closes the door to gradual reform — cause the Montgomery example to spread.

Basic Weakness Found In Lack Of Program

YET WE CAN HAVE no great hope that mutual warnings like Mr. Faulkner's and mine, that these pious exhortations to reason and moderation, will in themselves be heeded. The basic weakness of the middle position is that it does not now, that it does not as yet, represent a practical and concrete program on which men of moderate temper have agreed to unite. Mr. Faulkner says "go slow now." But what seems to be missing is a consensus of enlightened opinion as to what issues it is necessary and wise to present to the court and in what order. For the formation of such a consensus it may prove necessary to call upon the President for leadership.—©

Faulkner Tells Mixers: Pause To Solidify Gain

Constitution P. 2 Thurs. 3-1-56 Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 29 (AP)—Novelist William Faulkner says integration backers should slow up their current campaign for immediate establishment of mixed schools in the South.

Writing in Life magazine, he says:

"I would say to the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and all organizations who would compel immediate and unconstitutional integration:

Wm. Faulkner

"'Go slow now. Stop now for a time, a moment. You can afford to withhold for a moment the use of it as a force. You have done a good job, you have jolted your opponent off-balance and he is now vulnerable. But stop there for a moment; don't give him the advantage of a chance to cloud the issue by that purely automatic sentimental appeal to that same universal human instinct for automatic sympathy for the underdog simply because he is under.'"

Faulkner, a member of an old Mississippi family, says the War Between the States failed to prove to the North "that the South will go to any length, even that fatal and already doomed one, before it will accept alteration of its racial condition by mere force of law or economic threat."

His article says swift integration and possible resulting violence might make the whole matter "one of the race," compelling the white prointegration minority like himself "to join the white segregation majority no matter how much we oppose the principle of inequality" and might force the Negro minority who want peace to join the Negro majority who advocate force.

"So the Northerner, the liberal, does not know the South," he writes. "He can't know it from his distance. He assumes that he is dealing with a simple legal theory and a simple moral idea. He is not. He is dealing with a fact: the fact of an emotional condition of such fierce unanimity as to scorn the fact that it is a minority and which will go at any length and against any odds at this moment to justify and, if necessary, defend that condition and its right to it.

"So I would say to all the organizations and groups which would force integration on the South by legal process:

"'Stop now for a moment. You have shown the Southerner what you can do and what you will do if necessary; give him a space in which to get his breath and assimilate that knowledge; to look about and see that (1) nobody is going to force integration on him from the outside; (2) that he himself faces an obsolescence in his own land which he cannot cure; a moral condition which not only must be cured but a physcal condition which has got to be cured if he, the white Southerner, is to have any peace, is not faced with another legal process or maneuver every year, year after year, for the rest of his life.'"

Dr. Howard Rejects Charges

Globe & Independent

Credits NAACP, Aroused Public Opinion For Decline Of Ku Klux Klan, Lynching

Nashville Tenn.

By Luther Carmichael

Fm. 1-27-56

In a ringing answer to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover that he had made "false and irresponsible charges" against the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Dr. T. R. M. Howard, militant Mississippi Civil Rights leader, rejected the charge and at the same time questioned Mr. Hoover's claim that his bureau was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia, and the virtual elimination of lynching in the South.

"Frankly, Dr. Howard wrote, "there is a wide difference of opinion between us on that score. You are as much entitled to your opinion that the FBI deserves credit on both these scores as I am to mine that lynching was eliminated and the KKK broken up by persistent action by the NAACP and by an aroused public opinion. I cannot recall a prosecution of lynching, as such, by the Federal Government and I suppose that such prosecution would be undertaken only after investigation by the Bureau. I also understand that there is no federal anti-lynching, as such, is a matter for the states. . . ."

In speeches and news conferences, Dr. Howard had been highly critical of the FBI, which he said, "can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Dr. Howard's complete communication to Mr. Hoover follows:

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

On January 18, 1956, I was called by the Memphis Commercial Appeal, and asked if I had any comment on a letter from you to me which you had released to them. Subsequently, and on the same day, I received similar calls from other newspapers and press associations. Your letter to me reached my Mound Bayou, Mississippi, home at 9 a.m. on January 19, 1956, a full twelve hours after my first call from the newspapers. Since I had not received your letter when I was queried by these newspapers, I was unable to make a complete reply. I can only presume that you released the letter prior to the time it could possibly have reached me and that you wanted the whole matter to become an issue in the area of public controversy. I shall, therefore, follow your example and release this letter to the newspapers.

The crux of your complaint, as I gather it, is that I have made false and irresponsible charges" against the FBI in connection with the murders of George W. Lee, of whom were killed in Mississippi LaMar Smith and Emmett Till, all during 1955. I am sure that you will understand that these murders all of which have gone unpunished, have excited genuine concern on the part of millions of Americans. That concern has been heightened by the fact that J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant explained in last week's "Look" magazine that they did kill Emmett Till. Since that confession there has been no move to take any further proceedings against them, either by state or federal authorities, so far as I know. As a resident of Mississippi, I know, and I am sure that FBI agents know, that the facts in the George Lee and LaMar Smith murders are widely known in the communities in which they were murdered.

Asked for Conference

I am a layman, not a lawyer. I do not pretend to know the intricacies of the law. I do know that my own criticism of the failure of justice in these cases is a reflection of the feelings of the many thousands of persons to whom I have spoken and with whom I have talked in the past few months. They are as dismayed as I am that murders can be committed in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the George Lee and LaMar Smith cases, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till case, when, as in all of these cases, the facts about the cases are so well known to law enforcement authorities, federal as well as state.

As I understand your concept of the law in these matters, your Bureau is required only to make investigations at the request of the Department of Justice. After you have made these investigations, upon request, you lay the facts before the Department of JJustice which then determines whether or not prosecution will be undertaken or further investigations will be made. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Department of Justice must depend, for a final judgment as to whether or not prosecution will be undertaken, on the facts as reported by your Bureau. You say that such investigations were made in the George Lee case. I do not know, of course, the extent of your investigation. I do not know whether or not you determined that this was merely a murder case, falling within the province of the State of Mississippi, or whether you determined it was part of a wide-spread conspiracy reching across state lines that might have brought them within the purview of federal- civil- rights statutes. What I do know is that a Negro citizen who sought to vote was murdered and that both State and Federal Governments have declined to take any action. I do not know upon what grounds the Department of Justice declined jurisdiction. I do know that I sent a telegram to the Department of Justice asking for a conference on these matters and received an answer some four weeks later stating that such a conference would be arranged. No date was set for the propose meeting.

It was against that background that I voiced my criticism of federal inaction in my Baltimore speech, the qoutation attributed to me by the Baltimore Morning Sun is not entirely accurate.

Reiterates Charge

In substance I said on that occasion that "We must find out why the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi." Whether the reason for that failure lies in inadequacy of federal statues, or restrictive interpretation of such statutes by the Department of Justice or the failure of FBI investigative machinery, the fact remains that "the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi.' Of courseI do not know the extent or character of the Bureau's investigation in the Till case. I do not know whether your investigation was made available to Mississippi law enforcement authorities. It is plain now in the light of the J. W. Milam confession in the Till case that the facts in that case lay close to the surface. I have the impression that in many instances the FBI has conducted investigations and founds facts which were then given to state authorities for prosecution of the wrong doers.

You say that I have "conveniently forgotten the work of this Bureau . . was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynching in the South and, also, was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the KKK in the Carolinas and Georgia." Frankly, there is a wide difference of opinion between us on that score. You are as entitled to your opinion that the FBI deserves credit on both these scores as I am to mine that lynching was eliminated and the KKK broken up by persistent action by the NAACP and by an aroused public opinion. I cannot recall a prosecution of lynching, as such, by the Federal Government and I suppose that such prosecution would be undertaken only after investigation by the Bureau. I also understand that there is no federal statutes have been violated. If prosecution of lynching, as such, is a matter for the States. In view of that fact, I do not understand how the FBI was able to take effective action to "virtually eliminate" lynching in light of your statement that the Department of Justice can act only when Federal statutes have been violated. If the Federal Government was able to act in the area of lynching, in the absence of a federal anti-lynching statute, is it possible to undertake similar action in caases such as the George Lee, LaMar Smith and Emmett Till cases in light of a similar claimed lack of applicable Federal statutes?

I did charge in my Chicago Press Conference speech that there had apparently been a "leak" of FBI investigations in Mississippi. The complainants live in Mississippi and I believe that you will agree with me that any complainant in that state risks his personal safety when he makes charges that run counter to current public opinion in that state. Therefore, I will not recite the specific case in this letter which will be released to the press. Under separate cover I am sending you a statement of the facts in that case. I know that you will guarantee the safety of that individual. One of the things which I wanted to discuss, and tried to discuss, with the Department of Justice was that very matter. Since I was never given a definite appointment I was unable to present it through those channels.

In conclusion, I reject the charge that I have made "false and irresponsible chages." I have exercised my right as an American citizen to criticise governmental functions. I shall continue to exercise that right, even when it leads to a difference of opinion between me and the public servants. I regret that this controversy has arisen since it tends to obscure the fact that the real issue in the South, and in the Nation and the world for that matter, is not our differences as to FBI action, or in action, but the fact that American citizens are being wantonly murdered in Mississippi and that their murderers are going unpunished. Since your letter to me was in the nature of an open statement to the newspapers I regret very much that you did not see fit to include in it a condemnation of these murders. Your condemnation might do much to halt this wave of violence. In any event, I shall continue to join with the millions of other Americans and cry out against injustice and against that kind of administration of justice which permits murderers to go free to boast their crimes.

Dr. T. R. M. Howard

Hoover Denies Howard's Charges

Globe & Independent

Dr. T. R. M. Howard
Mound Bayou, Mississippi

Nashville Tenn.

Dear Sir:

During the recent months, a number of newspaper articles have come to my attention which attribute to your statements concerning the function of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Your statement as reported by the press pertaining to the FBI reflects a complete disregard of the facts on your part. You, as an American citizen, have every right to express yourself as you see fit, however, I do not feel that you have any right, whatsoever, to be wrong on your facts, particularly when they are used in public statements concerning serious matters. Let me cite a few specific incidents:

Fm. 1-27-56

The Baltimore Morning Sun newspaper issued September 26, 1955 carries a newspaper story head line, Probe of Southern FBI Asked.

This story contains certain erroneous statements which you made before a membership meeting of the NAACP at the Sharpe Street Methodist Church at Baltimore.

You are quoted as saying, "We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved." You made these statements in connection with the slaying of Emmitt Till, George W. Lee and LaMar Smith.

Hold Preliminary Inquiries

For your information this Bureau upon instuction of the Civil Rights Section of the Central Crime Division of the Department of Justice, conducted a preliminary inquiry immediately upon the receipt of information alleging a Civil Rights violation and the facts are submitted to the Department of Justice for its determination as to prosecution of further investigative action. Further investigation of Civil Rights cases are conducted at the direction of the Department of Justice.

The FBI is not a policy making organization and we merely conduct fair and impartial investigations and submit the results of such investigation to the Department of Justice.

This Bureau is doing everything within the scope of existing legislation in Civil Rights matters, and our fair and prompt investigations have done much to increase public respect for and consciousness of Civil Rights.

You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this Bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South, and, also, was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the KKK in the Carolinas and Georgia.

State FBI Position

In regard to the specific cases which you mention in your talk in Baltimore, I would like you to be aware of the Bureau's position in each instance. As you will recall when the body of Emmitt Till was found in the Tallehatchie River in Mississippi, August 31st, 1955 the available facts concerning this was presented to the Civil Rights Commission of the Department of Justice by this Bureau.

This Department advised that the facts would not indicate a violation of any Federal statute. Accordingly this Bureau did not conduct any further investigation in this case.

In the Rev. Lee case you will recall that the Rev. Lee was killed on May 7th, 1955. The Criminal Division of the Department of Justice requested an investigation into the death of Rev. Lee. Such an investigation was immediately conducted by agents of this Bureau and the facts as developed were submitted to the Department of Justice. In connection with the LaMar Smith case the facts surrounding this matter were submitted to the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice and we were advised that an investigation was not to be carried out by this Bureau.

The Chicago American on December 28, 1955, carried a news story entitled "FBI Leaks Hit at Till Acquittal." According to the news story you stated confidential information usually leaks from the local FBI office, and witnesses to Negro slaying are subjected to pressures, as results. You, undoubetdly, know that information contained in the files of this Bureau is confidential in nature, and I am deeply concerned as your statement contains a very serious charge. If you have evidence of such a grave dereliction of duty, then it is your duty to call it to the attention of the responsible officials of the FBI or Department of Justice.

From the information available to me, I know of no such instance. I feel compelled to request that you submit such evidence you have to sustain your irresponsible charge or that you issue a public retraction.

Heads Medical Group

Irresponsible and false charges can serve no useful purpose in this criticaal period. In fact they are a disservice to common decency and I do not propose to permit false charges made against this Bureau to go unchallenged. If you were interested in the truth as to how this Bureau has discharged its responsibility in any area, you would have made inquiry through responsible channels which are open to every citizen before making your intemperate and baseless charges.

Very sincerely yours,
John Edgar Hoover

FBI Chief Blasts Civil Rights Leader For Charges Of Laxity

World, Birmingham, Ala. Fri. 1-27-56

MEMPMIS, Tenn.— (INS)— FBI Chief J .Edgar Hoover demanded Wednesday that a Mississippi Negro leader in Civil rights activities prove or retract what Hoover called "irresponsible and false charges" concerning FBI activity in Negro slayings in the South.

Hoover, in a letter written to Dr. T. R. M. Howard, of Mound Bayou, Miss., disclosed that the FBI has held preliminary inquires into two recent Negro deaths, and conducted a full investigation in a third.

The FBI chief cited statements attributed to Dr. Howard derogatory to the FBI. Dr. Howard was credited with declaring that confidential information is "leaked" from FBI offices, resulting in "pressures" on witnesses in slaying cases, where Negroes have been the victim.

Hoover took specific exception to a statement attributed to Dr. Howard in an address before a Baltimore audience in which Howard was quoted as saying: "We must find out why Southern investigators can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Replying to charges attributed to Dr. Howard, Hoover said the FBI conducted inquires into the kid-nap murder of Emmett Till, near Money Mississippi, last August, and the shooting or Lamar Smith, at Brookhaven, Miss., August 13. A full investigation was conducted into the ambush slaying of the Rev. George Lee at Belzoni, Miss., May 7, 1955, Hoover said.

In a letter to Dr. Howard, released by the FBI office in Memphis, Hoover said all the inquiries were directed by the Justice Department. He said in the Till case "the facts did not indicate a violation of any Federal statute." In the Smith case the Justice Department, acting on facts developed at a preliminary inquiry, advised no investigation should be conducted.

HOOVER SAID:

"The criminal division requested full investigation into the death of Lee. Such an investigation was immediately conducted and facts as developed submitted to the department of justice."

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard, of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Hoover said:

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

HOWARD TO REPLY

Reached in Los Angeles, Dr. Howard told the Memphis Commercial Appeal he would have a full statement later on Hoover's demand that he submit evidence on his charges or publicly retract them.

The "intemperate and baseless charges" Hoover's letter cited were in connection with the "slayings of Emmett Till, Rev. George Wesley Lee and Lamar Smith."

The FBI chief particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized statement, in regards to three recent slayings, that: "We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

NO BASIS FOR ACTION

Hoover said a full and impartial investigation was made in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved.

Dr. Howard, president of the National Medical Association, heads Friendship Clinic in Mound Bayou, the Nation's only all-Negro town, located in the Mississippi delta, about 70 miles south of Memphis. He recently sold his 720-acre plantation near Mound Bayou for about $150,000, but still owns other real estate in the area.

Negro Leader Won't Retract FBI Criticism

World Telegram + Sun P. 11 Fri. 1-27-56

By the Associated Press

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 20.— American citizens are being wantonly murdered in Mississippi and their murderers are going unpunished, Negro leader Dr. T. R. M. Howard said yesterday in a letter to FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover.

In reply to a letter from Mr. Hoover, Dr. Howard also said: "The fact remains that the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

Mr. Hoover had accused Dr. Howard, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several racial killings in the southern state.

Dr. Howard repeated in the letter statements which he said he made in a Baltimore speech. He also wrote that he has talked with "many thousands of persons" in the past month and:

"They are as dismayed as I am that murders can be committed in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the George Lee and Lemar Smith cases, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till case, when, as in all of these cases, the facts about the cases are so well known to law enforcement authorities, federal as well as state."

FBI Head Raps Till Case Critic

Inquirer Thurs. 1-19-56

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Jan. 18 (AP). —FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover today accused a Negro leader of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several Mississippi racial killings.

Howard Favors Federal Troops

Herald Tribune Feb. 19 1956

NEW YORK, N. Y., Mar. 19— (Special)—Dr. T. R. M. Howard, militant Negro leader from Mississippi told a press conference in New York March 8 that he was for use of federal troops to enforce the constitutional rights of the Negro people in the South. Dr. Howard said: "I believe the federal government should issue an ultimatum to the South or the President or the Department of Justice should make a very strong statement. Then if there is no compliance federal troops should be sent."

Will probably locate in Chicago, Mrs. Howard says

Chicago Tribune Fri. 4-6-56

Los Angeles, Calif.

Dr. Theodore R. M. (for Mason) Howard will probably locate his family and the center of his operations in Chicago, "although I'd like to be here really," his wife, a native Californian, told the Tribune Wednesday by telephone from the LaBrea district apartment she set up when, at the height of the Mississippi terrorism, the California-trained medico sent her out of Mounl Bayou.

P. 10

Presently about half sold out in Mississippi, a sale reportedly in six figures, Dr. Howard will eventually locate in Chicago or New York, his wife said; and she and their adopted son Barrett 17 months, presumably will follow him.

At present, the militant Mississippian is hopping around the country like a giant grasshopper, attending to his many interests, business and otherwise.

Tuesday night he called his wife from New York; he spent Thursday and (today) Friday in Boston, will be in Chicago on the weekend, will attend the Tuskegee Clinic next week, aud will commence a six-city speaking tour of Ohio next weekend.

But Mississippi hasn't seen the last of the militant Negro leader. At least once a month, traveling incognito, he has to slip back into the state to attend to his business there, which includes their farm and other real property, membership on three boards, including a hospital which he established in the all-Negro town of Mississippi.

The tension in Mississippi is just as great as before the eyes of the world moved to Montgomery, Ala., Mrs. Howard said. For that reason, her husband never lets any of the whites know he is there. He never drives a car in Mississippi; but rides around the state in trucks and other inconspicuous conveyances.

Dr. Howard is expected to visit Jackson, Miss. openly, however, within a few months when the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, which he founded to combat the influence against the Negroes of the White Citizens Councils, holds its national convention.

COLEMAN SCORED BY NEGRO LEADER

Times Picayune New Orleans, La. Oct. 4-28-56

NAACP Urged 'to Go Underground' If Banned

By KEITH FULLER

JACKSON, Miss., April 27 (AP)—A wealthy Mississippi Negro leader told a wildly cheering audience Friday that if the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is outlawed Dr. T. R. M. Howard, whose home is Mound Bayou, Miss., and Washington D. C., defiantly shouted, "If J. P. Coleman wants tranquil race relations in Mississippi, let him:

"Give the Negro the right to vote.

"Give him equal job opportunity

"Stop violating the 14th and 15th amendments.

"Accept the US supreme court decision on integration and stop talking about 'Mississippi will never integrate.'"

The audience roared then when he said "if Mississippi stays in the Union, it is going to do like every other state."

Howard addressed the afternoon session of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership of which he is the president. At least 600 Negroes attended the afternoon session doubling the size of the morning crowd.

Howard said the hall was not filled because of fear.

'Conquered by Fear'

"Since the first boatload of Negroes landed at Jamestown the white South has conquered the Negro by fear," he said.

The speaker, interrupted countless times by swells of applause, told the Negroes "we must stop lying to the Mississippi white man.

"Let's stop lying a bout you don't want to be free. Tell him you want anything any other free American has. . . . Report every act against us to the Justice Department in Washington. Go to a notary and swear to what they do when you go to the courthouse to register to vote.

"If they outlaw the NAACP; let's go underground."

Highway patrolmen and city police were stationed outside the Negro Masonic Temple where the council met. No disturbances were reported.

Earlier the meeting adopted unanimously a resolution condemning Gov. Coleman for telegraphing Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) and Rev. Martin Luther King, Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott leader, to postpone their announced speeches before the council Friday.

Neither Powell nor King had actually accepted the invitations and said they had prior commitments. But the resolution said the telegrams were an invitation to violence had they showed up.

Coleman Condemned

The resolution condemned Coleman for calling Mississippi's present race relations "tranquil" and called upon him to take notice of the unrest among Mississippi Negroes. It asked him to create a bi-racial committee to lesson race tension. Coleman was out of Jackson for the day and could not be reached for comment.

Howard said Mississippi has always had a bad name in race relations. He said, "Even Negroes from Georgia think they are in Heaven compared to you in Mississippi."

He said people considered Mississippi the "hell-hole of the nation."

Howard in a faracial vein said that Gov. Coleman's action in wiring Powell and King made him executive director of the Negro council. As such he said Coleman is "the first man in Mississippi to hold membership in the White Citizens Council and the Negro Council of Leadership at the same time."

The Negro traced recent slayings in Mississippi and said his driver told him that the state had law to protect game and other wildlife but "it's open season on snakes and Negroes all the time."

Defends NAACP

Howard defended the NAACP and said he was a member and would be until his death. He said the white people had poved to him the NAACP is necessary to help fight the Negroes' cause.

At one point he shouted:

"Negroes, aren't you tired of all this treatment?"

The crowd roared "yes" and a woman screamed, "my God, yes."

"Negroes, do you really want to be free?"

The applause and yells were louder.

He told them to get the right to vote if they wanted to win the battle.

Howard said Gov. Coleman and the Legislature had "forced the issue of integration," which would be won by the Negroes.

The speaker said he, personally would not be in Mississippi all of the time because sometimes "it is necessary to change stations to carry on a fight."

In its financial report the council revealed that people from Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Gary, Ind., and New York had donated supplies of food and clothing worth about $50,000 for distribution among Negroes who were victims of economic pressure The pressure was not defined.

$1000 in Escrow

It also revealed that the council had put $1000 in escrow for use by the NCAAP to fight Mississippi segregation school cases. a Montgomery, Ala., Negro minister who was one of 25 indicted in connection with the bus boycott told the Mississippi audience to get the ballot at all costs.

Rev. B. T. Lamberth said the Montgomery bus boycott was successful because 50,000 Negroes acted as a unit.

He said the Montgomery Negroes would never again ride Jim Crow busses.

A night session is scheduled for 7 p. m.

Mississippi is ripe for trouble!

Afro-American Pg 8 Sat. 5-5-56

Baltimore, Md.

DR. T. R. M. HOWARD

WASHINGTON

"Mississippi is ripe for trouble and any day may be it."

Such was the grim prophecy made here in the nation's capital by one of the leaders of the organization headed by Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss.

Reference was to a telegram which Mississippi's Governor, J. P. Coleman, sent Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, advising him (Powell) not to fulfill speaking engagements in the state.

* * *

GOVERNOR Coleman's wire to the Congressman was:

"Because of your record and the nature of race relations in Mississippi, I advise you to postpone your speaking engagement here indefinitely."

Boiled down in its own juices, Coleman's wire is nothing less than a threat of violence against Powell, a member of the United States Congress.

Since Coleman is the Chief Executive of the state this also means that Mississippi is "off limits" for all members of Congress who advocate abolition of racial segregation.

* * *

CARRIED A step farther, it means that even Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court and, perhaps, the President himself would be in danger of physical danger if they went to the Magnolia State and advocated application of the U.S. Constitution.

As serious as these conclusions are, there is a more significant aspect to the Mississippi Governor's wire to Congressman Powell.

It bares to all the world the true character of the state government.

* * *

IT EXPLAINS at last the forces behind the murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till, last summer.

It proves conclusively that the subsequent trial and exoneration of the youngster's admitted killers were no accident.

* * *

MOREVER IT is official evidence (bearing the state seal) that the government in Mississippi today has no basis in law and order.

Rather, it is a white supremacy dictatorship which is owned, approval of the political murderserated and controlled by pro-se-

Rev. George Lee of Belzoni, the attempted assassination of Gus Court of Humphries County and the courthouse murder of Lamar Smith at Brookhaven, Miss.

It is tacit ap-

gregationists.

* * *

DR. HOWARD offers an accurate analysis of the Mississippi Governor's purpose in sending the wire to Congressman Powell.

Said He: "It's a desperate attempt to drain the last vestige of freedom from colored citizens of Mississippi."

This, also, is an apt description of the apparent goal of the government in Mississippi today.

Governor Coleman and the entire Mississippi delegation to Coingress (led by Senator James O. Eastland) are trying desperately to crush the life from the movement seeking an end to racial segregation.

They have and are applying political and economic pressure to the hilt.

* * *

NOW THEY have just about reached the stage where they are about ready to apply brute force.

Early last fall this column predicted that umess the Federal Government does something to prevent them, there will be race riots in Mississippi this summer.

So far, nothing has been done.

And, as the Mississippi leader stated here on Tuesday. "This may be it." For there is no denying, the state is ripe for trouble.

Negro Leader Raps Critic of NAACP

Cincinnati, Ohio
Times-Star
June 20, 1956

CINCINNATI, June 20 (AP).—A Negro leader yesterday called the board chairman of the United States Chamber of Commerce a member of "second class citizenry."

Washington, D.C.

Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., a member of the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, made the statement as he came here to speak at the convention of the United Packinghouse Workers of America. The statement came in an interview with a Cincinnati newspaper reporter.

Dr. Howard said he referred to a statement by Boyd Campbell of the United States Chamber that the NAACP was causing "a halt in progress of racial understandings."

"Unfortunately," said Dr. Howard, "Mr. Campbell comes from that second class citizenry who are satisfied that 986,000 Negroes in Mississippi be discriminated against." Dr. Howard asserted that Negroes in Mississippi "have the right to fight but not to vote."

Howard would use troops to integrate Dixie

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 3-17-56

NEW York — "We've been 93 most gradual in waiting years, since the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. We can't wait another minute. We've waited too long already."

That's the answer given by Dr. T. R. M. Howard, president of the Mississippi Council of Negro Leadership, on his feelings toward "gradual integration" asked here last week.

At a press conference held at Hotel Theresa, he said, "the only real solution to desegregation of public schools and winning equal rights for colored persons in the South is "to send Federal troops."

He told newsmen that the Department of Justice should issue an "ultimatium" ordering the South to abide by the U.S. Supreme Court rulings.

Our Opinions

Conscience Hurting?

Jackson, Miss.
Advocate
Sat. 8-4-56

The FBI has suddenly become super-sensitive to criticism. Stung by charges of laxity over crimes involving Negroes in the South, J. Edgar Hoover, the director, has demanded that Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mississippi either support or retract his specific accusation that the bureau leaked information about Negro slayings in Mississippi.

We believe there is ample evidence to support allegations of terrorism and violence against Negroes all throughout the South. Nobody needs to consult any law books to prove this. In Mississippi, helpless Negro citizens are existing under a state of anarchy and fear, such as has never been seen in the darkest dungeons behind the Iron Curtain.

Sat. 1-28-56

The FBI has said time after time that it had no authority to go in and investigate cases like that of the brutal lynching of 14-year old Emmett Louis Till. This leaves Negro citizens in the position of being without protection either from local and state authorities nor from the Federal government itself. Where, then, are they to turn to?

Chicago Sun

If consciences are being stung, these are hopeful signs that instead of indifference to brutality, maybe at long last some laws can be passed and the machinery provided so the FBI can have no excuse for not moving into Mississippi, and any place else where they are needed.

Mr. Hoover is riding the wrong horse when he castigates Dr. Howard for saying what are the thoughts of decent people all over the country. "Where is the FBI? Can't they do something about this?"

On The FBI Director's Letter To Dr. Howard

Advocate
Sat. 1-28-56

In the widely reported letter of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover charging Dr. T. R. M. Howard, the Mound Bayou physician, with making false and irresponsible charges against the FBI, Mr. Hoover confirms what has long been evident to us, that in his penchant for public speaking and public acclaim, goaded on by the applause of the oft times deluded masses, the doctor allows a highly vivid imagination to supply the word picture for statements and prognostigations which would never be made by one with the proper understanding of the responsibility of Leadership and the art of statesmanship and diplomacy.

Jackson, Miss.

The only tragedy about the many unsupported statements and prognostigations made by the doctor is, that in the circumstances in which they now find themselves, such statements and prognostigations only serve to pile more coals of fire upon the heads of the more or less innocent Negro masses, thirsty for honest and sincere leadership and direction.

While much of the damage from such statements and prognostigations, in the matter of harmonious and progressive race relations in this state has already been done, we say in reference to Mr. Hoovers letter to, and charge against the doctor, better late than never.

SAY FABULOUS ONE-TIME MOUND BAYOU PHYSICIAN ESTABLISHING CLINIC IN CHICAGO IN RUSH TO CLAIM RESIDENCE IN ILLINOIS

Advocate
Jackson, Miss.
Sat. 8-4-56

Planning Active Political Career To Try For Seat Of Veteran Negro Congressman William L. Dawson

Chicago, Ill., July 30.—(DSN)—Dr. T. R. M. Howard, the fabulous Mound Bayou, Miss., Negro physician, founder of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, and several other now more or less defunct business and fraternal organizations in the Mississippi delta, whose home, fashioned after that of an English squire, was the number one show place of the Mississippi Delta and the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou, according to reports was rushing at full speed here last week establishing a medical clinic on the southside in order to establish himself as a resident of the state of Illinois.

According to reports, what was causing all the rush was the fact that the doctor had only fifteen days left to meet the one-year requirement of residence for citizenship, in order to participate in the elections here next year.

According to reports, the doctor, who sold his fabulous estate, and quit his many business and fraternal connections in Mississippi, following the U. S. Supreme Court decision in the school segregation case, to become a national crusader for civil rights, is now planning to enter the field of politics with Chicago as the base of his operations.

When announcing some months ago that he was leaving Mississippi mainly because of threats against his life as a result of his civil rights crusade, the doctor announced that he would keep his residence in the State of Mississippi but would spend most of his time in California, New York, and Washington, D. C.

Advocate

The doctor, who reliable reports from Mississippi say, has never cast a vote in the state, according to reports here has pledged his allegiance to the Republican Party, and is planning to run for Congress from Chicago in the election next year in an effort to unseat the veteran Chicago Negro Congressman, William L. Dawson, who is Vice-Chairman of the Democrat National Committee.

Proclaiming himself as a Democrat during all the years while in Mississippi, the doctor got his first look at the workings of top level politics in 1952, when Percy Greene, editor of the Jackson Advocate, and founder-president of the Mississippi Negro Democrats Association, through Congressman Dawson arranged to have him attend the Democrat National Convention along with several other Mississippi Negro leaders.

According to reports the doctor's activities are being watched with a great deal of interest by friends of Congressman Dawson and Negro Democrat leaders here.

38a 1956

MISSISSIPPI

DR.J.H. WHITE
PRESIDENT, MISSISSIPPI VOCATIONAL COLLEGE

Educator Urges Harmony Through Race Separation

Defender Chicago Ill
Sat. 7-27-56

MOUND BAYOU, Miss.—Dr. J. H. White, president of Mississippi Vocational college at Itta Bena, last week urged continued racial harmony through the maintenance of segregation.

The Mississippi educator spoke to thousands of Negroes attending the 69th anniversary of the founding of Mound Bayou, an all-Negro town. Dr. White was quoted as saying:

"Negroes of the South should have the intelligence to size up the situation and not throw away schools by attempting to disrupt peaceful conditions which have existed for so many years . . . just to eat, sit and ride beside a white person."

Dr. White also ripped Rep. Adam Powell for an integration amendment to a federal aid bill for school construction. He said the amendment caused defeat of the bill.

Negro Educator Asks Segregation

Post-Herald
Birmingham Ala.
Fri. 7-13-56

MOUND BAYOU, Miss., July 13 (U.P.)—A Negro educator urged members of this all-Negro community not to throw away your schools just to eat, sit and ride beside a white person.

Dr. H. H. White, president of Mississippi Vocational College for Negroes at Itta Bena, called on members of his race to "continue racial harmony through segregation."

White was here for a celebration marking the 69th anniversary of the founding of Mound Bayou.

He blamed Negro Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of New York for defeat of the federal school aid bill by attaching an integration amendment to the measure.

Powell "will be held responsible for retarding thousands of children in this country," White said.

Negro Educator Raps Rep. Powell

Post-Herald
Fri. 6-29-56

MEMPHIS, June 28 (U.P.) — A Negro college president charged that Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N. Y.) was hurting the South-ern Negro in pushing for integration.

Dr. J. H. White, president of Mississippi Vocational College for Negroes, said in a telephone interview that the Negro legislator does not know the real conditions which exist in the South.

White said he believed institutions for Negroes only, such as his school, should be left as they are.

White said Powell would do away with such Negro institutions as Negro spirituals, and would cause the race a great loss.

"They (the spirituals) are a part of our heritage which have brought us as far as we are now," said White.

Nashville's Popular "Herbert White" Making Headlines Down In Mississippi

Globe & Independent
Nashville, Tenn.

The Dr. J. H. White who has come out in favor of the continuance of racial segregation in the schools of Mississippi, and is rated one of the most successful educators of that state, is much better known in Nashville and other parts of Tennessee than he possibly can be in any part of Mississippi.

"Herbert White" is the name he is best known by in Tennesse. Included in any biography that might be written about him would be the following facts:

7-27-56

He graduated from A&I when the institution was known as a college and was inspired by the late Dr. W. J. Hale to go forth in his state an engage in building a school where none of consequencies existed.

He chose whiteville, down in West Tennessee near McKenzie. There he built a high school of considerable prestige. During that period he was elected to the presidency of the Tennessee Negro Education Association, which later has changed its name to Tennessee Educational Congress.

He barely missed being chosen president of Alcorn College the landgrant college of Mississippi, some ten years ago and a short time thereafter he was elected president of Lane College a CME institution located in Jackson Tenn.

He resigned the presidency of Lane College to accept the presidency of Mississippi Vocational College and educational institution which the state built by making an outlay of eight million dollars as the initial payment on the big plant.

White got his master's degree and doctorate at Columbia and taught at Fisk University during summer sessions.

"Shrewd operator" is the term which persons who best know Dr White call him.

They predict he will prove this down in Mississippi by rubbing the educational politicians the right way.

It is recalled that "Herbert White" grew up around Gallatin and like present-day youths of that town, he once played in the Sunday School Congress Band, and traveled to various parts of the country with Dr. Henry Allen Boyd, whom he calls upon whenever he is in Nashville. He is related to Mr. J. W. Frierson, retired head of the Frierson Realty Company here.

Recently Dr. White made headlines, both favorable and unfavorable when he came out in favor of a continuance of segregation in an address delivered at a commencement in Mound B[illegible], Miss.

Call Sun. 1-27-56 P.18

J. Edgar Hoover Disappoints Us

We have long been an admirer of J. Edgar Hoover and his great work with the FBI, so our disappointment is all the keener in the attitude he has taken in his current controversy with Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss.

Kansas City, Mo.

Hoover takes time out to write a long letter to Dr. Howard in answer to charges the Mississippian made against the FBI in several speeches around the country. It is strange, but we do not recall any instance (and if our memory is faulty, please correct us, Mr. Hoover) in which the distinguished chief of the FBI took time to make a public explanation, over his signature, of why the FBI could not enter the Emmett Till case nor any of the other cases of brutality and torture which have occurred in Mississippi in recent months.

Call Sun. 1-27-56 P.18

When the body of 14-year-old Till was pulled from the Tallahatchie river last August, citizens all over the country, white as well as black, begged the FBI to take a hand. The N.A.A.C.P. made many urgent pleas both to the FBI and to the Department of Justice. Not a word was heard from Mr. J. Edgar Hoover. Finally after many, many days had passed and after Mississippi had started its own processes of law which were to end with the clearing of the two men who admittedly took the boy from his uncle's home in the middle of the night, someone in the Justice department "explained" that the federal government could not enter the case because no federal law had been violated. But not a word was heard at that time from Mr. Hoover.

The Negro people of the country and, particularly of Mississippi, would have felt some degree of consolation had the FBI chief himself explained to them why the great FBI men could not take a hand in the Till case—and the George Lee case—and the Lamar Smith murder—all occurring in Mississippi.

In his letter to Dr. Howard, Mr. Hoover says that the FBI did make preliminary investigations in all of those cases but that the Justice department decided not to prosecute. Even that fact, had it been made known earlier by the FBI chief, would have helped the people of Mississippi understand that they were not being deserted entirely by the federal government.

The head of the FBI also told Dr. Howard that the FBI was responsible for the great reduction of lynchings in this country and for wiping out the Ku Klux Klan. Well! Again we do not recall a single instance in which the FBI tracked down and brought to justice the guilty parties in a lynching.

It has been our belief that it was the relentless fight which the N.A.A.C.P. and the Negro press waged against lynching and the nation-wide agitation on the part of the N.A.A.C.P. for the passage of a federal anti-lynching bill which finally rid the country of the evil. The late Walter White risked his life many a time to go into a lynch town right after a mob had taken the life of a Negro victim—ofttimes innocent—in order to get the real facts. But despite information which he uncovered, the lynchers went free, the victims meeting death "at the hands of party or parties unknown." Where was the FBI then?

The fight for an anti-lynching bill dominated many sessions of Congress in the '20's and the early '30's. The fight was led by the N.A.A.C.P.

The FBI did go after the Klan in a number of states in recent years and has been responsible for the conviction of a number of leaders of the hooded order in South Carolina, Georgia and other states. But, again unless our memory fails us, this happened only after the KKK began to attack white citizens.

We cannot agree with Mr. Hoover that Dr. Howard's statements are entirely "false and irresponsible." Dr. Howard speaks with the background of one who has lived in Mississippi for years and has seen first-hand the results of Mississippi terror on his people. Dr. Howard knew personally the two men whose deaths preceded that of Emmett Till. He was on the scene when J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant were tried and acquitted of Emmett Till's murder although they were postively identified and even admitted that they took the boy out of his uncle's house by force. Eye-witnesses said they saw them beat the boy whose body later was dragged from the river.

Dr. Howard has witnessed all of this while the FBI remained silent as far as the public was concerned. Mr. Hoover made a nation-wide plea recently for the citizens of this country to stop referring to officers of the law as "cops." A similar strongly-worded plea by the FBI chief to law-enforcement officers of the South to be more vigorous in their prosecution of men like Bryant and Milam would help prevent Mr. Hoover and the FBI from getting the type of criticism that Dr. Howard has heaped upon them.

Dr. Howard Blasts FBI, Hoover Rages

Defender Sat. 1-28-56 P.1

Chicago, Ill.

J. Edgar Hoover was raging mad this week over charges made by Dr .T. R. M. Howard that the FBI hadn't done an effective job in probing the Mississippi reign of terror against Negroes.

Howard, who has been the most outspoken Negro leader against Mississippi racial injustice, reiterated his charges after Hoover last week challenged him to "put up or shut up."

In a letter to Dr. Howard that was released to the press even before Dr. Howard received it, the FBI boss called the charges "irresponsible and false."

Contacted in Los Angeles Thursday, Dr. Howard told the Defender in a telephone interview that he had not received the FBI's letter. However, he said he refused to recant any of the charges he had made against the FBI and added:

The FBI chief quoted Howard as declaring that confidential information is "leaked" from FBI offices, resulting in "pressures" on witnesses in Negro slaying cases.

Another statement attributed to Dr. Howard was that "we must find out why southern investigators can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

DENIES BOTH CHARGES

Hoover denied both charges and declared that the FBI has held preliminary inquiries into two recent Negro deaths and conducted a full investigation into a third.

Hoover said an inquiry into the alleged kidnap-murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till of Chicago near Money, Miss., last August, showed that "the facts did not indicate a violation of any federal statute."

In the shooting of Lamar Smith at Brookhaven, Miss.. Aug. 13, Hoover stated the Justice Department, acting on facts developed at a preliminary inquiry, advised no investigation should be conducted.

The FBI head said a full investigation was conducted into the ambush slaying of Rev. George Lee at Belzoni, Miss., May 7, 1955, and facts as developed were submitted to the Justice Department.

Chicago, Ill.

Contacted in Los Angeles, Thursday, Dr. Howard told the Defender in a telephone interview that he had not received the FBI's letter. However, he said he refused to recant any of the charges he had made against the FBI and added:

"It is strange that Mr. Hoover instead of assuring the terrorized Negroes in Dixie that they can receive protection and can get justice, prefers to make a personal attack upon me which seems to be politically inspired."

Hoover has denied that any of the killings in Mississippi which Dr. Howard accused the FBI of failing to probe, were federal cases and said that they had been investigated to ascertain that fact.

However, Dr. Howard said he can give Hoover specific examples of cases where Negroes were intimidated at the polls which certainly a federal violation.

He said that to clear itself in the state, the FBI had an agent in Mississippi try to get a Negro sign an affidavit that the FBI in Mississippi was fair in its dealings in cases where Negroes and whites were involved.

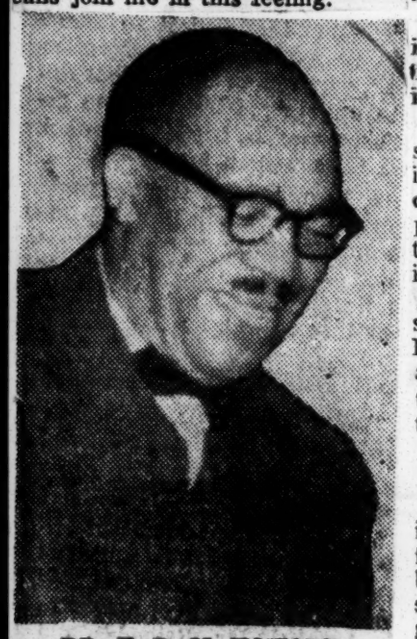
Dr. Howard has charged that FBI agents in Mississippi are from that state and naturally are partial to whites. He declared:

"I will stand on the national capitol and tell Hoover that we don't feel that to take a man who has been brought up in an environment such as we have in Mississippi and give him a few weeks of years of training is going to change the individual into a fair and impartial investigator where the two races are involved.

"In each of my references to the FBI, I have praised the organiza-

tion as being greatest crime detecting force earth. But I have not felt that all that the government can do has done in the recent mass killings and intimidation of Negro voters at the polls in Mississippi.

"It might be of interest to Hoover to know that millions of Americans join me in this feeling."



DR. T. R. M. HOWARD

Dr. Howard Won't Alter His Story

Call p. 1 Pri. 1-27-56 Kansas City, Mo.

J. Edgar Hoover Resents Statements Made by Physician

LOS ANGELES.—(ANP)—Despite a protest from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Dr. T. R. M. Howard said he is sticking to his charges that the FBI has been lax in solving Mississippi racial killings.

"It is strange that Mr. Hoover, instead of assuring the terrorized Negroes in Dixie that they can receive protection and can get justice, he prefers to make personal attack at me which seems to be politically inspired," Dr. Howard said during an interview.

Hoover, in a letter released Wednesday by the FBI office at Memphis, accused the Mound Bayou, Miss., physician of "false and irresponsible" statements against the FBI and demanded that he prove or retract them.

Resents Public Statement

The FBI director particularly resented Dr. Howard's public statement, in regard to the recent slaying of three Negroes in Mississippi, that:

"We must find out why southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover denied the charge and said that his agents held "full and impartial investigations" in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and found that no civil rights violations were involved.

Dr. Howard, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, insisted that FBI agents in Mississippi are from that state and naturally are partial to whites. He declared:

Pri. 1-27-56 Kansas City, Mo.

Can't Change Individual

"I will stand on the national capitol and tell Hoover that we don't feel that to take a man who has been brought up in an environment such as we have in Mississippi and give him a few weeks or years of training is going to change the individual into a fair and impartial investigator where the two races are involved."

Dr. Howard said he has often praised the FBI as the "greatest crime detecting force on earth."

"But I have not felt that all that the government can do has been done in the recent mass killings and intimidations of Negro voters at the polls in Mississippi," he added.

The Negro civil rights leader, after Hoover's letter was read to him by phone, said:

"If the charge is false, then it is my belief that the murderers of Rev. Lee and the individuals who seriously wounded Gus Courts on Nov. 25 should be brought to justice."

The "intemperate and baseless charges" which Hoover's letter cited were in connection with the slayings of Emmett Till, Rev. George Wesley Lee and Lamar Smith.

Till, a 14-year-old Chicago youth, was kidnapped at Money, Miss., and killed last August after he allegly wolf-whistled and made "insulting remarks" to a white woman. The woman's husband, Roy Bryant, and brother-in-law, J. W. Milam, were acquitted of a charge that they murdered Till. An all-white jury also refused to indict the pair on the kidnap charge.

Smith, who had been active in getting Negroes to register and vote in Mississippi, was shot to death Aug. 13 in the town square at Brookhaven. A white man was arrested but the grand jury complained it could not indict him because no witnesses could be found.

Lee, head of the Belzoni, Miss., NAACP chapter, was found dead in his wrecked car May 7 with gunshot wounds allegedly made by white men.

Investigation Completed

Defender Sat. 1-28-56 P. 9 Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Howard To Talk In Milwaukee

Defender Chicago Ill. Sat. 4-7-54

MILAUKEE, Wis. — Dr. Theo-e R. M. Howard, militant fight-or Negro rights in Mississippi, l deliver the keynote address the monthly meeting of the waukee NAACP on Sunday, il 8, at St. James Methodist rch, N. 11th and W. Brown

P. 10

he Rev. J. P. Pierce is mini-

Dr. Howard will speak on "Ra-l Conditions in the South To-." He is scheduled to reveal facts behind the infamous Till and comment on the rising of injustice against Negroes Mississippi and the rest of the th.

e also is scheduled to report the White Citizens Councils ich have sprung up all over South.

resident of Mound Bayou, s., the well-known physician president of the National Medi-Association and president and nder of the Mississippi Region-Council of Negro Leadership.

He is founder and chairman of board of directors of the United der of Friendship of America; rgeon-in-chief and medical di-ctor, Friendship clinic and hos-tal, Mound Bayou; member of board of directors of the Tri-ate Bank and the Universal Life surance Company, both of Mem-is, Tenn.

The noted doctor recently made tional headlines when he and BI Chief J. Edgar Hoover pub-ly clashed over the FBI's andling of the Mississippi inci-ents of violence against Negroes.

Fred W. Hickman, president of he Milwaukee NAACP, expressed ope that this meeting would be one of the best-attended of the entire year. The president em-phasized the fact that the meet-ing will be open to the general public.

Voice of the People . . . What Courier Readers Think

Author Faulkner Answers the Courier

Courier, P. 9 Sat. 6-9-56

To the Editors: Pittsburgh, Pa.

Thank you for sending me copies of your paper containing replies from Negro leaders to my "Letter to the North" in LIFE, and to the statement accredited to me that I myself would shoot down human beings (Negroes) in the street. The statements in the "Letter to the North" are, I still believe, valid statements in that they state not a moral or ethical but simply a practical condition which exists and must be considered in the abolishing of the moral and ethical wrong of compulsory segregation, if violence is to be avoided.

Faulkner—DuBois

The statement implying that I myself would "shoot down Negroes" is wrong. Even if I could have reversed and abandoned my position regarding compulsory segregation which has been on record ever since the Supreme Court's decision and privately long before that, I would not have made such a public statement as the above, for the very reason that Bishop Allen states, and which I myself made in letters to the magazine where the statement was reported: that such a statement would be an encouragement and incitement to the minority of white people who still believe such a condition could come to pass. I would like to correct two errors in your box of questions from the LIFE article. I refer you to the article itself:

> Faulkner: The white majority may be forced to join the segregation minority, no matter how much they (the minority) are opposed to the principle of inequality.
>
> Faulkner concludes: (Let the fanatic Southerner see that, (1) Nobody is going to force integration on him from the outside; (2) that he himself faces an obsolescence in his own land which only he can cure (if violence is to be prevented).

The parentheses are mine; the (statement) on inequality is from the article.

WILLIAM FAULKNER.

Oxford, Miss.

The Challenge of Dr. DuBois

To the Editor:

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois again comes forward as a magnificent champion of national morality and integrity devoid of the terrible malignancy of color prejudices, through his splendid challenge to debate William Faulkner on the great issue of desegregation. The statement of William Faulkner that if the chips were down, and "if it came to fighting I'd fight for Mississippi against the United States, even if it meant going out into the street and shooting Negroes," reveals but one facet of the terrifying poison white supremacists have injected into the blood stream of the nation. The prevalence of this evil within our country has placed a great handicap upon effective foreign relations.

The hatred of American racist ideology is international in scope. Innumerable leaders testify to this fact. So also does our strained relations with all colonial peoples. The Supreme Court's desegregation decision has been a smashing blow to all legal shibboleths and precedents which make mockery of constitutional liberties. The moral lesson of the Faulkner debacle must now be contemplated. They cannot be ignored.

The refusal of William Faulkner to debate Dr. DuBois only reveals the necessity to initiate nation-wide forums, symposia and other discussions on this momentous issue. The continuance of the cult of white supremacy in any form is destructive of a national character all freedom-loving men can respect. We who claim moral leadership in a changing world and yet cannot ratify the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations need to think deeply.

The moral depravity inherent in the cult of white supremacy ideas has nowhere been so starkly and nakedly revealed than in the position of William Faulkner, Nobel prize winner in literature. The time to launch a devastating crusade against this cult is now.

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON.

New York, N. Y.

Faulkner Rejects Debate Invitation

Times-Picayune Fri. 4-20-56

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va., April 19 (AP)—William Faulkner said that he had turned down an invitation from a Negro leader to debate the segregation issue on the courthouse steps at Sumner, Miss. New Orleans, La.

Dr. W. E. Dubois of Oakland, Calif., one of the founders of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, had challenged the Nobel prize winning author to a discussion of Faulkner's plea for moderation in solving the school problem. P. 34

Faulkner, on a visit to his daughter's home, said he had sent Dr. Dubois the following telegram:

"I don't believe there is any point for debate between us. We both agree in advance the position you take is right morally, legally and ethically.

"But if the Till case in Mississippi, the Lucy case in Alabama, the Negro householder in Chicago who has to have round-the-clock police protection to live in his own home and the Negro parents in Ohio who established a sitdown strike in the superintendent's office to compel the acceptance of their children in a white school, are not evidence to you that my position asking for moderation and patience is right, then we will waste our breath in debate."

Faulkner Urges Integrationists To Slow Up

Post-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.
Fri. 3-2-56

NEW YORK, March 1 (AP) — William Faulkner, Southern writer who was against compulsory segregation, says integration backers should slow up in their current campaign for immediate establishment of mixed schools in the South.

Writing in Life Magazine, he says:

P 12

"I would say to the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and all the organizations who would compel immediate and unconstitutional integration:

"'Go slow now. Stop now for a time, a moment. You have the power now. You can afford to withhold for a moment the use of it as a force.

"You have done a good job, you have jolted your opponent off-balance and he now is vulnerable. But stop there for a moment; don't give him the advantage of a chance to cloud the issue by that purely automatic sentimental appeal to that same universal human instinct for automatic sympathy for the underdog simply because he is under.'"

Faulkner, a member of an old Mississippi family, says the Civil War failed to prove to the North "that the South will go to any length, even that fatal and already doomed one, before it will accept alternation of its racial condition by mere force of law or economic threat."

His article says swift integration and possible resulting violence might make the whole matter "one of the race," compelling the white minority like himself "to join the white segregation majority no matter how much we oppose the principle of inequality" and might force the Negro minority who want peace to join the Negro majority who advocate force.

"So the Northerner, the liberal, does not know the South," he writes. "He can't know it from his distance.

"So I would say to all the organizations and groups which would force integration on the South by legal process:

"'Stop now for a moment. You have shown the Southerner what you can do and what you will do if necessary; give him a space in which to get his breath and assimilate that knowledge; to look about and see that (1) nobody is going to force integration on him from the outside; (2) that he himself faces an obsolescense in his own land which he can not cure; a moral condition which not only must be cured but a physical condition which has got to be cured if he, the white Southerner, is to have any peace, is not faced with another legal process or maneuver every year, year after year, for the rest of his life."

Faulkner Says Bias May Be Boon To Reds

Register P. 3
Sat. 5-26-56
Chicago, Ill.

NEW YORK (INS) — Novelist William Faulkner said that racial equality had better be practiced throughout the world before communisim "befools and gets" the non-white peoples of the earth.

The Pulitzer prize-winning novelist from Misissippi further warned that unless racial equality is practiced, the world's "small hand full of white people" must ultimately face "the myriads of all the people on earth who are not white."
white."

Faulkner, writing on segregation in Harper's magazine, also said the world must "confederate, not as black people not as white people, but as people who are still free."

"And," the novelist continued, "we had better take in with us as many as we can get of non-white peoples of the earth who are not completely free yet, but who want to and intend to be; before that other force (communism,) which is opposed to individual freedom, befools and gets them."

Marietta Daily Journal
Constitution

Faulkner Clearly Defined Dixie Attitude on Integration

Wed. 3-14-56 P. 4
Atlanta, Ga.

William Faulkner has written a thoughtful letter to the North. The Nobel prize author from Mississippi, more in sorrow than anger, fears that Southern moderates like himself who had helped the Negro by the human instinct of championing "the underdog," may have to make a new choice.

This is to side with "that embattled white minority who are our blood and kin" because they have become the underdog since the Supreme Court decision.

Writing in Life magazine, Faulkner warns that many Southerners who were working patiently to help the Negro improve his condition rebel at forced integration. Like Robert E. Lee in 1860, who chose civil war rather than accept alteration of racial conditions by mere force of law or economic threat, Faulkner speaks for the moderates who would have to make a new choice.

Faulkner is right that the Northerner still does not know the South. He does not know that he is not dealing with a legal theory and a moral idea, but with a fact: "a fact of an emotional condition of such fierce unanimity . . . as to go to any length and against any odds" to justify and defend its right to it. Faulkner is not overstating the case and there is little question that he speaks for the South.

Faulkner's Dilemma

Courier 4/1/

William Faulkner, the distinguished Mississippi writer, truly finds himself in the middle these days. After throwing his powerful mind, heart and pen into the fray between the segregationists and the anti-segregationists, Faulkner finds "the reason" and "the reason behind the reason" swaying him first this way and then "that way."

Fitzsimmons Ala.

First, he wrote Life magazine that if the NAACP and such extremists didn't quit pushing him and other liberal Southerners, he and they might be forced to desert their middle ground and join the extreme segregationists.

He even went so far as to give off the impression that he might be forced to join the mob and shoot down Negroes. He denies he said anything like this.

In the current issue of Harper's magazine, Mr. Faulkner turns almost full circle around from the Life letter. Now he recognizes the "trouble" in the South to be based upon fear—fear of the Southern white man for the Southern black man.

Sat. 6-16-56

All this stuff about racial inferiority and intermarriage is a lot of baloney, Mr. Faulkner admits. What the white Southerner wars against, he now writes, is the dread prospect that the Southern Negro might become the banker, the plantation owner, the industrialist, and take over in the economic field. The "trouble" is economic.

We think Mr. Faulkner has something there. Also, when he writes that the few whites in the world had better find a common ground of freedom with the many coloreds if they are to escape Armageddon.

Faulkner Says Race Row Hinders Fight On Reds

Post-Herald
Fri. 6-1-56
Birmingham, Ala.

NEW YORK, May 31 (U.P.)—Author William Faulkner said today that this nation's failure to achieve Negro and white equality could destroy the one potent force against communism in the world today—the "simple belief of man that he can be free."

Faulkner, Mississippi writer who won the Nobel literature prize in 1949, said in an article in Harper's magazine that he had concluded while travelling in the non-Communist nations of the world that "it's because of America" that many of those nations remain free.

"These people still believe in the American dream; they do not know yet that something happened to it," he wrote.

"The countries which still are free of communism are still free simply because of that: That belief in individual liberty and equality and freedom which is the one idea powerful enough to stalemate the idea of Communism."

It is "the strongest force on earth and all we need to do is use it."

If the white man does not extend freedom to the colored man, Faulkner said, the battle against Communism may pale into a final confrontation—"the remaining handful of white people against the massed myriads of all the people on earth who are not white."

What Is Freedom Without Them?

The White Man Needs Friends

By William Faulkner

Pulitzer-prize winning author Faulkner delivered this address at the 21st annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association at Memphis.

FOR THE SAKE of argument, let's say that as a white Southerner or maybe even any white American, I, too, curse the day when the first Yankee shipmaster bought the first penful of Negro captives from the Arab dealer and brought them across the middle passage into American slavery.

Because that doesn't matter now. To live in the world of A.D. 1956 and be against equality of race or color is like living in Alaska and being against the snow. We have already got the snow; what we must do now is plan how to live with it. Live with it, not just beside it, because the day when that would have been enough is past, too.

Only this snow is a good deal more serious than the denial of an accomplished fact. To stand against equality on grounds of race or color can invite a situation in which the whole white and/or free world as we know it can disappear.

WE THINK of the world situation today as a precarious and explosive balance of two irreconcilable ideologies confronting each other; which precarious balance, once it totters, will drag the whole world into the abyss along with it.

That's not so. Only one of the forces is an ideology, an idea. Because the second force is the simple fact of man, the simple belief of individual man that he can and should and will be free.

And if we who so far are still free, want to continue to be free, all of us who are still free had better confederate, and confederate fast, with all others who still have a choice to be free— confederate not as black people nor white people nor pink nor blue nor green people, but as people who still are free with all other people who still are free; confederate together and stick together, too, if we want a world or even a part of a world in which individual men can be free, to continue to endure.

And we had better take in with us as many as we can get of the non-white peoples of the earth who are not completely free yet but who want to be and intend to be, before that other force which is opposed to individual freedom, befools and gets them.

TIME WAS when the non-white man was content to—anyway, did—accept his instinct for freedom as an unrealizable dream. But not any more; the white man himself taught him different with that phase of his—the white man's—own culture which took the form of colonial expansion and exploitation based and morally condoned on the premise of inequality not because of individual incompetence, but of mass race or color.

As a result of which, in only 10 years, we have watched the non-white peoples expel, by bloody violence when necessary, the white man from all of the Middle East and Asia which he once dominated. And into that vacuum has already begun to move that other and inimical power which people who believe in freedom are at war with— that power which says to the non-white man:

"We don't offer you freedom because there is no such thing as freedom; your white overlords whom you just threw out have already proved that to you. But we offer you equality; at least equality in slavedom; if you are to be slaves, at least you can be slaves to your own color and race and religion."

WE, the Western white man who does believe that there exists an individual freedom above and beyond this mere equality of slavedom, must teach the non-white peoples this while there is yet a little time left. We, America, who are the strongest force opposing Communism and monolithicism, must teach all other peoples, white and nonwhite, slave or (for a little while yet) still free.

We, America, have the best chance to do this because we can do it here, at home, without needing to send costly freedom expeditions into alien and inimical places already convinced that there is no such thing as freedom and liberty and equality and peace for all people, for we would practice it at home.

The best chance and the easiest job, because our non-white minority is already on our side; we don't need to sell them on America and freedom because they are already sold; even when ignorant from inferior or no education, even despite the record and history of inequality, they still believe in our concepts of freedom and democracy.

THAT IS WHAT America has done for them in only 300 years. Not to them; for them, because to our shame we have made little effort so far to teach them to be Americans, let alone to use their capacities to make ourselves a stronger and unified America—the people who, only 300 years ago, were eating rotten elephant and hippo meat in African rainforests, who lived beside one of the biggest bodies of inland water on earth and never thought of a sail, who yearly had to move by whole villages and tribes from famine and pestilence thinking of a wheel, yet in only 300 years in America produced Ralph Bunche and Booker T. Washington, and George Washington Carver; who have yet to produce a Fuchs or Rosenberg or Gold or Greenglass or Burgess or Meredith or Hiss, and for every prominent Communist or fellow-traveler like Robeson or Richard Wright, there are a thousand white ones.

I AM NOT convinced that the Negro wants integration in the sense that some of us claim to fear he does. I believe he is American enough to repudiate and deny by simple American instinct any stricture or regulation forbidding us to do something which in our opinion would be harmless if we did it, and which we probably would not want to do anyway.

I think that what he wants is equality, and I believe that he too knows there is no such thing as equality per se, but only equality TO—equal right and opportunity to make the best one can of one's life within one's capacity and capability, without fear of injustice or oppression or threat of violence.

If we had given him this equal right to opportunity 90 or 50 or even 10 years ago, there would have been no Supreme Court decision about how we run our schools.

It is our white man's shame that in our present Southern economy, the Negro must not have economic equality; our double shame that we fear that giving him more social equality will jeopardize his present economic status; our triple shame that even then, to justify ourselves, we must becloud the issue with the purity of white blood.

What a commentary that the one remaining place on earth where the white man can flee and have his blood protected by law, is Africa—the source and origin of the people whose presence in America will have driven the white man to flee from defilement.

SOON NOW all of us—not just Southerners nor even Americans, but all people who are still free and want to remain so—are going to have to make a choice.

We will have to choose not between color nor race nor religion, nor between East and West, either, but simply between being slaves and being free. And we will have to choose completely and for good.

The time is already past when we can choose a little of each, a little of both.

We can choose a state of slavedom, and if we are powerful enough to be among the top two or three or 10, we can have a certain amount of license— until someone more powerful rises, and has us machine-gunned against a cellar wall.

But we cannot choose freedom established on a hierarchy of degree of freedom, on a caste system of equality like military rank.

We must be free not because we claim freedom, but because we practice it. Our freedom must be buttressed by a homogeny equally and unchallengeably free, no matter what color they are, so that all the other inimical forces everywhere—systems political or religious or racial or national—will not just respect us because we practice freedom. They will fear us because we do.

NEGRO FLEXIBILITY URGED BY FAULKNER

Use Ghandi's Way, Writer Says In Article

CHICAGO, Aug. 5. (AP)—Author William Faulkner Sunday advised Negroes to "be flexible" in pressing for civil rights equality.

Writing in the September issue of Ebony, national Negro magazine, Mr. Faulkner proposed "Ghandi's way" as a method to guide anti-segregation efforts.

"If I were a Negro," the Mississippi novelist said, "I would advise our elders and leaders to make this our undeviating and inflexible course—a course of inflexible and unviolent flexibility directed against not just the schools, but against all the public institutions from which we are interdict, as is being done against the Montgomery, Ala., bus lines.

"But always with flexibility: Inflexible and undeviable only in hope and will but flexible to adapt to time and place and circumstance."

Mr. Faulkner said if he were a Negro "I would be a member of NAACP, since nothing else in our United States culture has yet held out to my race that much of hope.

"But I would remain only under conditions: That it recognize the most serious quantity in our problem which, so far as I know, it has not publicly recognized yet; that it make the same flexibility the watchword of its methods . . ."

The Pulitzer and Nobel Prize winner who has stirred controversy with several recent statements on the segregation issue lately, said that "above all, I would say this to the leaders of our race:

"'We must learn responsibility, the responsibility of equality.'"

He stressed a definition of equality as "the right to opportunity to be free and equal provided one is worthy of it, and will work to gain it, and then work to keep it."

FAULKNER TAKES JOB

University Of Virginia Retains Writer

OXFORD, Miss., Oct. 6.—Nobel Prize winner William Faulkner has accepted an invitation from the University of Virginia Department of English to become the first in a series of writers-in-residence at the Charlottesville institution.

The author and his wife will leave Oxford in February and live near the university during the second term of the 1956-57 session.

As writer-in-residence, Mr. Faulkner will visit English classes to answer questions about his books and about writing in general. He also will participate in readings and informal talks with students and faculty members.

Faulkner Tells Negroes To Use 'Ghandi's Way'

Post-Herald, Birmingham, Ala.
Mon. 8-6-56
9,10

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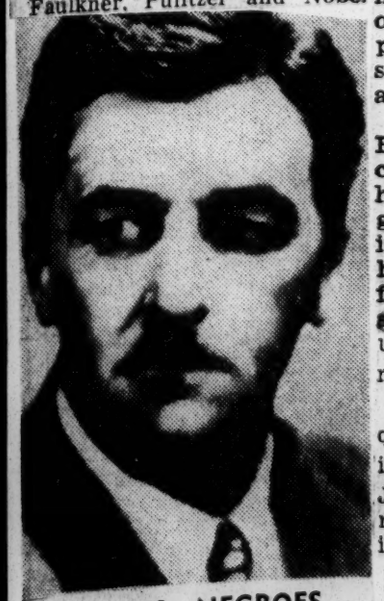


William Faulkner.

ADVISES NEGROES —

Faulkner Will Take Up Residence at Virginia U.

Sunday Star 9-14-A
Washington, D.C.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Oct. 6 (Special).—William Faulkner, Nobel prize winner in literature and one of America's major novelists, has accepted the invitation of the University of Virginia Department of English to become the first of what is planned as a series of writers-in-residence.

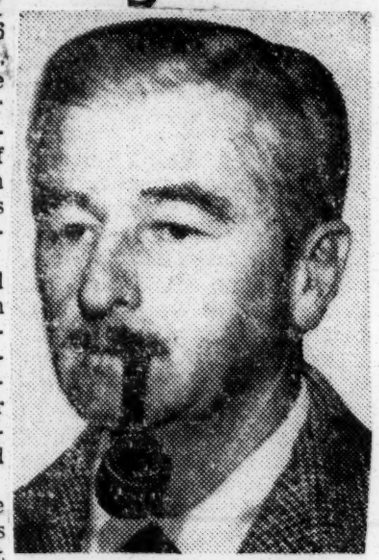
Mon. 10-7-56

Mr. Faulkner and his wife will leave the region of Northern Mississippi celebrated in his fiction and come to live in Charlottesville beginning in February. They expect to be near the University of Virginia during the whole of the second term of the 1956-57 session.

The establishment of the writer-in-residence series is made possible under a bequest of Mrs. Emily Clark Balch which provided that it be used to stimulate "appreciation and creation of American literature."

As writer-in-residence, Mr. Faulkner will visit English classes to answer questions about his books and about writing in general. While he is continuing to carry on his own work, he has agreed to consult with faculty members and with some students. He will also face the university public in several readings and informal talks.

Mr. Faulkner has been a frequent visitor to this community in recent years. His daughter, Jill, is the wife of Paul D. Summers, jr., a third-year student in the University Law School.



WILLIAM FAULKNER
Accepts Virginia Post

38a 1956

MISSISSIPPI

MR. WILLIAM FAULKNER

Faulkner Will Fight For Mississippi

H. Wentzler S. A-H

The Noted Novelist, Though Against Enforced Segregation,

Says He'll Join The Whites And Shoot

Montgomery Ala

Negroes, If Forced By Pressure

Sep 3-17-56

Russell Warren Howe In The Reporter

¶ *Howe, New York correspondent for the* London Sunday Times, *interviewed William Faulkner Feb. 21 on recent troubles in the South. The following is Howe's account of the interview as published in* The Reporter *magazine. Faulkner has long opposed compulsory segregation. In a recent issue of* Life *magazine, he expressed similar opposition to compulsory integration. Noting that the tactics of NAACP were forcing moderates into the camp of the white Southern extremists, Faulkner urged Negroes and liberals to ease the pressure on the South.—Ed.*

"MY POSITION is this," said Mr. Faulkner. "My people owned slaves and the very obligation we have to take care of these people is morally bad. It is a position which is completely untenable. But I would wish now that the liberals would stop—they should let us sweat in our own tears for a little while. If we are pushed by the government we shall become an underdog people fighting back because we can do nothing else. Our position is wrong and untenable but it is not wise to keep an emotional people off balance.

FAULKNER

"The Negroes have had 90 years of that sort of life and now that they are winning it would take a lot of wisdom to say 'Go slow.' Perhaps it is too much to ask of them, but it is for their own sake. I have known Negroes all my life and Negroes work my land for me. I know how they feel. But now I have people who say they are Negroes writing to me and saying, 'You mean well for us but please hush. You mean good but you do harm.'"

The Long View

Q. Wouldn't a "go slow" strategy lose some of the ground already gained?

A. I don't know. I try to think of this in the long-term view. Now, I grant you that it is bad that there should be a minority people who because of their color don't have a right to social equality or to justice. But it is bad that Americans should be fighting Americans. That is what will happen because the Southern whites are back in the spirit of 1860. There could easily be another Civil War and the South will be whipped again.

In the long view, the Negro race will vanish in three hundred years by intermarriage. It has happened to every racial minority everywhere, and it will happen here.

Q. What would be the best strategy for the liberals?

A. Let the people stop awhile. If that girl Autherine Lucy goes back to Alabama University . . . she will be killed. The NAACP should forget about Alabama University. It should send people now to the Universities of Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina and let them be thrown out of each of those places, too, until the white people of the South get so sick and tired of being harassed and worried they will have to do something about it . . .

The South Is Armed

Q. Have you heard reports of arms buying in Tuscaloosa?

A. Yes. If that girl dies, two or three white men will be killed, then eight or nine Negroes. Then the troops will come in. You know, we've never had race riots in the South before. They've had race riots in the North but in the South we just have persecution.

The South is armed for revolt. After the Supreme Court decision [of May 17, 1954, on school integration] you couldn't get as much as a few rounds for a deer rifle in Mississippi. The gunsmiths were sold out. These white people will accept another Civil War knowing they're going to lose. If the North knew the South they would know that this is not a theory or a moral convention which they are up against but a simple fact. I know people who've never fired a gun in their lives but who've bought rifles and ammunition.

Q. How long do you think it will be before the concrete aspects of discrimination — in housing, employment, enfranchisement, education, social contacts—will have disappeared?

A. In the Deep South, I don't know. As it was, in 15 years the Negroes would have had good schools. Then came the decision of the Supreme Court and that will mean probably 20 years of trouble. I think that decision put the position of the Negro in the South back five years.

Q. Does that mean that you disapprove of the court decree?

A. I don't disapprove it. It had to be promulgated and it just repeated what was said in January, 1863. If white folks had given Negroes proper schools there would have been no need for the court's decision.

The Negro in the Deep South doesn't want to mix with the white man. He likes his own school, his own church. Segregation doesn't have to imply inferiority.

Take Off The Pressure

Q. How would you re-educate the Southern white to a different way of thinking?

A. First of all, take off the pressure. Let him see just how untenable his position is. Let him see that people laugh at him. Just let him see how silly and foolish he looks. Give him time—don't force us. If that girl goes back to Tuscaloosa she will die. Then the top will blow off. The government will send in its troops and we shall be back at 1860. They must stop pushing these people. The trouble is the North doesn't know that country. They don't know the South will go to war.

Laughing At Montgomery

Q. The Negroes of Montgomery, the capital of Alabama, have been boycotting the city's buses since Dec. 5. Do you think this sort of passive resistance is a good idea?

A. Yes, anything they do is good as long as they don't carry it too far. Today the white women of Montgomery have to go and fetch their Negro cooks by car. It is a good step, to let the white folks see that the world is looking on and laughing at them.

But I don't like enforced integration any more than I like enforced segregation. If I have to choose between the United States government and Mississippi, then I'll choose Mississippi. What I'm trying to do now is not have to make that decision. As long as there's a middle road, all right, I'll be on it. But if it came to fighting I'd fight for Mississippi against the United States even if it meant going out into the street and shooting Negroes. After all, I'm not going out to shoot Mississippians.

Q. You mean white Mississippians?

A. No, I said Mississippians—in Mississippi the problem isn't racial. 90% of the Negroes are on one side with the whites, against a handful like me who believe that equality is important.

Q. Some of your remarks could eb interpreted as disapproval of the existence of militant Negro defense organizations. How do you feel about the NAACP?

A. That organization is necessary, but it must know when to let the opponent make the next move. 90 years of oppression and injustice are there, but it is a lot for the white man to have to admit. It takes an extremely intelligent man to stop dead after 90 years of wrongdoing, and the Southerner isn't that intelligent. He has to feel that what he is doing (when he reforms) is not being forced on him but is spontaneous. We have to make it so that he feels that he is being not just honest but generous. Give him time—right now it's emotional and he'll fight because the country's against him.

Q. In the European press, "go slow" is criticized on the grounds that the susceptibilities of the persecuted deserve more consideration than the susceptibilities of the persecutor. How would you answer that criticism?

A. The European critics are right, morally, but there is something stronger in man than a moral condition. Man will do certain things whether they be right or wrong. We know that racial discrimination is morally bad, that it stinks, that it shouldn't exist, but it does. Should we obliterate the persecutor by acting in a way that we know will send him to his guns, or should we compromise and let it work out in time and save whatever good remains in those white people?

I will go on saying that the Southerners are wrong and that their position is untenable, but if I have to make the same choice Robert E. Lee made then I'll make it. My grandfather had slaves and he must have known that it was wrong, but he fought in one of the first regiments raised by the Confederate army, not in defense of his ethical position but to protect his native land from being invaded.

Q. Do you believe regional loyalty is

'GROSSLY MISQUOTED'

OXFORD, Miss., March 16 (UP)—Novelist William Faulkner said today he apparently was "grossly misquoted" in the current issue of The Reporter *magazine as saying he would fight for Mississippi against the United States if he had to choose.*

"I did not see the magazine," Faulkner told UP, "but it was read to me over the telephone and quoted me as saying the South is armed to oppose integration and if I had to choose between the United States and Mississippi, I would choose Mississippi even to going out and shooting Negroes in the street.

"That's foolish. Of course, I didn't say that because I don't believe it's come to that. I don't know where that came from."

Faulkner said he did not remember talking to a reporter for the magazine. He said other portions of the article as read to him were correct, that he did believe the South would resist racial integration "by force and violence."

a good quality?

A. Well, you must believe in something.

Q. What about your belief in the principles expressed in your books?

A. I shouldn't be betraying them. My Negro boys down on the plantation would would fight against the North with me. If I say to them "Go get your shotguns, boys," they'll come.

Q. Is the basic cause of race prejudice economic, in your opinion?

A. Absolutely. To produce cotton we have to have a system of peonage. That is absolutely what is at the bottom of the situation.

Q. Are the psychological rationalizations for prejudice something grafted onto the economic root?

A. Yes. I would say that a planter who has 1,000 acres wants to keep the Negro in a position of debt peonage and in order to do it he is going to tell the poor class of white folks that the Negro is going to violate his daughter. But all he wants at the back of it is a system of peonage to produce his cotton at the highest rate of profit.

The Heritage Of Man

Q. Do you agree that the ambition spur provided by persecution has made the Negro potentially the more capable of the two "races" in the South?

A. Certainly. He's calmer, wiser, more stable than the white man. To have put up with this situation so long with so little violence shows a sort of greatness. Suppose two Negroes had murdered a white Emmett Till — there would have been a flood of emotionalism. The Negro rose above his anger. He knows that the problem [of his equality] will be solved because it must be. But these ignorant white people have got to be let alone so that they can think that they are changing on their own initiative.

The poor white man knows that although the Negro can only buy the worst land, has bad tools and inferior livestock, he can make a living better than white men could. With a little more social, economic, and educational equality the Negro will often be the landlord and the white man will be working for him. And the Negro won't come out on top because of anything to do with the race but because he has always gotten by without scope—when they are given scope they use it fully. The Negro is trained to do more than a white man can with the same limitations.

The vices that the Negro has have been created in him by the white man, by the system. He will make his own contribution to our society. Already his music and poetry have passed to the white man, and what the white man has done with them is not Negro any more but something else.

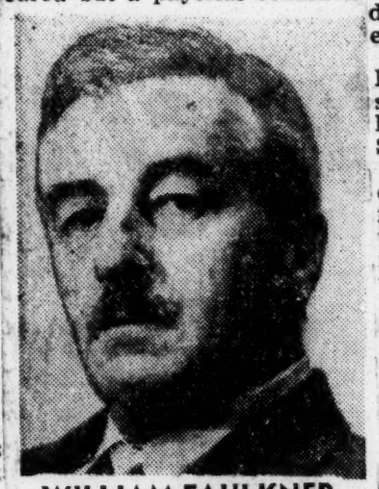
There is no such thing as an "Anglo-Saxon" heritage and an African heritage. There is the heritage of man. Nothing is extinct in any race, only dormant. You are brave and tough when you have to be. You are intelligent when the age demands it. There are al lthings in like degree in all races.

Faulkner warns NAACP: You've made point, go easy

News Birmingham Ala.

NEW YORK, March 1 — Mississippi's Nobel Prize winning author, William Faulkner, warns the NAACP and all the organizations and groups which would force integration on the South by legal process to "stop now for a moment." 3-1-56

"You have shown the Southerner what you can do and what you will do if necessary; give him a space in which to get his breath and assimilate that knowledge; to look about and see that (1) nobody is going to force integration on him from the outside; (2) that he himself faces an obsolescence in his own land which only he can cure; a moral condition which not only must be cured but a physical condition



WILLIAM FAULKNER

. . . Better go easy

which has got to be cured if he, the white Southerner, is to have any peace, is not to be faced with another legal process or maneuver every year, year after year, for the rest of his life."

FAULKNER, writing in the current issue of Life magazine, says he is against compulsory integration from principle and because he doesn't believe compulsion will work.

He describes his views on integration as being those of "a comparative handful" of Southerners who are "present yet detached, committed and attained neither by Citizens' Council nor NAACP."

He says those holding this "middle" position will be trampled by "any incipient irrevocability" on integration and forced to abandon their position "where we could have worked to help the Negro improve his condition."

FAULKNER WRITES in his "Letter to the North" that the Southern moderates were drawn to the Negro's side by the simple human instinct to champion the underdog," but that this "underdog" status will disappear if forced integration advocates persist. At that point, Faulkner says, his group would "have to make a new choice" and side with "that embattled white minority who are our blood and kin."

Faulkner likens this choice to that of many Southerners, including Robert E. Lee, in 1860 who chose civil war rather than accept alteration of racial condition by mere force of law or economic threat.

He states that the Northerner has failed to recognize this lesson of the Civil War and that he still does not know the South.

"He can't know it from his distance. He assumes that he is dealing with a simple legal theory and a moral idea. He is not. He is dealing with a fact: the fact of an emotional condition of such fierce unanimity as to scorn the fact that it is a minority and which will go to any length and against any odds at this moment to justify and, if necessary, defend that condition and its right to it."

FAULKNER BELIEVES SOUTH WOULD FIGHT

Times 2-17

William Faulkner, the 1949 Nobel Prize novelist, believes that the South "is armed for revolt."

The author, a native and resident of Mississippi, made this declaration in a copyrighted interview in The Reporter, a fortnightly magazine, published today. Thurs. 3-15-56

Mr. Faulkner asserted also that if it came to a choice he would "fight for Mississippi against the United States even if it meant going out into the streets and shooting Negroes."

Mr. Faulkner made it clear that he believed the South was wrong and the Negroes right on segregation. "But if there's no middle ground," he said, "if people like me we have got to chose, then I'm on the side of Mississippi." Thurs, 3-15-56

He asserted that white Southerners "will accept another Civil War knowing they're going to lose." Mon Mor.

He told the interviewer that he wished now "the liberals would stop—they should let us sweat in our own fears for a little while.

Mr. Faulkner said the thing to do was to make the Southerner feel that "when he reforms" ne would be doing it spontaneously and generously. "Give him time," he said.

William Faulkner's Letter To The North

Advertiser 9-4-4

WILLIAM FAULKNER, the famous Mississippi novelist, is nothing if not forthright. Last November, Faulkner told a racially mixed audience in Memphis:

Montgomery Ala.

It is the white man's shame that in our present Southern economy, the Negro must not have economic equality. It is to our double shame that giving him more social equality will jeopardize his present economic status; our triple shame that even then to justify ourselves, we must becloud the issue with the purity of white blood. Sat. 3-3-56

Faulkner's position is then clear: he is on record as opposing compulsory segregation. In a letter to the North in the current *Life*, however, Faulkner now takes a second look: "I was against compulsory segregation. I am just as strongly against compulsory integration . . . I don't believe compulsion will work."

And he warns the North that the pressures against the South now are forcing moderates like himself to abandon the midground and move to one trench or the other. But, he asks,

now where will we go, if that middle becomes untenable? If we have to vacate it in order to keep from being trampled. Apart from the legal aspect, apart even from the simple incontrovertible immorality of discrimination by race, there was another simply human quantity which drew us to the Negro's side: the simple human instinct to champion the underdog.

. . . If we, the handful of [Southern moderates] are compelled by the simple threat of being trampled if we don't get out of the way, to vacate that middle where we could have worked to help the Negro improve his condition—compelled to move for the reason that no middle any longer exists—we will have to make a new choice. And this time the underdog will not be the Negro, since he, the Negro, will now be a segment of the topdog . . . The underdog will be that white embattled minority who are our blood and kin.

These non-Southern forces will now say, "Go then. We don't want you because we won't need you again." My reply to that is, "Are you sure you won't?"

★

FAULKNER cannot be accused of being a latter-day Confederate. Yet he says that the North has never really learned what the Civil War proved. And because it hasn't, it doesn't understand the force of Southern opposition today.

He [the Northerner] assumes [the Civil War] merely proved to the Southerner that he was wrong. It didn't do that because the Southerner already knew he was wrong and accepted that gambit even when he knew it was a fatal one. What the war should have done, but failed to do, was to prove to the North that the South will go to any length, even that fatal and doomed one, before it will accept alteration of its racial condition by mere force of law or economic threat.

★

HERE is a man whom yankees have honored with their highest literary awards, who has been reviled by his own people for his masterful documentation of the South's guilt. Yet he is scornful of Northern ignorance:

. . . The Northerner, the liberal, does not know the South. He can't know it from his distance. He assumes that he is dealing with a simple legal theory and a simple moral idea. He is not. He is dealing with a fact: the fact of an emotional condition of such fierce unanimity as to scorn the fact that it is a minority and which will go to any length and against any odds at this moment to justify and, if necessary, defend that condition and its right to it.

★

HIS advice to organizations and groups which would force integration on the South:

MISS ZORA NEALE HURSTON, NEGRO NOVELIST AND PLAYWRIGHT

'The Court Ruling Insults My Race'

Advertiser

[Zora Neale Hurston is a Negro novelist and playwright, a Barnard graduate and holder of Rosenwald and Guggenheim Fellowships.—ED.]

Adv. 1-27-56

I PROMISED God and some other responsible characters, including a bench of bishops, that I was not going to part my lips concerning the United States Supreme Court decision on ending segregation in the public schools of the South. But since a lot of time has passed and no one seems to touch on what appears to be the most important point in the hassle, I break my silence just this once. Consider me as just thinking out loud.

The whole matter revolves around the self-respect of my people. How much satisfaction can I get from a court order for somebody to associate with me who does not wish me near them? P. 4-A

The American Indian has never been spoken of as a minority and chiefly because there is no whine in the Indian. Certainly he fought, and valiantly, for his lands, and rightly so, but it is inconceivable of an Indian to seek forcible association with anyone. His well-known pride and self-respect would save him from that. I take the Indian position.

Montgomery

Clamor for Rights

Now a great clamor will arise in certain quarters that I deny the Negro children of the South their rights, and therefore I am one of those "handkerchief-head niggers" who bow low before the white man and tell out my own people, out of cowardice. However, an analytical glance will show that is not the case.

Ala.

If there are not adequate Negro schools and there are some residual, some inherent and unchangeable qualities in white schools, impossible to duplicate anywhere else, then I am the first to insist that Negro children of Florida be allowed to share this boon. But if there are adequate Negro schools and prepared instructors and instructions, then there is nothing different except the presence of white people.

For this reason, I regard the ruling of the Supreme Court as insulting, rather than honoring, my race. Since the days of the never-to-be-sufficiently-deplored Reconstruction, there has been current the belief that there is no greater delight to Negroes than physical association with whites, the doctrine of the white mare.

The Habits of Mules

Those familiar with the habits of mules are aware that any mule, if not restrained, automatically follows a white mare.

Lead a white mare along a country road and slyly open the gate and the mules in the lot would run out and follow this mare. This ruling being conceived and brought forth in sly political medium with eyes on 1956, and brought forth in the same spirit and for the same purpose, it is clear then they have taken the old notion to heart and acted on it. It is a cunning opening of the barnyard gate with the white mare ambling past. We are expected to hasten pell-mell after her.

It is most astonishing that this should be tried just when the nation is exerting itself to shake off the evils of communist penetration. It is to be recalled that Moscow, being made aware of this folk belief, made it the main plank in their campaign to win the American Negro from the 1920s on.

It was the come-on stuff. Join the party and get yourself a white wife or husband. To supply the expected demand, the party had scraped up this and that off of park benches and skid rows and held them in stock for us. The biggest types of Negroes were held to be just panting to get hold of one of these objects. Seeing how flat that program fell, it is astonishing that it would be so soon revived. Politics indeed makes strange bedfellows.

The South had better beware in another direction. While it is being frantic over the segregation ruling, it had better keep its eyes open for more important things. One instance of government by fiat has been rammed down its throat.

It is possible that the end of segregation is not here and never meant to be here at present, but the attention of the South is directed on what was calculated to keep us busy while more ominous things were brought to pass. The stubborn South and the Mid-west kept this nation from being dragged farther to the left than it was during the New Deal.

But what if it is contemplated to do away with the two-party system and arrive at government by administrative decree? No questions allowed and no information given out from the administrative department? We could get more rulings on the same subject and more far-reaching any day. It pays to weigh every saying and action, however trivial, as indicating a trend.

In the ruling on segregation, the unsuspecting nation might have witnessed a trial balloon. A relatively safe one, since it is sectional and on a matter not likely to arouse other sections of the nation to the support of the South. If it goes off fairly well, a precedent has been established. Government by fiat can replace the Constitution. You don't have to credit me with too much intelligence and penetration, just so you watch carefully and think.

No Elation From White Mare

Meanwhile, personally, I am not delighted. I am not persuaded and elevated by the white mare technique.

It is well known that I have no sympathy or respect for the "tragedy of color" school of thought among us, whose fountainhead is the pressure group concerned in this court ruling. I can see no tragedy in being too dark to be invited to the White House.

The Supreme Court would have pleased me more if they had concerned themselves about enforcing the compulsory education provisions for Negroes in the South as is done for white children. The next 10 years would be better spent in appointing truant officers and looking after conditions in the homes from which the children come. Use to the limit what we already have.

"Them's my sentiments," and I am sticking to them. Growth from within. Ethical and cultural desegregation. It is a contraditiction in terms to scream race pride and equality while at the same time spurning Negro teachers and self-association. That old white mare business can go racking on down the road for all I care.

An Unfair Charge

Call P. 1 8

We agree with many of the recommendations and suggestions made by the Mayor's Commission on Municipal Services. Most of them are sound, logical and practical. But we must take vigorous exception to the reports of two of the Commission's sub-committees. One deals with the Commission on Human Relations and the other with the Community Service division of the Welfare department.

Kansas City, Mo.

The sub-committee which "investigated" the work of the Human Relations Commission either made a very superficial study of it or it has little or no understanding of the commission's purpose and function.

38a 1956

The sub-committee report charges the Human Relations commission with "promoting" the interests of one group of citizens instead of acting as an arbitrator of differences between groups.

Star 2-3-56

As an example of its serving as an "advocate" for a particular group, the report says:

> "The recommendation of the Employment Committee of the Commission that a clause relating to employment practices be included in the franchise to be granted the Kansas City Public Service company is cited as a specific instance where the Commisison has exceeded the scope of its function as set out in the ordinance under which it was created."

The ordinance (No. 15091) passed on Nov. 20, 1951, states the following as the purpose of the Human Relations Commission:

> "The purpose of the Commission shall be to promote, foster, encourage and stimulate sympathetic understanding, harmonious relationships, a spirit of charity and a program of practical cooperation among all groups and individuals TO THE END THAT KANSAS CITY MAY GROW AND ADVANCE IN PEACE AND WHOLESOME COLLECTIVE ACHIEVEMENT IN THE FIELD OF INDIVIDUAL OPPORTUNITY."

The ordinance further gives the Commission authority to:

> (1) Devise and recommend to the Mayor and the Council ways and means of discouraging and combatting prejudice, intolerance and bigotry in all groups and in their relations with one another."
>
> (2) Discover all practices and policies calculated to create conflicts and tensions and recommend ways and means for their elimination.
>
> (3) Report and recommend means of eliminating any unfair or unjust discrimination against any person or group which would be deemed detrimental to the best interest of the community.

Under this statement of purpose, the Human Relation Commission's employment committee was clearly within its province to make the recommendation which is so severely criticized by the Municipal Services commission.

What was that recommendation? Simply stated, the committtee recommended that the city council include in its new franchise with the Kansas City Public Service company a clause stipulating that persons should be employed by the company strictly on a basis of merit and qualification, without regard to race, creed or color

Such a clause would open the way for the employment of Negroes as street car and bus operators in Kansas City — a step that long since has been taken and has proved successful in cities including our own St. Louis.

In asking that all qualified persons be hired as bus drivers on public vehicles, the Human Relations Commission is working in the interest of Kansas City as a whole, not for any particular group. In ruling that segregation against the Negro school pupil is unconstitutional, the Supreme Court was not an "advocate" for the Negro race but was pronouncing a principle upon which this country was founded — that of equal treatment and fair play to all, regardless of race, creed or color.

In recommending non-discriminatory policies, the Human Relations Commission is trying to help Kansas City as a whole. This unit of the city government is not an "advocate" of the Negro people of Kansas City. It does advocate, however, — and rightly so — that all citizens be given the same treatment at the hands of the city government.

It does not sit idly by, as the Municipal Services Commission evidently would have it do, and wait until trouble occurs between groups and then rush in like a Johnny-Come-Lately to serve as an "arbitrator." An "arbitrator" comes in after war has started. The Human Relations Commission, like other agencies of its kind, tries to prevent "war" between groups.

It so happens that in Kansas City, the Negro is the largest minority group within our population. Quite naturally, the Commission's work deals for the most part with Negro-white relationships.

If the Negro people of Kansas City should start some organized resistance to the employment policies of the Kansas City Public Service company — as the Negroes of Montgomery, Ala., have done against the jim crow bus system of that town — then, and not until then, we suppose, would the Municipal Services Commission have the Human Relations Commission "step in" and try to pacify Negroes and plead with them to "be patient."

The Municipal Services Commission is "off the beam" in its report on the Human Relations Commission.

It is also sadly off the track in its recommendation that the Community Service division of the Welfare Department be reduced in staff by 50 per cent and that the "programs of the division be tailored accordingly."

The Municipal Service Commission may not know it, but the Community Service division is the closest link that the city government has with the people — the ordinary, average citizens — who live in the town. Other cities throughout the country are setting up similar divisions patterned after the Kansas City plan. To cut the program of this division in half would be a tragic error on the part of our city government.

Before action is taken on the report of the Services Commission, we hope that Mayor Bartle will study the recommendations personally and care[illegible] and will weigh them in the light of the point[illegible] which we have presented here.

NAACP Head Refused Service At Courthouse

Call P. 1

Star. 4-13-56

Kansas City, Mo.

ST. JOSEPH. — Mrs. Rufus P. Beshears, president of the St. Joseph branch of the NAACP, has filed a complaint with the county court charging that she was refused service at the lunch stand in the courthouse Tuesday, April 3.

Mrs. Beshears, whose husband is a dentist here, was at the courthouse as a witness in the Edna Turner murder trial. She said that she had been served at the lunch stand Monday but that when she returned for lunch Tuesday with a white friend, she was denied service because of her color.

"Yesterday I entered the lunchroom with a friend, a white woman," Mrs. Beshears said. "We sat at a little table. Immediately, the woman behind the counter came over and told me Mr. Smart, who operates the lunch stand, said that I couldn't be served. I was startled. She ignored me when I tried to beckon her back to the table. The only answer she finally gave to my question was to tell me to ask Mr. Smart why I couldn't be served. I asked her if she would serve my friend. She said 'Yes.' We then left."

The courthouse lunch stand is operated by Howard Smart and his wife.

Kansas City, Mo.

Smart told a reporter later that he didn't have anything to sell Mrs. Beshears.

Mrs. Beshears and a committee from the NAACP went before Presiding Judge John Madget and District Judge Don Gilpin to lodge a protest. The judges said that they would look into the matter.

Other NAACP members who went with Mrs. Beshears to see the judges were the Rev. Herbert Bletson, Mrs. A. A. Robinson, Marcus Murchison and Mrs. Emaline Hortona.

Mrs. Beshears said that a courthouse is for all the people and added that Missouri has no segregation law.

When Mrs. Beshears was served at the lunch stand Monday, she said that Mr. and Mrs. Smart thought she was a Latin.

White and Negro Boys Battle at KC Ball Park

Constitution
Wed. 4-25-56
Atlanta, Ga.

KANSAS CITY, April 24 (AP)—A series of fist fights and scuffles broke out between white and Negro high school students leaving Municipal Stadium after today's Detroit - Kansas City baseball game.

Press box observers estimated the number involved at about 300. They said the free-for-all pitted whites against Negroes.

A ball park official said the melee had just about "worn itself out" by the time traffic officers reached the scene. It lasted about 10 minutes. Police headquarters said it did not receive a call for assistance and that no arrests were made.

It could not be learned how the fights got started. More than 8,400 high school students attended the game, classes having been dismissed for the afternoon.

There were reports of several broken noses.

Race Fights Follow Tilt

Herald P. 1
Wed. 4-25-56

KANSAS CITY —(UP)— Scores of fist fights between Negro and white high school youths broke out Tuesday after the Kansas City-Detroit baseball game in Municipal Stadium.

At one time, police said, nearly 1,000 boys of both races were on the playing field "fighting, shoving and milling about."

All the players had left the field and most of the spectators were leaving the stadium when the disturbance started.

One Negro youth and a white boy began fighting, police said and within minutes scores of fights between white and Negro boys broke out on the field.

About 30 ushers rushed onto the field to stop the brawling. However, their efforts were in vain until the arrival of several policemen, who had been directing homeward bound traffic on streets surrounding the huge stadium.

Wrong Way To Integration

Call P. 18

In these days when a smooth transition into integration is the goal of all intelligent citizens of all races, creeds and nationalities, it is unfortunate to see ads such as these appear in the daily press:

Fri. 4-20-56 P. 18

**COLORED IN YOUR BLOCK?
WANT TO SELL AND GET
ALL CASH? FOR PROMPT
APPRAISAL ESTIMATE CALL
BILL WILLIAMS, CH. 1-9663.
CHAS. F. CURRY, REALTORS.**

WOMAN — COLORED: GOOD OLD SOUTHERN MAMMY, CLEAN, RELIABLE: CHRISTIAN HOME AND WAGES: SNAP FOR RIGHT PARTY.

Kansas City, Mo.

Allowing the term "southern mammy" to appear in the advertising columns of a modern newspaper is inexcusable both on the part of the advertiser and of the newspaper itself. The pre-Civil War term has no place in today's world. The term, which goes back to the days of slavery, has an unpleasant connotation. Its use can only stir up feelings of ill will and distrust among groups at a time when they are trying hard to come closer together.

If the person who placed the ad really thought that he could locate a "mammy" in this day and age, the newspaper ad taker should have informed him that he was wasting his money. No self-respecting Negro woman, no matter how badly she might need a job, would answer such an ad as this.

The second ad, it seems to us, calls for a serious investigation by the real estate board into the practices of certain real estate men in the so-called "fringe" areas in which Negro families are purchasing homes. When real estate men, such as the one who placed this ad, encourage white families to flee when a Negro moves in, they are fostering a continuation of segregated neighborhoods and are spreading the ghetto.

It has been suspected all along that the exodus of white families from neighborhoods into which one or two Negro families move was inspired by real estate dealers with their eyes on commissions. This ad furnishes the proof.

We daresay that if it were not for the encouragement, and in some cases, we suspect, insistence, of real estate men, many, many a white family would not consider moving away from its established neighborhood.

The Real Estate Board should not permit such "scare" advertisements as placed in the press by the Curry realtors. In keeping with the spirit of integration, newspapers themselves should discontinue the use of the racial tags "white" and "colored" in real estate and all other ads. So long as we continue to distinguish between "white" and "colored" citizens, we postpone the day when integration will become a reality and democracy a living way of life.

Four Negroes Fired For Allowing White Student In Pool

Call P. 2
Kansas City, Mo.
Fri. 7-13-56

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo. — Five students of Lincoln university have placed the Jefferson City Park board on the spot as a result of action by the supervisor of the community swimming pool last week. A white student purchased a ticket at the swimming pool from another Lincoln student who was in the office.

The white student, Gene Williams, stated that his purpose was to take a shower but he dived into the pool. The supervisor, Leland G. Smith, former principal of Washington elementary school, learned of the incident upon his return and discharged the two young men who were on duty at the time.

Earl Wilson, a Lincoln senior, was charged with selling the ticket and Earl Taylor, a life guard, was charged as his accomplice. Both were discharged. When the matter was brought to the attention of the Commissioner of Parks and Playgrounds, Ben Porter, Williams was also fired. He had been employed during the summer as supervisor of the Community Center playground.

When Donald Webb and Max Culmore, also employed as workers at the swimming pool sided with the three discharged employees, they were fired, but later rehired. Later they resigned, causing the swimming pool to be temporarily closed from lack of life guards.

The students asked for and received a hearing July 6 before the Park Board, and with the mayor of Jefferson City, Arthur Ellis. They are demanding that the city's two swimming pools be opened to all on an integrated basis.

Previously the local branch of the NAACP had demanded that both pools be opened to all, but the board refused to take this step, stating that they would not change present policy without a court order, or one from higher up.

Interestingly enough, when a Negro was sold a ticket to the all white swimming pool, during the supervisor's absence, the person who sold him the ticket was not fired at all.

38a 1956 MISSOURI (TROOP TRAIN)

Military Police Quell Fights On White, Negro Troop Train

Journal Const. 6-2-56 P.1

Atlanta Ga.

CROCKER, Mo., June 2 (AP). City Marshal Clyde Frey said a troop train was halted here Friday night after it was reported that fighting had broken out between white and Negro troops on board.

Frey said military police from nearby Ft. Leonard Wood met the train and restored order. He said 400 soldiers aboard were removed and separated.

Seats on the train were ripped up and cushions were torn during the fighting, Frey reported.

* * *

THE PUBLIC information officer at Ft. Leonard Wood, Col. Fred May, said order apparently was restored after an Air Force officer was sent to Crocker. He said the train carried five carloads of Air Force trainees bound for Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Tex., and was due there this afternoon.

Col. May said Lt. Durwaid W. Caudill, with an Air Force detachment at Ft. Leonard Wood, was sent in a military police car after the fort received word of a disturbance aboard the Frisco Railroad train.

The public information officer said he did not know the cause of the trouble, and that apparently no one was seriously hurt.

May said he knew nothing of reported damage to train seats or cushions.

* * *

MARSHAL FREY said "there was some kind of racial dispute. I don't think anyone was hurt. Trainmen reported some of the men had weapons and that some were drawn.

"It seemed to me that a little liquor was involved. Perhaps it was more that than anything else. And some of the boys probably were away from home for the first time."

A call for military police help, Frey said, was made when the train reached Newburg, in south central Missouri. When the train stopped in Crocker it was unloaded and the men were separated into small groups. The train stopped in Crocker for an hour and a half.

Frey said trainmen told him there were several fist fights and other skirmishes before the Crocker stop.

Frey was unable to estimate the number of Negroes aboard.

Hundreds Sign Negro Manifesto

Answer to Law-Makers Who Defy Supreme Court

Courier 4-7-56

A biting answer to 100 signers of a Southern "manifesto" which openly defies the U. S. Supreme Court's decision on integration has been provided by the endorsers of a "Negro Manifesto."

The "Negro Manifesto" is in essence a pledge guaranteeing the upholding of the second section in the 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. It has received the backing of prominent citizens from coast to coast.

Basically, the document subscribes to the use of all legal methods possible to combat the political mouthpieces of white supremacy; namely, those 100 congressional representatives from Dixie who signed the anti-integration "manifesto."

Typical of the reaction to the "Negro Manifesto" (printed on this page) are the following comments:

BOOKER T. ALEXANDER, Imperial Potentate of the Ancient and Egyptian Arabic Order of the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine (Prince Hall Affiliation):

"I find myself in complete agreement with the manifesto advanced by the Pittsburgh Courier. To take any other position would not be consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the laws of our land. The Southern manifesto strikes at the pillars of American democracy and the eyes of the free world cannot escape the collective danger in that irresponsible and outrageous document."

DR. W. J. FITZPATRICK, Sovereign Grand Commander of the National Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite Masons:

"I am always happy to be counted among those who love and endeavor to uphold the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, whomsoever. In my opinion implementation of section two of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution is one of the surest ways to guarantee liberty and justice for all. It is in the light of these convictions that I give my endorsement to the manifesto prestnted by the Pittsburgh Courier."

Mr. Alexander

Dr. Fitzpatrick

REV. LEON H. SULLIVAN, pastor of Zion Baptist Church, Philadelphia, and named one of "Ten outstanding men of America" by the National Junior Chamber of Commerce:

"The Courier's demand that section two of the 14th Amendment be implemented is something which has my complete support. It is high time that the members of Congress took stock of their members and refused to seat those whose moral character is suspect."

Rev. Sullivan

R. P. Alexander

RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER, member of City Council, Philadelphia:

"I wholeheartedly concur with the Courier's pledge to see that congressional representation is apportioned according to eligible voters instead of total population. Congress must declare that any disenfranchisement of eligible voters by fraud, oppression, and threats of violence, such as is taking place in the Southern states, would be cause to deny such elected representatives their seats. Thus, two possible situations would arise. In a state such as Mississippi, with six members of the House elected on the basis of total adult population but elected by only 50 per cent of the eligible votes, the representation would be cut to three. Or if no oppression or threats of violence existed, and all citizens of that state, including the Negro, were given the right to vote the benefits to our people would prove immeasurable."

MRS. HELEN BOYD HOWARD (wife of Dr. T. R. M. Howard, formerly of Mound Bayou, Miss. and now living in Los Angeles):

"I believe that the Courier's idea of pointing out to the nation the Second Section of the 14th Amendment is important. At present, Mississippi's representation in Congress is based on its total adult population . . . and since hundreds of Negroes are denied the right . . . I believe with my husband that the State's representation in Congress should be reduced unless Negroes are given their justly due rights to the ballot."

Mrs. Howard

Dr. George

DR. ZELMA WATSON GEORGE of Cleveland, Ohio:

"Several millions of people, white and black, 21 years of age or more, possessed of sound mind and free from any criminal records, citizens of the United States and of the particular states wherein they reside, and therefore qualified voters . . . have been denied the ballot . . . its responsibilities and its advantages. This disfranchisement has converted a numerical white minority into a majority which has sent to Congress many representatives and has left millions of Negroes either unrepresented or misrepresented."

The Negro Manifesto

Courier 4-4 38a

THREE WEEKS AGO, 100 Southern Senators and Representatives signed and issued a Manifesto which, in essence, defied the Supreme Court and in which they pledged themselves to use all legal means to avoid compliance with the Segregation Decision. They averred that they were basing their obstinacy on the Federal Constitution which, they allege, they love.

We Negroes also love the Constitution—all of it. We pledge ourselves to work to uphold the laws and constitutions of ALL the forty-eight states, insofar as they do not violate the Federal Constitution, and to stand staunchly behind the Federal Constitution and the laws of the United States.

Pittsburgh Pa.

While Southern Senators are concerned about the Supreme Court and the Segregation Decision, we confess to great uneasiness about the Second Section of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution — about which there has been no DECISION and no ACTION. This section is entitled: Apportionment of Representatives in Congress. It reads:

Sat. 4-7-56

"2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the WHOLE NUMBER of persons in each state excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being 21 years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the BASIS FOR REPRESENTATION THEREIN SHALL BE REDUCED IN THE PROPORTION WHICH THE NUMBER OF SUCH MALE CITIZENS SHALL BEAR TO THE WHOLE NUMBER OF MALE CITIZENS 21 YEARS OF AGE IN SUCH STATE."

We pledge ourselves to use all legal means to see that this section of the Constitution (the whole of which we love) is implemented and that there shall be no longer prevail an iniquitous situation in which hundreds of thousands of American citizens are denied the right to vote, or have their right abridged, in many states below the Mason and Dixon line. We pledge ourselves to use all the legal and moral power we have to oust members of Congress who sit there illegally because other citizens are denied the right to vote. This is OUR Manifesto.

Issues Order In Bias Case

Defender P. 1
Chicago, Ill.

OMAHA 2 (INS) — District Judge James M. Patton has signed a show cause order against the Omaha city prosecutor and the acting city attorney in connection with a discrimination complaint filed by a Chicago Negro.

The case involves refusal of the Omaha American Legion Club to rent a room to Alexander H. Gordon, last June when Gordon came to Omaha to attend the general council of Congregational Churches.

Sat 9-15-56

Gordon filed a discrimination complaint after the incident, but city prosecutor Charles A. Fryzek refused to prosecute, contending that the Legion club was a private club.

Attorneys for Gordon contend, however, that the legion club is licensed under Nebraska's Public Hotel Law and should be regarded as such.

38a 1956

NEW JERSEY

MANIFESTO

LAW PROFESSOR BACKS MANIFESTO

Times P. 87-L

Princeton Authority on the Constitution Asserts There Is 'Room for Discussion'

Sun. 3-18-56

Special to The New York Times.

PRINCETON, N. J., March 17—Dr. Alpheus T. Mason, Professor of Jurisprudence at Princeton University and an authority on constitutional interpretation, has praised the Southern manifesto presented in both houses of Congress Monday.

New York, N.Y.

The statement signed by nineteen Senators and eighty-one Representatives pledged support for moves to counteract by "all lawful means" the integration decisions made by the Supreme Court. Professor Mason called the manifesto "a good thing." He added:

"At the very least it is calculated to give the court and the country pause."

Professor Mason expressed the opinion that "the people are entitled to know that the issue isn't black and white—there is much room for argument and discussion here. This statement is something that needed to be made, and it has been made in a dignified and effective way, I feel."

The author of a number of books on law and the Constitution, Dr. Mason has since 1947 held the McCormick Professorship of Jurisprudence at Princeton. The McCormick professorship was first held by Woodrow Wilson from 1898 to 1910.

Dr. Mason was graduated from Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pa., and did his graduate work at Princeton. He was born in Snow Hill, Md., 18 miles below Salisbury, in the southeastern part of the state, on Sept. 18, 1899.

Mason Cites Two Points

Professor Mason pointed out that the manifesto "attacks the Supreme Court at the point where it is most vulnerable." He cited two points wherein the court's recent decisions concerning segregation in public schools might be considered unwarranted:

"First, rather than rely on available judicial precedents, the court invoked two of the flimsi-

est of all our disciplines—sociology and psychology—as the basis of its decision.

"Secondly, the court in connection with the matter of implementing the decision, suggested the formula of 'deliberate speed.' Hindsight indicates that the court itself might better have followed that very formula and thus avoided the precipitation of a very explosive issue."

Because of these two points, Professor Mason said he felt the integration decisions could have been much more firmly founded.

Racial slurs cost Jersey judge's job

Afro-American P. 5 Sat, 1-28-56 Baltimore, Md.

NEWARK N. J. — A Superior Court judge who recently made uncomplimentary remarks about Puerto Ricans has been removed for "intemperance in his judicial conduct."

Gov. Robert B. Meyner, in a drastic move, unseated Judge Frank T. Lloyd Jr. who made the alleged slurring remarks at hearing before the Monmouth County grand jury. According to Meyner, Judge Lloyd said:

* * *

"WE LOOK at slums and I have always felt that slums were the result of people. Unfortunately, there are certain classes of people — particularly those imported from Puerto Rico — one of the filthiest places I have ever been.

"The people live in hovels and they live together exactly in the same state as you have mentioned here. In some cases it is even worse. They have never been educated differently."

* * *

GOVERNOR MEYNER asserted that Judge Lloyd had been sitting on the bench illegally since September and added that it is now up to the courts to decide the validity of each of the decisions he has handed down.

Judge Lloyd, who had served on the old Circuit Court, was elevated to the Superior Court bench by former Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll Sept. 15, 1948. He was assigned to Camden and Monmouth Counties.

The ousted jurist was presiding at a trial in Freehold at 2:30 p.m. Tuesday when Governor Meyner ordered his name stricken from the state payroll. He drew a $20,000-a-year salary but is not entitled to a pension.

* * *

IN HIS removal order, Governor Meyner cited a taxpayers petition to Judge Lloyd requesting an investigation of municipal affairs in Delaware Township, his handling of which was criticized sharply by the chief justice of the State Supreme Court.

In describing Judge Lloyd's handling of that petition, Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt said: "The proceedings here followed partook of the nature of an inquisition and had the natural tendency to intimidate citizens and seriously hamper the good intended by these statutory proceedings."

* * *

THE GOVERNOR denounced the remarks and said that Puerto Ricans are "American citizens and have as much right to be in California or New Jersey as in Puerto Rico."

SOUTH AFRICA SURPRISES

CAPETOWN, South Africa — (ANP) — The South African government took the unprecedented step Sunday of formally welcoming the establishment of a black-controlled state in Africa. Good wishes were sent to the new Sudanese Republic, whose formation has just been announced.

Racial Count Holds Tavern Operator

Filipino Star Washington, D.C. 8-18-56

MIDDLETOWN, N. J., Aug. 10 (AP).—Mrs. Eva Barkei, a white woman who operates a tavern, is free on $500 bail on a discrimination charge for allegedly ordering a Negro woman to leave her establishment.

Magistrate W. Gilbert Manson Wednesday held Mrs. Barkei for action by the grand jury on a charge brought by Mrs. Edith Marshall of Belleville.

P. 6-A

The Negro woman testified Mrs. Barkei ordered her out of Herman's Bar & Grill on Rt. 35 on June 30 after she had taken her two children into the travern to use the restroom.

Mrs. Marshall said that at the time she was with a party on a chartered bus en route to the Veterans of Foreign Wars encampment in Asbury Park.

Mrs. Barkei, who with her husband, Herman, operates the tavern, was found not guilty of a charge of assault brought by another Negro woman, Mrs. Sarah Claiborne, of Bloomfield.

Mrs. Claiborne, also a passenger in the bus, contended Mrs. Barkei pushed her.

Skate club stops bias by consent

Afro-American Sat, 12-15-56 Baltimore, Md.

TRENTON, N.J. — Nicholas Mekosh, owner of the Skateland Skating Club in Camden agreed last week to discontinue the practice of limiting use of the club to whites only. P. 6

A hearing on the complaint of E. James Tolliver of Camden, scheduled for Nov. 26 before the Division Against Discrimination, was cancelled.

Prior to the hearing, Mekosh agreed to and signed a Consent Order issued by Dr. Frederick M. Raubinger, commissioner of education.

* * *

TOLLIVER had charged that he was refused admittance to the Skating Club through the old dodge of a membership card requirement.

Dr. John P. Milligan, assistant commissioner of education in charge of the DAD, said Mekosh did not deny that he barred colored patrons.

He argued that he had a right to do so because the skating club was operated on the private membership basis.

On the advice of his counsel, the club owner waived the public hearing and signed the Consent Order, which directs him "to cease and desist" from his discriminatory practices.

Who Changed the Lock on the Door?

Courier Sat. 10-27-56

State Dept. 'Tourist' Is Denied Gotham Apt.

Pittsburgh Pa. P. 2

NEW YORK CITY—A young Negro concert pianist recently returned from a State Department-sponsored tour of Europe and the Middle East, playing and lecturing on American democracy, charged discrimination against a Park Ave. apartment house.

Robert Pritchard, with a friend, Regis Benoit, who is white, said they decided to rent the $165-a-month unit at 926 Park Ave., as co-tenants last summer prior to Pritchard's leaving on a tour.

Pritchard said he paid a deposit on the apartment, accepted door-keys, signed a lease and obtained telephone and utility service.

Pritchard said when he went to the Pat Palmer Rental Agency to sign his part of the lease, Miss Palmer turned pale. He said Miss Palmer told him he could not play his piano in the apartment (to which he said he agreed) and told him he needed a regular checking account instead of a special one.

Finally, he said she agreed to let him sign the lease. Afterwards, he said he found the lock had been changed on the apartment when he tried to send more furniture there.

Churchman Hits City's Segregation

Herald Tribune

Calls It Worse Than in South

P. 10

The Rev. Leland B. Henry, executive director of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York, said yesterday that "there is more rigid segregation in New York than in many a Southern city."

In dealing with the situation, he said, the city has made "scarcely a dent" in removing discrimination from private housing. "And this results not only in appalling overcrowding in the homes, but in a de facto segregation in the schools," he added, referring to recent studies which show that in some neighborhoods Negroes account for 90 per cent or more of school enrollments.

Installation at St. John's

Mr. Henry spoke at the installation of the Rev. John W. Turnbull as canon precentor of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

He pointed to a correlation between bad housing and juvenile delinquency and stressed that youth crimes are increasing in number and seriousness. New York, he said, "is a great city in the complexity of its problems. It is a great city in the organized good will of its people." But nevertheless, Mr. Henry said, "Gang warfare . . . has become a normal way of life for thousands of boys and girls."

Bishop Donegan Installs

Mr. Turnbull will come into contact with these problems in his new position. As canon precentor he will take part in the cathedral's civic and community activities as well as maintain liaison with the St. John's "Friends" organization, an international group interested in the cathedral.

The new canon is a graduate of Yale Divinity School and received the Master of Sacred Theology degree from Virginia Theological Seminary this year. He has been a study secretary for the World Council of Churches at its offices in Geneva, Switzerland.

Mr. Turnbull was presented for installation at the Evensong services in St. John's by the Very Rev. James A. Pike, dean of the cathedral. He was installed by the Right Rev. Horace W. B. Donegan, Bishop of New York.

FIGHT ON BIAS URGED ON A 'LOCAL' LEVEL

Herald Tribune 10-31-56

New York

Acceptance of minority groups exists throughout the city, but the goodwill must be channeled, a group of community leaders was told yesterday.

John K. Stearns, educational field representative of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, addressed a committee of the National Conference of Christians and Jews pondering the problem of "transition neighborhoods."

In many cases, Mr. Stearns said, resistance to newcomers is not the problem. He declared that goodwill existed on both sides, but that there was a good deal of perplexity about how to go about making friends.

George K. Hunton, executive secretary of the Catholic Interracial Council, urged understanding at the neighborhood level.

Joseph Monserrat, director of the New York office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, declared that the core of all standard metropolitan areas was gradually becoming non-white, with the white population moving to surrounding areas.

The panel session was held at the Building for Brotherhood, 42 West Fifty-seventh Street.

Amazing Church Misinformation

Courier P. 9

Pittsburgh, Pa.

An amazing disservice to the cause of equal rights was done recently by, of all people, the Rev. Leland B. Henry, executive director of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the New York Protestant Diocese, who told a Cathedral audience that "there is more rigid segregation in New York than in many a Southern city."

This erroneous statement hit every daily newspaper in the nation, especially in the South, although a complete falsehood.

Sat. 11-10-56

There are more than 30 laws in New York State not only barring discrimination because of color or creed in all places of public accommodation and entertainment, in public housing, in schools and colleges, in transportation, in employment (by unions, employers and agencies), etc., but also providing stiff penalties.

Not only was New York the first state to pass an FEP law but its State Commission Against Discrimination can even initiate cases without charges being made by an aggrieved party.

It is astonishing that a high Protestant Episcopal official living in New York City is ignorant on this score, and shows how much more education is necessary.

Funds Needed to Fight Discrimination

Herald Tribune P.8

TO the N. Y. Herald Tribune:

The Legislature just adjourned has notable achievements to its credit. Among them is the completion of a comprehensive body of law granting to the State Commission Against Discrimination (SCAD) authority to prohibit discrimination in the rental or sale of all types of government-assisted housing.

During the closing days of the legislative session a good deal of heated discussion was generated over Gov. Harriman's request that SCAD be granted additional funds for professional staff to implement its important new housing responsibility. Unhappily the discussions developed an *ad hominem* orientation. The clear need was obscured by a continuing exchange of political brickbats.

* * *

In addition to making an unwarranted personal attack upon SCAD's distinguished chairman, Commissioner Charles Abrams, Republican legislative leaders frequently expressed the view during debate that SCAD did not need the budget funds because there was no discrimination in New York State.

The facts are well known. Simply stated, there is discrimination in our state. Qualified workers and qualified tenants who are members of minority groups do suffer discriminatory treatment.

This is not to say that the situation is either hopeless or bad. It is neither. Progress in employment and housing has been steady and rapid.

It is to say that there is still a job to be done, that a gap still exists between our stated public policy and the realities of life in New York State, although the gap has been narrowing rapidly during the past decade.

* * *

New Yorkers can be proud of the high public policy which the Legislature has set in the field of non-discrimination in housing. The three Metcalf-Baker laws passed during the last two sessions of the Legislature comprise a body of civil rights legislation which places New York far in the forefront of efforts across our country to improve the condition of minority citizens.

Only a few years ago, our New York State laws prohibited discrimination only in public housing. No state agency was given responsibility for implementing the law. No enforcement machinery of any kind was provided. Each aggrieved individual was required to commence and finance his own legal action.

* * *

Today, SCAD is vested with supervision over non-discrimination legislation covering not only all public housing and limited-income housing, but also covering the vast range of government - assisted middle - income housing. Included are all slum clearance and redevelopment projects constructed under the much discussed provisions of Title I of the Housing Act of 1949, as well as all other rental and co-operative apartment projects built with Federal Housing Administration financing assistance since 1955, and finally, virtually all of the new single-family homes which will be built in the suburbs with F. H. A. or Veterans Administration assistance.

Simply stated, a large portion, if not a preponderance, of all new housing built in the future in New York State will be covered by non - discrimination legislation.

That this vast body of social engineering legislation was passed without a dissenting vote in either house of the Legislature in a few short years, was an example of legislative courage and leadership for which both parties may congratulate themselves.

How we choose to implement this new and pioneering fabric of laws is of the utmost importance. New Yorkers have never chosen extremism or emotionalism on either side as the path to progress in our race relations. New York State is a leader in the field of intergroup relations because we have had the patience and wisdom to employ the best available community-relations techniques in a calm, considered, and workmanlike fashion.

* * *

We will fail to meet the leadership challenge implicit in the law if SCAD's activities in supervising housing under its jurisdiction is confined to processing a tangled proliferation of verified complaints and adjudicating the resulting enforcement actions.

To the extent that SCAD, by means of a positive and constructive program, can encourage voluntary compliance with the terms of the law by studiously separating fact from emotion, by informal and off - the - record conferences with housing-project developers, by the give-and-take of joint study, analysis and persuasion, to that extent we will have met the true purposes of the law.

* * *

Such a positive program demands funds for a well-qualified professional staff. Surely our legislative leaders will rise to the level of civil-rights statesmanship of which on the record they are clearly capable, and provide SCAD with urgently needed funds at the next session of the New York State Legislature. The citizens of the state will, I believe, expect and urge such action.

JAMES H. SCHEUER,
Chairman, Housing Advisory Council, New York State Commission Against Discrimination.

New York, March 28, 1956.

ANTI-BIAS OFFICER ASSAILED BY HECK

Times P.15-C

Speaker Calls Him 'Zealot, Not Balanced' — Abrams Charges Cutting of Staff

Mon. 4-30-56 New York N.Y.

Speaker Oswald D. Heck of the State Assembly charged yesterday that Charles Abrams was "unfit" to head the State Commission Against Discrimination.

The Schenectady Republican, an influential leader of his party in the state, said of the chairman of the commission: "He's too much of a zealot; he isn't balanced in such a sensitive job."

Mr. Abrams, informed of Mr. Heck's charge, accused Republicans of "paying lip service" to sympathy for minorities while "whittling away" the commission's staff.

Mr. Heck made his charge in an interview on the televised Citizens Union "Searchlight" program over WRCA-TV. He also declared himself "an active candidate" for Governor in 1958. He said that, while Republican leaders had considered ending all state rent controls, he did not think "the time is quite ripe" for their removal.

Asked about Mr. Abrams' contention that the Legislature had hampered his agency's fight against racial and religious bias by cutting its budget, Mr. Heck said the Republican-controlled Legislature had "increased his appropriations to the tune of $12,000" this year. He also denied that the agency's personnel had been reduced.

He said that "what annoyed" Mr. Abrams was the Legislature's refusal to grant his request for authority to initiate action in discrimination cases. The commission now may act only on complaints.

"Why Mr. Abrams wants this [authority] I don't know," Mr. Heck went on. "Of course, he would like to build up his organization. But what incensed me against Mr. Abrams is this: I think first of all he's unfit personally to hold that kind of job."

As an example, he cited Mr. Abrams' fight for rent control last year while he was serving as State Rent Administrator. Mr. Heck said:

"When we didn't continue the rent laws in some of the upstate districts he made a real howl because he saw some of his patronage powers waning.

"He went through all the upstate cities and tried to arouse citizens' councils and organizations to try to put pressure on members of the Legislature to re-establish rent controls."

He said he "resented" an attempt to arouse "our people against their own representatives."

Asked if he favored the removal of Mr. Abrams by the Governor, Mr. Heck replied: "I wouldn't say that. I don't want to go * * *."

A chorus of question interrupted him and the sentence was not completed.

Informed of Mr. Heck's assertions, Mr. Abrams said the $12,000 increase in funds for his agency was only "a bookkeeping change." In a statement he said:

Anti-Discrimination Group Maps '57 Goals

World Telegram and Sun Mon. 12-3-56

Representatives of 38 agencies in the field of race relations met today with officials of the State Commission Against Discrimination to survey the past year's gains and pinpoint 1957's objectives.

Meeting in the commission's city headquarters at 270 Broadway, the delegates to the annual SCAD conference — its first public one—cited public and private housing as "the most important area of concern" in next year's anti-discrimination battle.

New York N.Y.

According to a SCAD report, complaints of discrimination in housing (FHA and Veterans Administration - aided, as well as private) amounted to a fourth of the agency's total complaints since last July. "This area," the report said, "will constitute one of the commission's main burdens" during 1957.

P.11

The commission, gauging public support on an increased number of complaints, reported 495 complaints were received during the first ten months this year compared with only 229 complaints over the same period in 1948. During the 1948-56 period, SCAD said, the state's non-white population increased 200,000 and the Puerto Rican population rose by more than 550,000.

50% More Asked for Bias Fight

Herald Tribune Tues. 3-6-56

New York, N. Y.

17 Groups Urge State Unit Fund

A demand for a 50 per cent increase in appropriations for the State Commission Against Discrimination was issued yesterday by a group of seventeen New York organizations following a two-hour conference at Freedom House, 20 W. 40th St.

The increase is needed, it was explained, to expand the work of the commission to cover transportation employees, with special attention to air lines, and to public-financed housing projects.

The group expressed concern over a legislative proposal to lop $38,000 from the commission's proposed 1956-'57 budget. It announced that efforts would be made to persuade legislative budgetary officials to restore the cut and to add a supplementary budget request of $186,000 —making a total increase of $224,000 to the 1955-'56 budget of $428,863. Gov. Harriman has proposed a budget of $486,245 for the commission next year.

Other organizations represented were Americans for Democratic Action, American Jewish Congress, New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, Common Council for American Unity, B'nai B'rith, Council of Spanish-American Organizations, Episcopal Diocese of New York, Ethical Culture Society of New York, Jewish Labor Committee, Liberal party, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing, United Neighborhood Houses, Protestant Council of New York and the Urban League of West-

'Attack on SCAD head incredible'

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. May 12 '56

NEW YORK — Charges by Speaker Oswald D. Heck of the New York State Assembly that Charles Abrams is "unfit" to head the State Commission Against Discrimination because "he's too much of a zealot," were called "incredible" by Roy Wilkins.

Mr. Heck's attack upon the SCAD chairman was made in a television interview on April 29. It followed rejection by the State Legislature of Mr. Abrams' request for enlarged authority and a bigger budget for investigations.

"In view of the demonstrable need for a more active campaign against racial and religious bigotry," Mr. Wilkins wrote Mr. Heck that "your charge is incredible."

HE CITED recent articles published in two leading New York dailies indicating "the extent of racial discrimination still to be found in New York City and State."

Wilkins expressed fear that Speaker Heck's remarks may "be used by avowed enemies of civil rights to slow down our state's steady progress toward equal rights for all citizens."

He asked that in a future legislature the assemblyman "reconsider your present position and vote to strengthen the agency established to eradicate discimination on account of race, religion or national origin."

THE NAACP, Wilkins pointed out, "completely endorses the Abrams proposals and hopes that they will be adopted by a future legislature."

Civil rights, he said, are regarded by the NAACP as a nonpartisan issue for which the support of Republicans, Democrats and Liberals alike is sought.

It is a "far too important" issue to be "subjected to any measure of partisanship," Mr. Wilkins added.

Bias Fight Defended By Abrams

Herald Tribune 5-1

New York

Answers Heck's 'Zealot' Charge

Wed. 5-1-56

The state's anti-discrimination legislation has never been popular with upstate Republican leaders because they fear its enforcement will encourage the migration of minority groups to upstate areas and upset the state's political balance, Charles Abrams, chairman of the State Commission Against Discrimination, charged yesterday.

This attitude, Mr. Abrams said, was reflected in the statement Sunday by Assembly Speaker Oswald D. Heck, R. Schenectady, that Mr. Abrams is "unfit" for his job because he is too much of a zealot."

"Political Football"

By making a political football" of the commission's work, Mr. Abrams said at a press conference, "Mr. Heck's statement may set back the work of the commission and the whole national effort to advance progress in employment and housing." He called the Speaker's statement "irresponsible, politically charged and reprehensible," and said: "It will give comfort to those who have always opposed the commission and its work and to whom the thought of racial equality is anathema."

Mr. Heck's statement about Mr. Abrams was made Sunday on the WRCA-TV program, "Citizens Union Searchlight," in response to questions about the Legislature's $38,000 cut in the $486,245 proposed by Gov. Harriman for the commission this year.

The budget fight in the Legislature centered around the Governor's request that the commission be given the power and the money to initiate complaints where it discovers instances of discrimination. Mr. Heck said Sunday he believed such power should remain with the Attorney General's office.

Cites Other Agencies

Mr. Abrams countered yesterday that the Attorney General has not yet filed one such complaint and that a number of state agencies now have the power to initiate complaints. He named the Alcoholic Beverage Control Division, the Department of Agriculture and Markets, the Insurance Department and the Banking and Public Service Commissions.

A former State Rent Commissioner who was appointed to his present post Dec. 16, Mr. Abrams said a serious aspect of Mr. Heck's attack may be that it will destroy the atmosphere of unanimity and co-operation he has been trying to create in the five-man Commission Against Discrimination. The other four commissioners, he pointed out, were appointed by former Gov. Dewey.

Up to Commission

"Under the law," Mr. Abrams said, "the commission, not the chairman, makes policy. So far all five members have been unanimous in approving Gov. Harriman's requests for legislation authorizing the commission to initiate investigations and restrain discrimination where it finds it to exist. It also approved unanimously the $186,010 budget request in addition to the $35,440 request approved before my appointment, both of which the Legislature emasculated almost in toto."

At Albany yesterday, Gov. Harriman announced that Mr. Abrams will go to Puerto Rico in June during his vacation to advise the government on financing methods for low-income rural housing. Mr. Abrams, a housing expert who has headed a number of United Nations missions in this field, said yesterday he felt an improvement in Puerto Rican housing conditions will have a bearing on the migration from that country and thus affect New York.

Negro Losing Real Problems, Says Abrams

Journal & Courier Lafayette, La. 5-20-56

SYRACUSE, N. Y., May 19 (AP)— Charles Abrams, chairman of the State Commission Against Discrimination, said Saturday the Negroes' real problems have been lost in the contest over legal and political aspects of the desegregation problem.

Abrams said, "The Negro's problem has been subordinated or cast into the background. The Negro's adjustment to his new surroundings, his job, his housing problem, status and his family life have all been forgotten in the contest over legal and political issues," Abrams said.

Abrams told the state conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that the Negro problem has ceased to be a Southern issue because "today more than one-third of the country's Negroes live outside the South."

BIAS COMPLAINTS IN STATE INCREASE

Times 5-23-56

New York

Minority Groups Are More Conscious of Protections, Abrams Report Says

Times 5-2-56

The State Commission Against Discrimination received almost as many complaints in the first half of 1956 as in all of 1955, according to Charles Abrams, chairman of the commission.

He said yesterday, however, that the increase did not necessarily mean a rise in prejudice or discrimination. He noted that the minority population subject to discrimination had grown and had become more conscious of its legal protections.

Commissioner Abrams' semi-annual report showed that in the first six months this year there had been 332 verified complaints. In all of last year there were 398. In the first half of 1953 there were 137, in the first half of 1954 a total of 174, and in the first half of 1955 a total of 240.

Three hundred thirteen complaints involved discrimination in employment, nineteen in places of public accommodation.

Ninety-two per cent of the complaints were filed in New York City. Sixty-eight per cent were lodged against employers, 22 per cent against labor unions, 6 per cent against public accommodations and 4 per cent against employment agencies.

Commissioner Abrams said a marked improvement in the attitude of employers had been noted in conferences. Important gains in minority employment and upgrading of minority labor, he added, were shown in communications, breweries, banks, retail trades and railroads.

Warning against over-optimism, Mr. Abrams predicted it would be many years before democratic hiring practices could be expected throughout the state. There are many industries, he said, in which discrimination continues in hiring and upgrading.

The small number of complaints upstate, he went on, is less an indication of democratic hiring than a relative scarcity of minority groups there.

Mr. Abrams said there had been a shift in the basis of complaints from color to national origin. In the previous eleven-years of the commission, he added, the normal complaint load was overwhelmingly based on color. This year, however, the number of complaints based on national origin has been substantially larger than the number based on color.

The change was attributed largely to the fact that two large groups of Puerto Ricans had filed complaints this year. One group charged that the members were getting less pay for harder work on the waterfront. The other alleged discrimination in working conditions.

DRIVE TO END BIAS URGED

Harriman Calls for Stronger Effort by All Citizens

Special to The New York Times.

ALBANY, Jan. 23—Governor Harriman called today for stronger citizen efforts to eliminate discrimination in the state and the nation.

Speaking to 150 foreign-born New York residents now taking Americanization classes, the Governor declared that "we have not fully attained the objectives of the Declaration of Independence, for discrimination still exists in the United States and even in the great State of New York."

Mr. Harriman said New York had made larger strides than some other states in wiping out discrimination in employment, education and housing.

The Americanization students were representatives of more than 70,000 taking such courses in the state. They were participating in a two-day tour of Albany co-sponsored by the State Education Department and local service and civic organizations.

STATE SEEKS HELP IN COMBATING BIAS

Abrams Asks Legislature to Grant Wider Power to Ban Housing, Job Prejudice

Special to The New York Times.

ALBANY, Feb. 9—The State Commission Against Discrimination asked the Legislature today for broader powers to combat racial and religious prejudice in housing and employment.

Charles Abrams, who was appointed chairman of the commission last fall, declared that New York "lags behind" other Northern states in fighting discrimination. He said it should try to regain its leadership.

He announced that the five-member commission had unanimously recommended passage of two Harriman Administration bills pending before the Legislature.

One would empower the commission to make complaints on its own initiative against violators of the present anti-discrimination laws. These forbid prejudice in employment practices, public accommodation services and housing built with state or local aid.

The other bill would broaden the barrier to discrimination in housing to include projects built with assistance from the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration.

Mr. Abrams said the commission's lack of power to initiate complaints hamstrung its efforts to enter cases where discrimination was not confined to an individual. These cases include employment advertising, 'Caucasian clauses" in union by-laws and segregation of work benches or washrooms.

In housing projects, he continued, renting policies may clearly exclude a minority group, but the law is difficult to enforce once a project has been completed and fully occupied. There the commission should have power to prevent discrimination without waiting for a complaint, he said.

As to the second bill, Mr. Abrams said the cost of legal action had prevented persons banned from federally assisted housing from bringing complaints in the courts. Therefore, he contended, the commission should be authorized to consider such actions.

Journal + Guide Sat. 2-4-56 P. 11 Norfolk, Va.

MOVING DAY The Coca-Cola vending machine in the Upper Manhattan Medical center in New York is removed as Dr. Richard E. Carey, far right, medical administrator, and Dr. Arthur Logan, assistant administrator, look on.

The machine ordered out following reports that a Coca-Cola distributor in South Carolina is spearheading the White Citizens Councils boycott of Negro citizens who signed petitions asking local school boards to desegregate the schools. The Upper Manhattan Medical Group, located at 1865 Amsterdam avenue, is composed of some of New York's leading physicians, surgeons and specialists.

20 GROUPS FIGHT CUT IN BIAS FUNDS

Times p. 25-C

$672,255 for State Unit on Discrimination, a Rise of 50 Per Cent, Is Asked

Tues. 3-6-56
New York

Representatives of twenty organizations joined yesterday to protest cuts made by Republican-controlled fiscal committees of the Legislature in funds to fight racial and religious discrimination.

They said they would seek a legislative hearing in Albany to denounce the reductions in Governor Harriman's budget as "nothing less than shocking" and to charge that the cuts threatened to make the State Commission Against Discrimination "impotent."

The groups included civic, social, religious, political and labor organizations. They said it was "absolutely necessary" to grant the commission's request for $186,010 more in the state's supplemental budget.

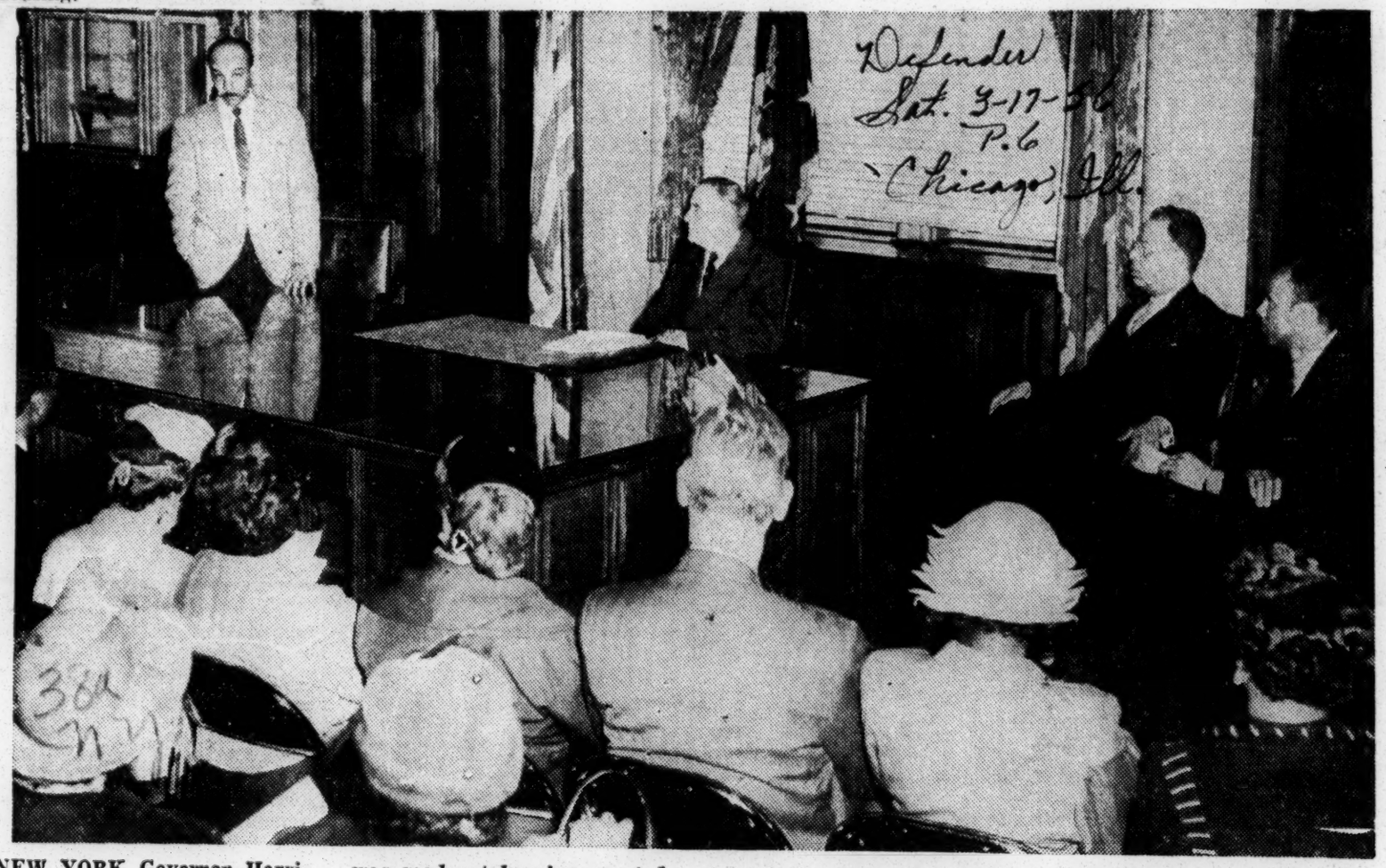
After a two-hour meeting at Freedom House, 20 West Fortieth Street, spokesmen for the various organizations represented made the following arguments:

The work of the commission has been increased. Salary increases mandated for personnel by state law and higher living costs have not been accompanied by proportionate increase in commission funds. An intensified effort to eliminate bias, to permit more emphasis on prevention of discrimination rather than punitive action, to create a new research department and to permit a campaign against discrimination in employment on airline and other forms of transportation justify larger appropriations.

The commission received $448,863 for operations in the 1955-56 fiscal year and asked for $486,245 for 1956-57. Restoration of the $38.122 cut and approval of the supplemental budget funds requested would bring the total for next year to $672,255, or about 50 per cent more than the current year's appropriation.

The spokesmen contended that the commission's current budget authorized a staff of sixty-six, whereas in the 1948-49 fiscal year, when the commission faced less work, its budget permitted a staff of eighty-one. Its new requests would permit the hiring of thirty-one more persons.

Co-chairmen of the groups that met were Edward S. Lewis, executive director of the Urban League of Greater New York, and Algernon D. Black, chairman of the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing.



Defender
Sat. 3-17-56
P. 6
Chicago, Ill.

NEW YORK Governor Harriman (seated center) hears plea for increased enforcement of New York State anti-discrimination law. This photo was made at hearing granted by Governor Harriman in the executive chamber of the State Capitol, Albany. Paget Alves (standing left) housing director of the Urban League of New York, presents arguments of an interracial group in favor of the Metcalf-Baker bills to enlarge the authority of the State Commission Against Discrimination. Seated nearest Governor Harriman is Assemblyman Bertram L. Baker, co-sponsor of the bills.

Carry On Against Discrimination

Herald Tribune
Mar. 28
New York City

In cutting Governor Harriman's budget the Legislature performed a disservice by slashing the request of the State Commission Against Discrimination. At first glance the reduction of $38,122 from the requested $486,245 may not seem large, but it must be remembered that the commission is faced by increasing work load and additional jurisdictional responsibilities. This cutback would have the effect of virtually eliminating the housing division's staff and leaving only half of the funds needed for educational programs.

The record of the SCAD, established in 1945, has been a fine one. New York, the first to set up an organization of this kind, has made much progress in obtaining equal treatment for all minorities in employment, housing, public accommodations and so on. It is worth repeating that the old barriers were broken down by education and consultation. But no one can say that the strugggle against every form of discrimination has been finally won. Certainly there are big problems to be faced, such as the mass migrations from the Southern states and Puerto Rico, the relocation of minority families displaced by slum clearance, new trends in industry and the limitations on upgrading of workers according to merit. Furthermore, race relations have clearly become a challenging national situation. More attention must be paid, not less.

The New York commission, under Chairman Charles Abrams, is acutely aware of the need for an expanded program. In addition to the regular budget, it has supplemental requests of $186,010. These would establish a division of research and statistics, increase the law and investigation personnel, provide an adequate housing staff, swell the education program, and set up additional field offices. Considering all the increasing demands on SCAD, these fiscal requests are extremely modest.

Despite the adjournment rush, the Legislature should take second thought and give the commission the funds it needs to do a good job. That means reinstating the budget cuts and also granting the supplementary money. Surely New York, with its long and admirable performance on preventing and rooting out discrimination, cannot slow up now.

Whites, Negroes bat...

Teens riot in night of terror

Erie boat is scene of strife

BUFFALO, N. Y., May 31 —(AP)—Rioting among Negro and white teen-agers turned a holiday outing into a voyage of terror for passengers aboard an amusement park ship on Lake Erie last night. Scores of persons were injured in the battle of knives and fists.

What provoked the outbreak remained a mystery today.

POLICE ARRESTED eight Negroes and four whites, ranging in age from 15 to 22. All were Americans.

The disturbance began at the Crystal Beach Amusement Park in Ontario, Canada, and grew worse aboard the boat, the Canadiana. Reporters on the crowded boat described the 15-mile trip to Buffalo as "a nightmare of flashing knives and sobbing, frightened passengers."

There was no indication this morning of what action might be taken to prevent a repetiton of the incident. Attorneys for the Crystal Beach Transit Co., Inc., operator of the boat, said they would consult with the U. S. attorney here on the question of police jurisdiction over such vessels.

The only police aboard the boat last night were three employes of the transit company. Buffalo and Ontario provincial police have been barred from the boat by an international agreement.

Cpl. J. S. Legate of the Ontario police told reporters last night's disorders were "strictly racial."

But F. L. Hall, general manager of the amusement park, said the disturbance there was "not a race riot."

SIX PERSONS were treated for injuries at hospitals in Buffalo and Ft. Erie, Ont., and at least 10 others were treated for minor injuries at a first aid station at the park.

Provincial police arrested nine Buffalo youths at the beach. Five were Negroes and four were whites.

The Negro youths were charged with unlawful assembly and the whites with creating a disturbance. All were released under $500 bail each.

BUFFALO AUTHORITIES took three Negro teenagers into custody when the Canadiana docked here shortly before 11 p.m. last night.

Police said no charges were placed against them immediately.

It was not known what set off the disturbance at the beach, which broke out again on the Canadiana's second trip to Buffalo last night. The earlier trip was uneventful.

An estimated 15,000 to 20,000 persons, mostly Americans, were reported at the park yesterday.

MARGARET WYNN and Dick Hirsch of The Buffalo Courier-Express, who were aboard the three-decked steamship, reported that "nearly 40 white youngsters, several beaten or cut, cowered below decks in the ship's dining room for most of the trip after being attacked or threatened by the many Negro teenagers who made up the majority of the passengers."

The reporters estimated that of the approximately 1000 passengers, 80 per cent were Negroes.

"Members of the ship's crew and private police," the reporters wrote, "vainly attempted to keep order, but when one fight was broken up, another flared in a different portion of the weather-beaten boat."

"Most of the trouble," they continued, "was caused by gangs of Negro girls who walked the deck, attacking and molesting young white girls.

"FIRECRACKERS were carelessly flung at passengers, exploding at their feet. Several received powder burns. Switchblade knives were brandished. Youngsters were shoved to the deck by the rampaging mobs which rushed back and forth over the decks.

"Many older white persons were segregated by worried crew members. They sat quietly in roped off sections of the slow-moving ship, attempting to comfort their crying, terrified children," the reporters wrote.

Violence reportedly first broke out on the afternoon boat trip to the beach and then spilled over into the park itself.

Corp. Legate said the trouble there started in a picnic grove when three white youths and three Negro youths started fighting. Two more Negroes and another white joined in, he said.

FOUR POLICE officers on duty at a guardhouse near the park entrance broke up the fighting, he said, as thousands of persons started milling around the combatants. The nine originators were placed in the guardhouse.

Legate said that within a half hour 300 Negroes converged on the guardhouse and threatened to free the jailed.

He said he put in a call for reinforcements and that the crowd began to disperse when the other police officers arrived.

Then witnesses said bottles were hurled and fist fights broke out sporadically among the mob.

FBI Probes Teen Riots

On Cruise

BUFFALO, N.Y., May 31 (AP)—The Federal Bureau of Investigation today opened a "full and complete investigation" of the riot-torn passage of an excursion steamer from Crystal Beach, Ont., to Buffalo last night.

Fist and knife-slinging brawlers, both white and Negro, disrupted the holiday at the beach for thousands of Buffalo residents and turned the night's final run of the steamer Canadiana into an hour of terror.

At least 50 persons were injured. Seven received hospital treatment.

U.S. JURISDICTION

The FBI action was requested by U.S. Dist. Atty. John O. Henderson, who said after spending the day studying the knotty jurisdictional question:

"I am pretty well convinced we have at least concurrent jurisdiction with local authorities."

Meanwhile, federal assault complaints were filed against two of 12 youths arrested here and in Crystal Beach.

Henderson declined to discuss in detail the question of how far U.S. jurisdiction extends on the Canadiana's route. But he indicated that the vessel's American registry entered into the question and that the jurisdiction might extend to the dock on the Canadian side.

3 MORE ARRESTED

Ontario provincial police arrested five Negro youths and four whites at Crystal Beach, a resort and amusement center on the north shore of Lake Erie 15 miles west of Buffalo. They ranged in age from 15 to 22.

When the Canadiana docked in Buffalo late last night, three more Negro boys were picked up.

Two of these last three were named in the assault complaint filed by Ralph Green, first mate of the vessel. Green led the crew detail that tried to quell the brawling on the upper deck as peaceful passengers, both Negro and white, cowered in roped-off sections or lower-deck public rooms.

Associated Press wirephoto

TERROR-STRICKEN GIRL LEAVES BOAT
. . . Sobs as friend explains to mother

Order to Admit Negroes Upheld

NEW YORK, April 21 (AP)—Attempts to circumvent New York state antidiscrimination laws by organization of a club or association have been ruled illegal by an appellate court.

The appellate division of the state supreme court sustained an order directing the Castle Hill Beach Club in the Bronx to admit Negroes and others on a nondiscriminatory basis.

The court unanimously sustained a 1955 ruling by supreme court Justice Martin M. Frank which had supported an order of the state commission against discrimination.

The club had contended it was a "private, nonprofit organization" not within the scope of the "public accomodation" provision of the law.

Frank ruled that the Castle Hill Beach Club was not actually a club but "a place of public accommodation." If it had been known at the time the place organized as a membership club that Negroes would be excluded, he said, "it is reasonable to assume that the application for approval would have been denied."

Stork Club To Negroes: 'Go to Hell!'

Courier p. 2
Pittsburgh Pa.
Sat. 6-30-56

By EVELYN CUNNINGHAM

NEW YORK—Nobody—white or colored—likes to talk about the Stork Club fracas. It's a source of great shame and smoldering anger. Negroes especially are disheartened to realize with a bang that the problem is a long way from being solved, that the fight still has to be carried.

What happened was that a fashion show sponsored by the highly reputable National Association of Fashion and Accessories Designers, was cancelled literally hours before the affair was scheduled.

■

To date, Stork Club owner Sherman Billingsley has mumbled remarks like "publicity," "Josephine Baker," "Go to hell." The association has turned the matter over to its attorney, Thomas Dyett, and whether or not legal action will depend upon the results of a meeting of executive members of NAFAD in Boston next month.

Meanwhile, Harlem's reaction was unique. There was an almost unanimous immediate reaction, followed by an equally unanimous change of opinion. At first, people said, in effect, "I don't know why the fashion group should bother trying to get in a place where they aren't wanted. Billingsley has made it clear time and time again that he doesn't want Negroes." And with this was profound humiliation and a fleeting thought that perhaps Montgomery was getting its problem solved lots faster than we.

■

Like a signal, there has been a change-about: "Why not go to the Stork Club? Who cares whether the guy wants us or not? We want the right to go any time we want. Why be scared of the Stork Club? It's just a bar and grill. How great can Billingsley be?"

With the exception of the New York Post, daily newspapers have conspicuously avoided any mention of the slur. Even columnists, who are quicker than silver to express an opinion, have been silent. The same newspapers who give up long columns to deploring the position of the Negro in the South and to raising cain about injustices in Dixie, apparently aren't quite ready to tackle a local problem, even a relatively small problem.

Negroes wonder: Maybe Billingsley IS a power. Maybe there are influential whites who actually DO want a last stronghold that is lily-white. Maybe they think we ought to be satisfied with the Supreme Court and not get too far out of line. Who knows?

But Negroes don't like it at all.

'De Facto' Segregation In New York

Advertiser 4-a
Sat. 4-28-56
Montgomery Ala.

NEW YORK has coined a phrase to describe the kind of segregation it has in public schools: "de facto segregation"—that is separation of the races that exists in fact although not in law.

The Board of Education's Committee on Integration has partly completed a "master plan" which will "set up a pattern for desegregating schools that will serve as a model for the whole nation."

Major target of the plan, according to *The New York Times*, is the "elimination, so far as possible, of segregated schools—institutions that have an overwhelming number of pupils of one racial or ethnic background."

New York's far-sighted neo-abolitionists are fond of saying, when accused of practicing segregation themselves, that this can't be true because they have laws which say it isn't so. But recent studies have confirmed what should have been an obvious fact all along: segregation, though not called that, is a fact in many New York schools. A recent visitor to Montgomery, who happens to be an editor of one of this country's largest national magazines (pro-integration, incidentally), told us that race separation in New York public schools is more rigid today than it was before World War II, an observation which seems to be borne out by the report of the Commission on Integration.

It also appears that New York hasn't even been living up to the separate but equal doctrine which the South has been striving to achieve, with some success, in recent years. A subcommittee's report on physical plants found a pressing need for "more and better" schools for Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

So far behind were these schools, the subcommittee said, they would not be equalized by simply spending the same amount per pupil "in areas of minority concentration" as is spent on white schools. Presumably, the per-pupil expenditure on predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican schools must be raised above that spent on white children in order to equalize facilities—a problem familiar to Southern legislatures and school officials but just now dawning on New York.

One of the subcommittee members, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, associate professor of psychology at City College, said that examination of educational standards in "schools attended by Negro and Puerto Rican children shows that these are lower than those found in schools with children of middle class families." But, he reasoned, since scientific studies have not revealed any basic intellectual differences among racial groups, the poor scholarship of Negroes and Puerto Ricans must be laid to differences in "environmental opportunity and stimulation." It is therefore incumbent on New York to provide Negroes and Puerto Ricans "an enriched curriculum, better teaching, smaller classes, more adequate educational facilities, pleasant school atmosphere," etc.

In short, separate schools in New York should be made more equal. This is a worthy aim which Southerners will applaud even if New York does not live up to the lofty goal of Charles H. Silver, president of the New York Board of Education, when he said:

> The public schools of New York will demonstrate in their program of integration that the spirit of the Supreme Court decision will be carried forward in the classroom.

But we are again given pause to wonder whether New York's admitted "de facto segregation" is more moral, as they have seemed to contend, than the South's *de jure* segregation—that is, separation of the races by law—which is at least honest and forthright.

Religious Leaders Ask That Parties Ban Election Bias

Pittsburgh Post
Sat. 8-10-56

NEW YORK (NC)—An appeal to all citizens of the United States to "reject political arguments based on racial or religious prejudices and to rebuke those who make such appeals," was issued here by six prominent ecclesiastical leaders.

The joint statement, speaking in behalf of the three major faiths, will be sent to Leonard W. Hall and Paul M. Butler, national chairmen of the Republican and Democratic parties, respectively.

TWO OF THE SIX signers are Catholics—Archbishop Edwin V. O'Hara, Bishop of Kansas City, Mo., and George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College, New York.

The others are the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, president of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, president of the Synagogue Council of America; Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton, chairman of the Division of Christian Life and Work of the National Council of Churches, and Irving M. Engel, president of the American Jewish Committee.

Auto Club Ends Racial Curbs

Courier-Journal
Mon. 6-11-56

Buffalo, N. Y. (U.P.)—All race restrictions on membership have been removed by the Automobile Club of Buffalo.

Louisville, Ky.

Amendments eliminate from by-laws the phrase "shall be restricted to the white race," and the word "race" from a section concerning applications.

P. 6

A spokesman for the New York State Commission Against Discrimination praised Buffalo Automobile Club directors for "eliminating a source of tension and correcting a long-standing injustice."

38 a 1956

NORTH CAROLINA

Sixth Person Is Arrested In Racial Pamphlet Case

News & Observer p. 1

Sat. 6-2-56

CHARLOTTE, June 1 (AP)—Mecklenburg County police continued their crackdown on alleged distributors of "hate" literature today, arresting a sixth person and confiscating more pamphlets and printed material.

Raleigh, N.C.

Robert Lee Heger, 27, was taken into custody at his home on Rt. 10 by officers who said they found six envelopes addressed to be mailed in his handwriting. The envelopes contained anti-Semitic literature.

Heger told offcers the pamphlets were given him by P. C. Wyatt, one of the five men arrested yesterday and charged with violating Section 14-394 of the General Statutes. This section makes it illegal to send certain defamatory letters through the mail.

Arrested with Wyatt yesterday were Joseph C. Bryant, Arthur W. Bryant, and Elmer E. Rogers. Albert B. Rogers gave himself up this morning. All have been served with additional warrants charging conspiracy.

Heger was quoted by officers as saying that Wyatt "kept after me to join those organizations"—the States Rights League, Patriots of North Carolina, and the Ku Klux Klan.

Police said they found a printing press at the Art Stone Works, operated by Arthur W. Bryant, along with handbills with headlines reading "Jew Religion Exposed." They also found membership applications for the Ku Klux Klan.

One of the handbills attacked Julian Scheer, a columnist for the Charlotte News, officers said.

MANIFESTO ECHOES IN CAROLINA VOTING

Atlanta Daily World p. 1

Future Of Three Veteran Congressmen Who Balked Up For Decision

By The United Press

RALEIGH, N. C., May 26.—The issue of whether to resist the United States Supreme Court rulings against segregated schools put the future of three veteran congressmen at stake Saturday in the North Carolina Democratic primary.

Across the state an estimated half-million Democrats voted in the 12 hours ending at 6:30 p.m. Most interest lay in the contests for Congress in the Fourth, Fifth and Eighth Districts—the three in which the racial issue was dominant.

12 Others Signed It

The three incumbents were Representatives Harold D. Cooley, Thurmond D. Chatham and Charles B. Deane, the only ones among 15 North Carolina members of Congress who refused to sign the recent Southern Manifesto in which 100 Southern senators and representatives pledged to resist the school segregation decision by every lawful means.

Representative Cooley, Chatham and Deane refused to sign because they felt the manifesto was too bitter. All three have taken stands favoring segregation, but prefer a "moderate" approach. Mr. Cooley was opposed by W. E. Debnam of Raleigh, Mr. Chatham by Ralph J. Scott of Danbury and Mr. Deane by Paul Kitchin of Wadesboro.

Gov. Luther H. Hodges, first Tarheel governor in more than 60 years eligible to succeed himself, was a heavy favorite against three little-known opponents, all of whom took strong pro-segregation stands.

Ervin Seeks Full Term

Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. of Morgantown was favored heavily in his race for a full term. He was opposed by Winston-Salem Mayor Marshall Kurfees.

MILWAUKEE, Wis., May 26. — (UP) — Representative Glenn Davis of Waukesha, a last-minute candidate, stormed the Wisconsin Republican convention Saturday to defeat Senator Alexander Wiley for the party's endorsement for United States senator.

Loss of the endorsement was a major political setback for the veteran Chippewa Falls senator, who is finishing his third six-year term. However, Mr. Wiley, who was 72 Saturday, is expected to run against Mr. Davis, 41, in the September primary despite loss of the party organization's blessing.

'Ready,' youths say of total integration

Afro-American Sat. 6-30-56

Baltimore, Md.

CHARLOTTE, N.C. — "They decided that segregation has built up a psychological block in the minds of both colored and white youth and that that block is eliminated." P. 16

That is how Mrs. Ione Jones summed up the findings of a group of Biddleville Presbyterian Church youth after an intensive study of segregation and came up with the answer "Yes" to the question "Are We Ready for Total Integration."

The study was undertaken in an effort to give colored youth a fair picture of the overall problem of segregation and integration from a Christian point of view, according to the sponsors.

* * *

THE GROUP probed books, heard civic and religious leaders speak and held discussion sessions under the leadership of the Rev. H. W. Givens, pastor of the church, and three advisors.

Final speaker before the group was the Rev. Edward A. Cahill of the Unitarian Church here who, in praising the study conducted by the youths, said he believed they had a well conceived program and that he knew of no other youth group that had studied the problem so intensely.

The group set out about seven weeks ago to find answers to some questions on segregation to get a working philosophy so that they, as young Christians, could live with the situation, said Mrs. Jones, one of the advisors.

* * *

"THEY BASED their answer to integration on the fact that colored Americans have no separate culture and are a product of the American culture," Mrs. Jones added.

Referring to the Biblical stories of the Good Samaritan and the woman who met Christ at the well, the group agreed that the Christian attitude on race should be the same as that of Christ toward all people.

On the question of what young people can do to promote better interracial undertanding, the group agreed that they should be fair in their thinking and attitudes toward others.

* * *

THEY ALSO agreed, according to Mrs. Jones, that it is important to study the history of other racial groups and the part they played and are playing in American life.

"To eliminate indulgence in the use of widely used labels such as "n---r, wop, kike and cracker" is important in the effort to better racial understanding," she said the group agreed at the Sunday discussion sessions.

In short, Mrs. Jones concluded simple everyday courtesy was found to be one of the most important ways to improve race relations and human understanding.

In Warrenton, N. C.

White Attorney Jailed After Integration Talk

Journal & Guide p. 1

Sat. 6-2-56

Special To Journal And Guide

WARRENTON, N. C. — An attorney ousted from a civic club after he criticized racial segregation, was arrested Friday night when he tried to attend a meeting of the Warrenton Lions Club.

Attorney James G. Gilliland appeared as counsel for several North Carolina people being investigated by a congressional committee at Charlotte several weeks ago. When the hearing ended, he suggested Congress probe North Carolina's school segregation policy.

Norfolk, Va.

GILLILAND termed the youth's attitude of resistance to the U. S. Supreme Court segregation decision "Unamerican" and argued that "A large number of officials are apparently in a conspiracy to deny children their right to an education."

When the attorney got back home he was promptly voted out of the Warrenton Country club, and ousted from the Lions Club, in which he had been active and had held the office of secretary.

* * *

FRIDAY NIGHT, GILLILAND went through a kitchen door into the dining hall where the Lions Club was to meet. Other members of the club refused to enter the room, and Gilliland was finally arrested and charged with trespassing.

He was released on $100 bond and was ordered to appear in Mayor's Court before Mayor J. E. Rooker, who is also president of the Lions Club.

Disagreement over rest room gets 2 in toils

Afro-American p. 12

NASHVILLE, N.C.—A Rocky Mount youth and a Nash County man were given 120-day road terms on driving charges and held under $1,500 bonds on an assault count Monday because one insisted on using the rest room of a white drive-in restaurant.

Baltimore,

Walter Mills, 23, and Percy Lewis, 19, were sentenced on the driving charges in Nash County Recorder's Court on the testimony of Alvin Joyner, manager of the restaurant.

According to testimony, Lewis used the restaurant restroom over Joyner's protest and beat up C. T. Johnston of Nashville, white, when he engaged in an argument with Lewis about his right to do so. Johnson, reported badly beaten, required hospitalization.

Sat. 12-29-56

JOHNSON SAID that he pursued the pair to try to get their license number when they drove off in their car.

They jumped a red light, he said, and lost him when they drove more than 80 miles an hour in the chase. Joyner reported the incident to police who arrested the two at their homes.

After receiving the traffic penalties on Joyner's testimony, the two waived a preliminary hearing on the assault charges.

Radioactive Cobalt

One of the world's most powerful weapons in the battle against cancer — radioactive cobalt — is treating veterans at the Veterans Administration research hospital in Chicago, VA announced. VA said the apparatus emits radiation equal to that given off by $30 milliin of radium.

Jim Crow Drowns Swim Pool Closes

Afro-American Baltimore Md.

Sat. 8-11-56

By JOSEPHUS SIMPSON

CHAPEL HILL, N.C. — When the U.S. Supreme Court's decision outlawed segregation in public-owned parks and recreation facilities last October Jim Crow slipped into the University of North Carolina pool and "drowned."

Saddened by that "tragedy," officials of the university have decided—after local colored children asked about swimming there — to drop its summer swimming course "for white children" after this year.

Without saying so in so many words, Chancellor R. B. House made that fact clear last week in announcing that season tickets, which entitle holders to use the course in the outdoor campus pool, would no longer be sold.

* * *

HE SAID his action was based on the fact that on July 23, "inquiries were made on behalf of colored children." He added, however, that no colored persons actually applied for tickets.

Officials of the school acted on informal advice received several months ago from State Attorney General William B. Rodman, according to reliable sources here.

"I have told university officials in previous conferences that we could not because of color, and color alone, deny equal privileges or opportunities to races," the attorney general said when asked about the action.

* * *

THE STATE attorney general added, however, that he also told university officials that "They have a right to close any classes for any reason that would help efficient operation of their plant."

Exclusion of colored people—or anyone else — from this summer's swimming course for local children, however, will not affect colored students enrolled at the university. That was made clear by a university official.

The same official explained that the university administration felt that all applications for tickets must be refused in order to save the swimming program for the balance of this summer.

He added that the inquires on the part of colored persons had been expected for some time.

* * *

ACTING President William C. Friday confirmed the fact that the inquiries were not surprising, adding that he had conferred "several months ago" with the attorney general about "several university problems."

Asked about the future of the children's swimming program, Chancellor House refused to elaborate on his previous handout on the subject. Pressed, he said: "I'm no prophet and I'll say no more than what's in my statement."

However, since the attorney general has advised that "it would be impossible to refuse tickets to colored persons and continue selling to whites," evidently the program is dead.

* * *

MR. RODMAN obviously based his opinion on the Supreme Court's public park decision handed down last October.

As a result of that decision, five cities in the state now permit colored persons to play without discrimination on the municipal golf courses. They are Wilmington, Gastonia, Asheville, High Point and Asheboro.

N. Carolina U. May Drop Kids Summer Swim Course Due To Negro Interest

Weekly New Orleans, La. Sat. 8-18-56

Chapel Hill, N. C. - (ANP) - The reported interest of Negroes in the summer swimming course sponsored by the University of North Carolina may lead to the abandoning of the program, it was announced here last week by R. B. House, university chancellor.

Sale of season tickets--entitling holders to the course in the outdoor campus pool--were discontinued last July 23, when "inquiries were made on behalf of Negro children."

House said, however, that no Negroes actually applied.

It seems the university is anticipating efforts by Negroes to put to use the U. S. Supreme Court decision of last October outlawing segregation in public-owned parks and recreation facilities.

House said that State Atty.-General William B. Rodman gave the university three legal opinion that it could not because of "color, and color alone, deny equal privileges or opportunities to races."

"However, Rodman had added that the university "did have the right to close classes for any reason that would help efficient operation of the plant."

The barring of Negroes from the swimming course will not, however, have any effect on Negroes enrolled as regular students at the university.

N. C. Fans Sue City To End Segregation

Afro-American Baltimore Md.

Sat. 9-29-56

WILSON, N.C.—A suit asking an end to segregated seating in Municipal Stadium here, leased for professional baseball and other sports activities, was filed in U. S. District Court last week.

Plaintiffs in the action are the Rev. T. A. Watkins, pastor of First Baptist Church; I. B. Butler, O. N. Ellis, James Hart and Miss Helen Ford. C. O. Pearson, Durham attorney, is counsel for the group.

The petition filed by Mr. Pearson, an NAACP attorney, charges that the plaintiffs tried to enter the granstand at the stadium for a baseball game and were turned away.

* * *

IT IS POINTED OUT in the petition that they were refused seats in the grandstand although they held season tickets and that the only seating offered colored persons is a bleacher section accommodating about 50 persons.

Dr. G. K. Butterfield, a member of the city's board of commissioners (City Council), was among the group that was refused admission to the grandstand last April 25, but is not a party to the suit.

* * *

NAMED DEFENDANTS in the petition are the City of Wilson, Mayor John D. Wilson and City Manager N. Jack Maynard. No date has been set for a hearing on the petition, it was indicated.

City Stadium is leased during the baseball season by the Wilson Tobs, affiliate of the Philadelphia Phillies, in the Class B. Carolina League. Some Carolina League teams have colored players, but Wilson has none.

The petition also points out that the plaintiffs held a conference with the city commissioners May 10 and asked that the policy of segregation be ended, but that their request was denied.

* * *

AS A RESULT of that refusal, the plaintiffs state, they are asking an injunction against the segregated seating and a final decree setting forth their legal rights "and the class of people they represent."

The local stadium is also used as a public playground, by American Legion junior baseball teams, by the city recreation department and for other sports activities, mostly for white persons.

J. C. seating under attack

Afro-American Baltimore Md.

Sat. 9-22-56

WILSON, N.C. — The jim-crow. seating policy in force here for Carolina League baseball games was under attack this week in United States District Court.

Five local residents, all baseball fans, brought the action in the hope of putting an end to segregated stands in Municipal Stadium, where the Wilson team plays its games in the Class C loop.

Plaintiffs are the Rev. T. A. Watkins, pastor of the First Baptist Church; I. B. Butler, O. N. Ellis, James Hart and Helen Ford.

* * *

ALL ASSERT that they have been deprived of grandstand seats for which they hold season tickets. They declare that the only seating provided for them was in the jim-crow "colored" section which accommodates about 50 patrons.

The lone colored member of the City Board of Commissioners, Dr. G. K. Butterfield, was in the party at the time it was denied admittance to the grandstand. He is not one of the plaintiffs, however.

RACE HATE PAMPHLETS SEIZED; FIVE ARRESTED

Daily World Tues. 6-5-56 P. 1

PAPERS ATTACK NEGRO, JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Birm., Ala.

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—Five men, believed to be key figures in the spreading of race hate literature, were arrested Friday in Charlotte on charges growing out of recent attacks on organizations designed to aid minority groups.

A police raid on the businesses and homes of the white suspects Thursday uncovered a quantity of unsigned literature attacking the Anti-Defamation League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Police said they also found application blanks for membership in the Ku Klux Klan, a klan robe and mask, a printing press, dynamite, guns, a roster of members of the States' Rights League, nude photographs, and plates of photographic comic drawings.

SPECIFIC CHARGES

Specifically the five men are charged with distributing and mailing pamphlets attacking Alfred E Smith, president of the Charlotte branch of the ADL, an arm of the B'nai B'rith Jewish order.

The charges were brought under state laws which make it a misdemeanor to mail or transmit threatening written or printed material which is not signed.

Leaflets seized by police said the Anti-Defamation League is "The American Jewish Gestapo of secret police and an offspring of B'nai B'rith, a so-called brotherhood of Jews."

This group of leaflets also contended that ADL "intimidated and coerced" the Charlotte City Council to pass an ordinance banning what they called hate literature."

$1,000 BOND

Each of the five men, who live either in Charlotte or its suburbs, must post $1,000 each for release until trial.

Arresting officers said pamphlets were also found deriding the NAACP as "The National Association for the Agitation of Colored People.'

Those under arrest were identified as: Arthur W. Bryant, 35, owner of the Art Stone Works; Percy Clarence Wyatt, 44, a stonemason, who said he was a native of Winston-Salem; Joe Bryant, owner of the Bryant Stone Co.; Albert Rogers and E. E. Rogers.

N. Carolina Legislature will study segregation

News P. 27 Birm., Ala. F.M. 6-1-56

RALEIGH, June 1—(AP)—North Carolina's General Assembly will convene in special session July 23 to clear the way for constitutional changes to meet the school segregation problem.

Gov. Hodges announced the calling of the special session at his news conference yesterday. He said he hoped the lawmakers wouldn't be in session more than a week.

In announcing the special ses- These would require changes in the state's constitution which would have to be voted on in the November general election.

ONE CHANGE would provide state tuition grants for students whose parents do not want them to attend racially integrated schools. Another would permit a local school unit to suspend the operation of schools if conditions in that unit became "intolerable."

During the 1955 session, the legislators passed the North Carolina school assignment act. This gave control of assigning pupils to local authorities.

sion date, Hodges said it had the approval of legislative leaders.

The legislators will be asked to write into law the recommendations of the state's advisory committee on education.

32 Congressmen Of Both Parties Honor C. Deane

Daily World Thurs 7-26-56 Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Congressman Charles B. Deane of North Carolina in his final address to the House of Representatives told his colleagues last night, "We in this House have the unique privilege and responsibility to turn the tide of history in America and the world. Before we can have a new nation and a new world we must have new men. We must live a superior ideology." P. 1

Relating his experience last year with the Moral Re-Armament States men's Mission in the Middle East, Africa and Europe, Congressman Deane said, "In every country thousands responded to the plays and the ideology of MRA. The statesman, student and ordinary man said, "This is what my country needs'

"From this experience, Mr. Speaker, I am convinced," Mr. Deane continued, "that the statesmen and the ordinary man can change and play his rightful part in the remaking of men and nations.

In a forty-five minute tribute twenty-two Members from both Parties, representing all sections of America, rose one after the other at their seats to honor Congressman Deane. He lost his seat in the House in the May primary because of his courageous and statesmanlike stand in declining to sign a manifesto which attacked the United States Supreme Court on the issue of segregation.

Congressman John McCormack of Massachusetts, Majority Leader of the House, said, "The Congressman leaves here not defeated but a victor because he was able to overcome human impulses and to act in accordance with faith and principals he believed in. Instead of leaving here as one defeated for renomination he leaves here a victor because he has won a victory by acting in accordance with his own conscience."

Congressman William Dawson of Illinois said, "I am sure that this event that is coming into the life of our friend is just the beginning of the thing that shall encompass increasing numbers of men until there will have passed from this earth all hatred between mankind."

Moral Re-Armament brings men together," said Congressman Sieminski of New Jersey. "With roots that firmly grip the granite truth MRA rids man of hate."

Colored Leaders Leave 'Integrated' Fund Dinner

Journal + Guide P. 1 Norfolk, Va.

SALISBURY, N. C.—Under charges that they were being discriminated against, all but about three of the 25 to 30 Negroes attending the Rowan United Fund Drive left the opening dinner meeting of the drive.

Sat. 10-20-56

The Rev. Harlee Little of Livingstone College, said members of the group told him they walked out because they were served after white groups which had arrived later.

THE MANAGER of the hotel denied the group was discriminated against and said "We served them just like we would anyone else."

The Negroes and whites were "integrated" after a fashion in this campaign. Heretofore, there had been separate Community Chest campaigns with separate Negro divisions.

At the dinner, the Negro group had been seated by itself at a table near the entrance to the kitchen.

Challenge N. C. golf links dodge

Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 10-27-56

GREENSBORO, N.C. "The Gillespie Park Golf Club was organized for the express purpose of aiding the City of Greensboro in carrying out its policies of excluding colored citizens from the municipally owned golf course."

That charge was made last week by attorneys for 10 citizens who were refused golfing privileges on a "private" course here last week as they challenged the city's right to avoid integration by leasing public lands.

* * *

THE PETITION IN the suit, filed in U.S. District Court here Wednesday, asked the court to issue an immediate injunction "forever restraining the City of Greensboro from: "Denying colored people the use and enjoyment of any golf course or park maintained, established or operated by the City of Greensboro on account of race or color."

The suit was the first of its kind aimed at breaking down North Carolina's segregation laws in line with the U.S. Supreme Court decision last year against forced segregation in public parks.

Suit Asks End To Bias At City-Owned Stadium

Journal + Guide Sat. 9-22-56

Norfolk, Va.

Special to Journal and Guide

WILSON, N. C. — A suit filed by five local residents in U. S. District Court here last week asks an end to "buzzard roost" bleacher seating of colored fans at the local Municipal stadium. P.1

The suit also asks that operators of the city-owned facility be enjoined from further practice of segregated seating.

* * *

THE SUIT follows by a few months refusal of admission to grandstand seats at the stadium of a party of local colored residents, including Dr. G. K. Butterfield, a member of the city board of commissioners.

Journal + Guide

Last April 25, Dr. Butterfield, along with others, attempted to enter the grandstand at the stadium to witness a baseball game. Admission was denied the party despite the fact all had season tickets to attend games of the Wilson Tobs, Class B Carolina League team affiliated with hte Philadelphia Phillies. The Tobs, incidentally, are among the few Carolina League teams that don't have Negro players.

* * *

BRINGING THE suit, which charges that the stadium offers only bleacher seats accommodating only about 50 fans are the Rev. T. A. Watkins, pastor of the First Baptist Church; I. B. Butler, O. N. Ellis, James Hare and Mrs. Helen Ford. Dr. Butterfield is not listed as a plaintiff in the action.

The stadium ,in addition to being leased to the baseball club, is also used by the city recreation department, as a public school playground and for American Legion junior baseball.

A group of local residents asked the board of commissioners last May 10 to drop segregation bars at the stadium, but the board refused to do so. The current suit specifically asks a final decree setting for the legal rights of the plaintiffs and "the class of people they represent." C. O. Pearson of Durham, chairman of the State NAACP legal redress committee, is representing the plaintiffs in the action.

Dynamite blast Rips N. C. Church

Daily Worker Atlanta, Ga.

GREENSBORO, N. C. — (ANP) —An investigation was underway last week to determine the cause of a dynamite explosion that ripped through a small Negro church here almost totally demolishing the structure Monday night.

Authorities had no immediate explanation for the blast which shattered the Poplar Grove Methodist Church on the Old Reidsville road here.

However, several residents of the area said they head the explosion stating that it occurred between 8 and 8:30 p. m. No one was in the church at the time.

Sheriff John E. Walter said the damage to the little edifice indicated that about five sticks of dynamite had been thrown through a window into the church.

The impact of the blast knocked out windows, widened cracks in the brick structure, punctured the coiling with splinters, blew a 15-inch hole through the flooring and sub-flooring, reduced wooden bench es to splinters and ripped the super structure of the basement.

Poplar Grove School, near the church was not damaged by the concussion but three windows were broken by rocks thrown during the night.

White Barber Says Negroes Demand Haircuts

News + Observer Raleigh, N.C. Dec. 13-56 P.13

BAYBORO, Dec. 13—From all indications, Pamlico County — which was the scene of the first public school integration suit in North Carolina, seems headed for a new kind of integration fight, perhaps the first of its kind.

The owner of a local white barber shop, following a series of demands by a dozen or more Negroes over the past three weeks was warned over the past weekend by a Negro lawyer that he faces a suit in Eastern federal court unless he opens up his shop to members of the Negro race which he flatly stated he would never do.

Albert Edwards, owner and operator of this town's only white barber shop, said that 12 and possibly more Negroes since early November have appeared in his shop asking that he cut their hair. In each instance he has flatly and at times heatedly refused. The Negroes, all of them unknown to him, have appeared in groups of two or more.

Edwards said that in every case the Negroes were well dressed and mannerly and left quietly and promptly when he refused to cut their hair. At times he has been alone in his shop; at other times, there have been white customers waiting their turn. He says that he has not the slightest knowledge of the identity or residence of the Negroes.

The last two to appear came in last Friday and appeared to be more interested in his reason for refusal of service than in getting hair cuts, he said. It was at this time that one of the pair definitely indicated that unless Edwards opens up his shop to Negroes, he will be sued in federal court. Edwards said that at least one of the men who came in Friday indicated that he was a lawyer.

When asked what he would do if a federal judge ordered him to open his shop to all races Edwards said he would shut up his shop and serve only white persons from his home "by appointment." In doing this he said he would be following a common practice among beauty shops.

"I told them definitely and I repeat it now that under no circumstances will I cut Negroes' hair," declared Edwards who lives at nearby Stonewall. "If I have to I will shut up my shop, and there is no law in the land which is going to make me cut the hair of Negroes."

The affair has stirred all of this county. Who the Negroes are and where they are coming from is a subject of much debate, but it is certain that they are not Pamlico County Negroes and that no one here has yet been able to identify any of them.

The common supposition is that they are being sent here by a branch of the NAACP, planning to start a "test case" in Eastern federal court based upon the incidents taking place at the local barber shop.

However, when questioned over the telephone at her New Bern residence, the executive secretary of the nearby NAACP chapter, Mrs. Esther Baker replied that she knew nothing of the whole affair and that the news conveyed by this reporter to her was her very first knowledge of the whole affair.

Edwards said that the whole affair has upset him terribly and that during the past few weeks he has lost 17 pounds.

N. C. Superior Court Opens Golf Course After Civil Battle for 5 Years

Burlington P.1

Des Moines, Iowa

Charlotte, N. C. — The City of Charlotte Dec. 7 lost a five year battle in its efforts to prevent Negro citizens from using the city's only golf course when a Superior Court judge granted an injunction permanently enjoinig the Charlotte Park and Recreation Commission from excluding Negroes from the Bonnie Brae links. Times 12-13-56

The injunction was sought on behalf of 16 Negroes who were refused use of the golf cours in December 1951. It was issued in the more reity of the Commission's acts was involved.

cent of two suits in which the valid-

The first suit was brought by the Commission, itself, immediately after the Negroes protested to it. Sought in that suit was a declaratory judgment as to the validity of certain provisions in the deeds conveying the property on which the golf course is located on the condition that the land would revert if non-whites used the recreational facilities. And named as defendants, along with the land grantors, were the original Negro complainants.

Times 12-13-56

Denial of Rights

Several days later the Negroes themselves led a suit, seeking an injunction restraining the Commission from denying them the use of the park on the ground that such exclusion was a denial of their constitutional rights. This suit, however, was continued pending final disposition of the earlier action and, therefore, did not come to trial until Dec. 7.

In granting the injunction Friday, Superior Court Judge Susie Sharp was not persuaded by the fact that the city possibly stands to lose one-third of the property which comprises Revolution Park because of the decisions in the earlier case and sustained the validity of the reverter provision. Judge Sharp, however, delayed the effective date of the injunction for 90 days to allow the city time to acquire or regain possession of the property affected by the reverter clasues.

Times 12-13-56

Appearing on behalf of the Negroes throughout the litigation were Spottswood W. Robinson, II of Richmond, Va., Southeast Regional Counsel of the Legal Defense Fund and T. H. Wyche of Charlotte.

N.C. Anti-Integration 'Patriots' Get Hodges' Tacit Blessings

Journal + Constitution

Sun. 1-1-56

Governor Mum on His Candidacy; 'Explosive Race Issue' Paramount

By JAY JENKINS

Atlanta, Ga.

Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

RALEIGH, N.C., Dec. 31—Old 1955 moved off into that part of limbo reserved for used years without seeing many changes in the politics promised for 1956.

Gov. Hodges still talked — and refused to talk—like a certain candidate for reelection at the primary next May. He's expected to make it official within the next four weeks.

Dr. Henry Jordan, the Cedar Falls dentist, still commands major attention as a possible opponent for Hodges. However, some of his strongest supporters believe he is growing cool to the idea.

This speculation was heightened when Dr. Henry's brother, B. Everett Jordan of Saxapahaw, said he was not "encouraging" Henry to make the race.

Everett Jordan is a former chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee and now is the party's national committeeman. He is credited with keeping brother Henry—who was Gov. W. Kerr Scott's highway chairman — from jumping into the race in 1948 against the late William B. Umstead.

Among the factors being weighed by Henry, said Everett, is party harmony. Henry

NORTH CAROLINA

is afraid his race might bring sharp factionalism to the party at a time when harmony predominates.

"We need harmony now as never before," said Everett. "We have got to deal with this explosive race issue. I told Henry that some issues are more important than individuals."

Dr. Jordan could get into the campaign with the blessing of some of Sen. Scott's top brass, including his campaign manager in the 1954 Senatorial race, Terry Sanford of Fayetteville. If Jordan backs down, Sanford may jump in.

Meanwhile, the "Patriots of North Carolina, Inc.," an organization dedicated to maintaining the "purity of the white race" and school segregation, has added a political hue. The organization has grown from 356 incorporators(among whom were three former speakers of the State House of Representatives) to some 20,000 members.

Republican Is Leader

Down in Lee County, normally a Democratic stronghold, the Patriots are being led by a Republican—E. L. Gavin of Sanford, former GOP candidate for state and congressional offices. This greatly disturbed a publisher-Democrat, Bill Horner.

At a press conference, Horner hopefully asked Gov. Hodges to comment on the Patriots. The governor responded by saying that "properly directed, the Patriots can be a force for good and I have no reason to think it is not properly directed."

Gov. Hodges elaborated. He urged moderation, but added that did not mean the Patriots should not "be vigorous, with a fighting point of view."

Intentionally or not, the governor's statement came within hours after a dirigible-sized trial balloon was launched in Gastonia on behalf of District Solicitor Basil Whitener, former president of the state Young Democrats. The story had it Whitener was considering running for governor on a proseg-regation platform, with the endorsement of the Patriots.

There were no signs that the brief Whitener boom was thriving, however. Patriots spokesmen have said they will ride along with Gov. Hodges' "voluntary segregation" proposal for awhile.

Congressional Races

Several congressional races are shaping up elsewhere. In the Sixth District, Rep. Carl Durham of Chapel Hill has an announced opponent in the person of State Sen. Ralph Scott of Haw River, a brother of the state's junior U.S. senator.

Alton A. Lennon of Wilmington, who served briefly in the U.S. Senate after Willis Smith died and was defeated last year by Kerr Scott, has given clear indications he may oppose Rep. F. Ertel Carlyle of Lumberton in the Seventh District.

Capitol Square rumors have it that these incumbent congressmen also will have opposition next May: Herbert C. Bonner of Washington, N.C., First District; Woodrow Jones of Rutherfordton, 11th District, and Hugh Q. Alexander of Kannapolis, Ninth District.

Primary attention again will focus on the 10th District, where the state's lone Republican congressman, Charles R. Jonas of Lincolnton, will be seeking his third term. Among possible opponents for Jonas is Ben E. Douglas of Charlotte, former mayor of that city and the recently retired director of the Department of Conservation and Development.

Charlotte to Delay Park Desegregation

News + Observer

CHARLOTTE, Jan. 6 (AP) — The Charlotte Park and Recreation Commission has no immediate plans for discussing desegregation of park facilities.

"Contrary to . . . reports, the park board has never officially discussed the question of desegregation of Charlotte park facilities and has no intention of discussing this question at its next meeting scheduled for Jan. 10," Board Chairman Ernest Sifford said today.

Raleigh, N.C.

"After adjournment of the board's last meeting," he added, "one member informally suggested a review of park land deeds to ascertain the existence of restrictions as to the use of these properties.

Sat. 1-7-56

"The public can be assured that the Park and Recreation Commission has no intention of rushing into any decision on so important a matter."

SIX NEGRO GOLFERS FINED IN CAROLINA

Times

GREENSBORO, N. C., Jan. 30 (UP)—Six Negroes were convicted of traspassing on a publicly owned but privately leased golf course today.

Tues. 1-31-56

Municipal Court Judge William Poteat fined the Negroes $15 and court costs. J. Kenneth Lee, the defense attorney, filed notice of appeal to Guilford County Superior Court.

Mr. Lee said the case might eventually determine whether the Supreme Court ruling against segregated public parks could be sidestepped by leasing public lands.

New York

The Negroes were arrested after they had played nine holes of golf on the Gillespie Park course here despite protests from an assistant at the club that the coure was for member only.

It is common practice, however, for whites to play by paying a greens fee and not the stipulated $50 membership fee. The Negroes had put their greens fees on the counter.

Negro Trespassers' On Golf Links Fined

Star

Tues. 1-31-56

GREENSBORO, N. C., Jan. 31 (AP).—Six Greensboro Negroes were convicted in Municipal-County Court yesterday of trespassing December 11 on the privately operated but city-owned Gillespie Park Golf Course.

Each was fined $15 and costs. All filed notice of appeal to Guilford Superior Court.

Charlotte, N.C.

The Negroes were charged after they had played nine holes of golf at the course. They had offered to pay the greens fee, but had been denied permission to play.

D. C.

The defendants, Dr. George C. Simkins, Jr.; Samuel Murray, Elijah H. Herring, Joseph Sturdivant, Leon Wolfe and Philip Cooke, were recognized for appearance in the February 6 term of Superior Court.

Wilson Negroes Are Denied Admittance to Grandstand

News + Observer

Fri. 4-27-56

WILSON, April 26 (AP) — Dr. G. K. Butterfield, Negro member of the Wilson City Board of Commissioners, was reported today to have been denied admittance, along with several Negro friends, to the grandstand of city-owned Fleming Memorial Stadium where they appeared last night to attend a baseball game.

Raleigh, N.C.

All but one member of the group — the Rev. T. A. Watkins — was said to have had a season ticket, carrying no seating restrictions.

Paul Campbell, general manager of the Wilson Tobs of the Carolina League, declined comment today on the incident. He was called to the main gate of the stadium last night and conferred briefly with the group, after Watkins was refused a grandstand ticket for the Wilson-Kinston game.

Campbell declined to disclose the nature of his conversation with the Negroes, and Butterfield and Watkins, only identified members of the group, could not be reached immediately today for comment.

The stadium has no signs to distinguish white and Negro sections, but the grandstand traditionally is reserved to white patrons. Negroes are seated in a bleacher section.

Carroll Kemp, part time ticket salesman, told newsmen he refused to sell Watkins a grandstand ticket.

When the Negro minister asked why he could not purchase a grandstand ticket, Kemp said he replied that he was not permitted to sell him one.

Kemp said Watkins then rejoined the others and they went to the stadium's main gate, where they conferred with Campbell, and then left without entering the stadium.

Wilson City Manager N. Jack Maynard, asked if the city set stadium policy, replied that to the best of his knowledge this was left up to the lessee — in last night's case the Wilson ball club.

The Wilson club is owned by the Philadelphia Phillies, and is the only team in the Class B Carolina League owned outright by a major league club.

Bi-Racial Use of Recreation Area Discussed at C&D Meet

News + Observer Tues. 4-10-56

Raleigh, N.C.

By WOODROW PRICE.

ROCKY MOUNT, April 9—Two residents of the Dare resort area came before the Board of Conservation and Development's Parks Committee today to express "deep concern" over prospects for bi-racial use of the Cape Hatteras Seashore Recreation Area and the threat of competition with private enterprise in supplying facilities for visitors to the park.

Maj. J. L. Murphy of Kill Devil Hills and Mrs. Lucille Purser of Nags Head told the committee that mixing of races is certain to occur in the recreation area and that threats to private enterprise already have arisen. P.1

Asks Restatement.

"I think it's time," said Mrs. Purser, who operates a hotel at Nags Head, "for a restatement of the aims and program of the National Park Service in this area."

She and Major Murphy said the Park Service already has let a contract for facilities at a public use area on Bodie Island, at the upper end of the park, and has advertised for bids on three fishing piers opposite villages on Hatteras Island and another pier on Ocracoke Island.

They said that on Bodie Island commercial facilities already are available.

"There is nothing to prevent joint use of the facility if it is built by the Federal Government," Mrs. Purser said. "If it were done by private enterprise, we would have a saner and more sensible development."

She stressed that she was not opposed to the recreation area. "It would," she said, "be a wonderful thing if developed properly with due [illegible] of existing facilities and with respect to the traditions and customs of our region."

Major Murphy said he was certain that "we are going to have mixed races" and "these things of deep concern."

He said that "those of us who reside there are not going to be happy about a long string of Eastern North Carolina colored people or Virginia colored people using the boulevard in front of their homes. . . . It would result in a tremendous tax loss to the people of North Carolina."

News + Observer

Hugh Morton of Wilmington, chairman of the committee, advised that "I don't think we should get into a discussion of the segregation matter because I don't think we can settle that." P.3

However, he said, he knew what Major Murphy and Mrs. Purser meant when they talked about competition between the Park Service and free enterprise in providing facilities.

Major Murphy said the proposed piers and facilities appeared to him to violate promises made by the Park Service four years ago when plans for the recreation area were in the development stage. He said his first intimation of the Park Service's plans for fishing piers came from an advertisement carried in Wilmington papers but not in papers distributed in the Cape Hatteras vicinity.

He said that before leaving Dare County to come to Rocky Mount, he asked the director of the Advertising Bureau there to ascertain from the Park Service superintendent the status of the contemplated piers.

"He reported," said Major Murphy, "that he got a runaround."

Resolution Adopted.

The committee adopted a resolution, which will be presented to the full board Tuesday, calling on the National Park Service to "fully inform the director of Conservation and Development of its proposed plans for present and future development" of the seashore recreation area.

The resolution expressed concern over reports that the Park Service plans government-owned tourist facilities "contrary to those st forth" in 1952 and in apparent conflict with the policy of preserving the park area as "a primitive wilderness."

In another action, the committee adopted a resolution recommending to public utilities and other property owners using herbicides for killing weeds and trees "that discretion be used . . . so as not to mar the beauty of the country side."

Lawyer's Grit Irks Supreme Court Foes

Afro-American P.5

Baltimore, Md.

WARRENTON, N.C.—"It was too good an opportunity to miss, so I told the committee that if it wanted to investigate anything they should investigate those people defying the Supreme Court."

Post. 3-24-56

"It was a bombshell," chuckled James D. Gilliland, attorney and county solicitor here.

"I wish you could have seen the expression on the face of the chairman of the committee," he added as he related his experiences at a congressional hearing in Charlotte.

* * *

MR. GILLILAND, whom diehard segregationists are now seeking to oust from his post as solicitor, was counsel for some defendants at the Charlotte hearing who were charged with being alleged Communists.

"I am not at all sure that I have defended any Communists," Mr. Gilliland declared, adding that "Every man has his right to employ counsel."

He added that his client, John D. Myers, former professor at Campbell College, sought counsel and was refused by nine different lawyers who wouldn't take the case because it was "unpopular to do so."

* *

HE SAID he was a college mate of Myers at Wake Forest College and after Mr. Myers explained the predicament in which he found himself, he agreed to take the case.

Mr. Gilliland pointed out that he happened to have a Charlotte newspaper in his hand when he appeared at the hearing.

The paper carried one headline announcing the scheduled hearing, he said, and another telling of the signing of the so-called "manifesto" and declaration of state's rights attacking the Supreme Court.

Thus was set up his "opportunity" that was "too good to miss." He was back at his desk last week perturbed not one bit by the tempest he had created in his home town.

* * *

MR. GILLILAND was indignant at the committee's procedure. He said it not only refused to permit him to cross-examine witnesses but put a microphone on his desk so the chairman could eaves-drop his conversations with his client.

"As for my conduct," Mr. Gilliland declared, "I feel that I have time on my side. As for the reaction you know that I have never sought to enter any popularity contest.

No. Carolina Dumps Foes Of 'Manifesto'

Wash. Post & Times News

Sat. 6-2-56

Washington, D.C.

North Carolina Democrats dumped two of the state's three congressmen who refused to sign the so-called "Southern manifesto" denouncing the Supreme Court desegregation decision. P.2

In Wisconsin, the GOP organization maintained its right-wing character by refusing endorsement to the veteran Sen. Alexander Wiley, running for renomination as an "Eisenhower Republican."

In Kentucky, in a reversal of the trend, Gov. A. B. (Happy) Chandler's effort to defeat Sen. Earle C. Clements in the Democratic primary failed.

Clements rolled up nearly a two-to-one margin over former Rep. Joe B. Bates, the Chandler-backed candidate. He will face Republican Thurston Morton, a one-time member of the House of Representatives and a White House-supported candidate, in the November election.

The Democratic state committee, controlled by anti-Chandler elements, will pick a nominee for the second Senate seat vacated by the death of Sen. Alben W. Barkley. Chandler can appoint an interim senator to serve until November.

Incumbent congressmen who lost primary fights in North Carolina were Rep. Thurmond Chatham and Rep. C. B. Deane.

Beaten on Segregation

Chatham, whose family-owned blanket mill has long been a stronghold of anti-unionism, was beaten strictly on the segregation issue. A conservative, he pointblank refused to join in assailing the court and declined to attack it during his campaign.

Deane also refused to attack the court. Chatham lost to Ralph J. Scott, Deane was beaten by A. Paul Kitchin. Scott and Kitchin raised the segregation issue constantly.

A third congressman who had declined to sign the "manifesto," Rep. Harold Cooley, won renomination after a hard fight against a court-assailing challenger.

The Wisconsin GOP State Convention, long under control of Thomas Coleman and other bitter-end supporters of the late Sen. Taft, turned thumbs down on Wiley and endorsed Rep. Glenn R. Davis, considered vastly more conservative, for the senatorial nomination.

Sen. Wiley Booed

Wiley, now completing his third six-year Senate term, was booed and denounced from the floor as he defended his record in supporting foreign aid and supporting Pres. Eisenhower by voting in 1953 against the proposed Bricker constitutional amendment.

Davis claims to be an Eisenhower supporter on domestic issues. Across his years in the House he has voted consistently against bills favored by labor and for bills opposed by labor.

The Republican primary Sept. 11 will determine whether Wiley or Davis is the party's nominee. A third aspirant, Mark Catlin, Jr., speaker of the State Assembly and author of the notorious Catlin law seeking to prohibit union political activity, apparently lost his chance when he was denied convention endorsement.

Lawyer fined $500 for justice fiaht

Afro-American P. 1
Baltimore Md. Sat. 8-18-56

(Special To The AFRO)

JACKSON, N.C. — Originally charged with a misdemeanor (petty crime), James R. Walker Jr., Statesville attorney, was convicted of a felony and fined $500 and court costs here Wednesday afternoon.

Mr. Walker, represented by Samuel S. Mitchell of Raleigh at the trial in Northampton County Superior Court, noted an appeal to the State Supreme Court and posted $300 bond.

The case is the outgrowth of efforts on the part of Mr. Walker to have two of his clients registered by Mrs. Helen H. Taylor, white, at Seaboard last May 12 for the primary election.

* * *

TRIED originally on a charge of "trespassing and disorderly conduct," noting an appeal from the recorders court conviction, that charge was not pressed by Solicitor Ernest L. Tyler of Roxobel in Superior Court.

Instead, between the time of the trial in recorders court and the Superior Court trial, the state had brought a more serious charge to face the young attorney, that of "assault on a female."

Mr. Walker told reporters he did not know of the change in the nature of the case until he was finally called for trial Tuesday morning. He then gained a delay until his attorney arrived and had time to restudy the case.

JUDGE HENRY L. STEVENS of Warsaw, who was presiding, had previously charged the twelve jurymen, among whom were two colored men.

Solicitor Tyler had excused one colored juryman because he had paid a $1 membership in the NAACP (which name Mr. Tyler never did pronounce correctly) eight years ago.

Although the man maintained that he had paid nothing since, Mr. Tyler insisted, "You are still a member; you just haven't paid your dues," so he disqualified the man.

MR. MITCHELL challenged four white jurymen, one of whom caused Judge Stevens to warn the jury that "This case is no different from any other case; you are to try it only on the basis of the evidence given here and not on what you may have heard or read."

Mrs. Taylor's testimony, in substance, was that Mr. Walker entered the front portion of her husband's store where she was working as registrar while she was "examining" Mark Johnson, who was seeking to register.

Two other persons who had been turned down earlier were with Mr. Walker when he sought the reason for their disqualification by Mrs. Taylor. Mr. Walker said they could read and Mrs. Taylor said they could not.

* * *

MRS. TAYLOR charged that Mr. Walker shook his finger as he pointed across the desk toward her as she ordered him out and he refused to go until her husband came from the rear and reached in a desk drawer for a telephone book to call police.

Mr. Mitchell, who was congratulated by Judge Stevens on his handling of the case had been laboring under grief caused by the death of his father, Samuel J. Mitchell of Goldsboro, ~~Tuesday night.~~

NORTH CAROLINA

GRANDSTAND SEGREGATION

Advertiser Montgomery Ala.
Fri. 9-14-56

Five Negro Baseball Fans Sue City Over Park Seats

WILSON, N.C., Sept. 13 (AP) —A suit asking an end to racial segregation at the Wilson Municipal Stadium, leased for professional baseball and used for various other activities, was on file here today.

Five Wilson Negroes brought the suit in U.S. district court. They said they tried to enter the grandstand for a baseball game and were turned away, although they had season tickets. They said the only seating offered Negroes was a bleacher section accommodating about 50.

The plaintiffs are the Rev. T. A. Watkins, pastor of the Negro First Baptist Church; I. B. Butler, O. N. Ellis, James Hart and Helen Ford.

Dr. G. K. Butterfield, Negro member of the city board of commissioners, was among the group refused admittance to the grandstand last April 25. He is not a party to the suit, however.

The defendants are the City of Wilson, Mayor John D. Wilson, and City Manager N. Jack Maynard.

C. O. Pearson, Durham Negro lawyer who has argued several cases in which the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People has been interested, represents the plaintiffs.

The city stadium is leased during baseball season by the Wilson Tobs, an affiliate of the Philadelphia Phillies, in the Class B Carolina League. Some Carolina League teams have Negro players. Wilson does not.

The plaintiffs said they went to the city commissioners May 10 and asked that segregation be stopped. The board refused to do it.

As a result of this refusal, the suit stated, the plaintiffs are asking an injunction against segregated seating and a final decree setting forth the legal rights of the five Negroes "and the class of people they represent."

The Wilson stadium also is used as a public school playground, for American Legion junior baseball, by the City Recreation Department, and for other purposes.

Open a can of tomato juice in the morning. Add a slice of onion, a few peppercorns, a few celery leaves and some strips of green pepper to it. Chill and allow the flavors to blend. Serve for dinner that night with crisp crackers.

Senator McCue Speaking

Charlottesville Lawmaker On Negroes And Jews

Journal + Guide P. 1
Sat. 9-22-56

Says He Has A "Nigger" In His Will; Predicts Violence

P. 11-B
Norfolk Va.

The following excerpts from an interview with State Senator Edward O. McCue, of Charlottesville, by Dan Wakefield, for publication in *The Nation*, national weekly, appeared in the issue of September 15.

The Senator's remarks are reprinted here as carried in *The Nation*. The interview with Senator McCue was a part of an article by Mr. Wakefield on the Charlottesville school situation.

In part, Mr. McCue is quoted as saying:

"Of course, we know this whole thing (integration) is being aided and abetted by the Communists and the Jews. The Communists want to mongrelize the race—weaken and conquer; and the Jews, they're so clannish, they want it so they'll end up being the only pure white race left, and have it all over everybody.

*** * ***

You know, we've got a lot of carpetbaggers down here in Virginia—rich Yankees come down here to settle, and they're more segregationist than we are. What makes us mad is you Northerners up there with dirty hands coming down here to tell us what to do. I've been to New York many a time and I never see a nigger couple in a restaurant there —they're all segregated out in Harlem.

"All those organizations that are so worried about minorities, why is it just the nigras? What about the Chinks and Japs over the West Coast, and the Italians and Irishmen over in the East? Why not worry over them for a while? Why, we do more for the niggers down here than all the liberal organiaztions put together. So happens I got a nigger in my will, and I bet there's not many white men up North can say that.

*** * ***

"We don't want any trouble down here, but boy, you haven't seen trouble compared to what there'll be if integration starts. Economically, the nigger'll be outa jobs. There's plenty of poor whites need work. These niggers'll be outa work and we'll give 'em a little pocket money and a railroad ticket and send 'em up there where you people love 'em so much. I've heard a good deal of talk about just that — there's a lot of people willing to give money for that."

N.C. Negroes Refuse To Buy Bias

Weekly P. 8
Sat. 11-10-56

Salibsury, N. C. -- (ANP)-- Rather than partake of both segregation and bad service, all but about three or four of the 30 Negro leaders in the Rowan United Fund Drive walked out of an opening dinner meeting here before it got started.

New Orleans

The Negro group had been seated by itself at table near the entrance to the kitchen. Some members walked out because they were served after white groups had arrived later. E. P. Horne, Yadkin Hotel manager, denied the group was discriminated against. He said, "we served them just like we would anyone else."

The meeting was in connection with Community Chest campaigns.

Wilson Negroes File Suit On Ball Park Segregation

News & Observer p. 1
Fri. 9-14-56

WILSON, Sept. 13—A suit has been filed in the United States District Federal Court here by five Negroes against the City of Wilson asking that segregation be struck down in the Municipal Stadium of Wilson.

The Negroes, in the suit filed yesterday, charge they were denied seats in the grandstand last April 25 for a Class B Carolina League baseball game between the Wilson Tobs and the Kinston club, although all had season tickets.

Defendants in the suit include the City of Wilson, Mayor John D. Wilson and City Manager N. Jack Maynard. The plaintiffs are the Rev. T. A. Watkins, pastor of the Negro First Baptist Church, I. B. Butler, O. M. Ellis, James Hart and Helen Ford.

Dr. G. K. Butterfield, Wilson's only Negro lawmaker, was in the group when it reportedly was refused admission to the grandstand. However, he is not a plaintiff in the action.

Wants Policy Change.

On May 10, the suit alleges, the five Negroes appealed to the City Board of Commissioners to change the seating policy in the grandstand, but that this appeal was not granted.

The complaint was signed and notorized Sept. 10, and was filed with the District Clerk of Court Sept. 12. Representing the plaintiffs is C. O. Pearson, a Negro attorney who has argued many cases for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Also, the complaint alleges, the city maintains a grandstand and covered bleacher section for its white patrons, while only limited accommodations of 50 seats are provided for Negro patrons. The action also says that seating arrangements are based on races.

The suit asks the court to enter a preliminary injunction and/or permanent injunction restraining and enjoining the city from the policy of segregation.

Another Charge.

In another charge against the city, the defendants alleged that the City of Wilson will continue to maintain and apply the policy of segregation at the stadium and they ask the court to restrain the municipality from doing so.

After the case has been heard on its merits, the suit says, the plaintiffs ask the court to enter a final judgment or decree that will set forth the legal rights of the plaintiffs and "the class of people they represent."

Wilson's stadium is leased on a year-to-year basis to the Wilson Tobs, an affiliate of the Philadelphia Phillies. The renewal of the lease for next season has not come up for discussion.

Paul Campbell, General Manager of the Tobs revealed that his organization will ask for a renewal of the current lease "as soon as the World Series is over." He said the suit against the city will have no effect on the club's plans to continue operating here.

Hodges Thinks Integration Crisis Poor Campaign Issue

News & Observer P.1 Wed. 3-28-56
Raleigh, N.C.

DURHAM, March 27 (AP)—Gov. Hodges declared tonight the U. S. Supreme Court "has not required any state to take any affirmative action toward mixing the races" in public schools.

He also told the Durham United Political Education Committee, a pro-segregation body, "I do not believe that segregation versus integration is much of an issue" for political candidates.

In his prepared speech, the Governor said that in the upcoming primaries "there are apt to be many candidates attempting to make an issue of the segregation problem. This problem is the most important one facing our state and of course it must be discussed by every candidate.

"However, I do not believe that segregation verus integration is much of an issue."

The governor explained that "to have an important issue, there would have to be a substantial amount of disagreement among a substantial number of our people as to how we feel about mixed schools.

It is my opinion that in North Carolina there is not a great deal of disagreement as to how we feel about mixing the races."

Hodges declared "There may well be some difference of opinion as how best to accomplish to attend any school that it maintains.'"

The Governor said "Because the various Southern states disagree with the decision of the supreme court doesn't mean they are disobeying a law.

"In Alabama where its legislature passed a resolution declaring the Supreme Court's decision null and void, a Negro woman was admitted to the University of Alabama as soon as the Federal Court ordered her admission.

"True it is that she is not now there," he continued, "but this did not result from defiance of the court decree. It expelled her as it had a right to do. Alabama obeyed the court decree, notwithstanding the language of its legislature."

He declared "We do not intend to go out of our way to do something we do not want to do in order to carry out somebody's mistaken notions of what is best for us. Not only do we not intend to go out of our way to do this, we do intend to go out of our way in every lawful manner, and I emphasize the word lawful, to avoid doing that which our people do not want to do and do not believe is best."

The Governor reported that the report of the advisory committee on education will be released in a few days.

our goals, but generally speaking, and with a few exceptions, most of us feel substantially the same way on this subject."

The governor asserted "I have tried on countless occasions . . . to make clear that the Supreme Court has not required any state to take affirmative action toward mixing the races. As Judge John J. Parker of the United States Court of Appeals has said: 'What the court has decided, and all that it has decided, is that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right

It endorsed the 1955 legislation which called for pupil assignment on the basis of color. On the question of the legality of this position, the committee said that:

* * *

"AN ADMINISTRATIVE body may well find that under existing local conditions it may not be feasible or best for a particular child to go to a particular school with children of another race."

It interpreted the Supreme Court ruling by saying:

"A color ban by law is one thing. A factual local-condition bar, even if color is one of the causes of the condition, is a different thing."

* * *

THE COMMITTEE hopes that "An understanding and tolerant court may well recognize that difference."

It suggested a "safety valve" in case its reasoning on assignment was not shared by "an understanding and tolerant court."

This "safety valve" would be legislation enabling a community to vote the discontinuance of its schools, thereby bypassing the constitutional provision for public schools, and,

* * *

FINANCIAL GRANTS for private school education, in "nonsectarian" schools.

The committee felt that if schools were integrated in the state, the general assembly would withhold support funds and kill the system.

Not compelled to mix, says N.C. body

Afro-American P.16
Sat. 4-14-56
Baltimore, Md.

RALEIGH, N.C. — "There is no legal compulsion on anyone to mix the races," said the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education in its April 5 televised recommendations for segregation.

The commission's report, which Chairman Thomas J. Pearsall said was accepted by Gov. Luther Hodges, called for continued segregation.

City Official At City-Own

Journal & Guide
Sat. 5-5-56

Special to Journal and Guide

WILSON, N. C.—A Negro City Commissioner, Dr. G. K. Butterfield, was denied a seat in the grandstand of the municipal stadium last Saturday, despite the fact that he had a season baseball ticket which carried no seating restrictions.

Norfolk, Va.

THE CITY OFFICIAL was in the company of several friends who had come to attend a baseball game at the city-owned Fleming Memorial Stadium.

DR. G. K. BUTTERFIELD
Denied Seat

All of the members of the party had season tickets except the Rev. T. A. Watkins, and he was refused a grandstand ticket by a ticketseller. Then all of the Negroes were denied admittance to the grandstand and left the stadium.

N. J. Baynard, Wilson city manager, said that seating policy was left in the hands of the person or group which leases the stadium. In this case it was the Wilson Tobs ball club, owned by the Philadelphia Phillies.

• • •

THE GENERAL manager of the Wilson ball club, Paul Campbell, was aware of the incident, but apparently refused to let the Negroes take seats anywhere but in the bleachers.

No signs appear in the stadium to designate special seating areas, but "tradition" is for Negroes to sit in the bleachers, while whites sit in the grandstand.

The game was played between Wilson and Kinston, both in the Class B Carolina League.

City Official Barred From Grandstand

Daily Worker
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 5-5-56

WILSON, N. C.--(ANP)--A party of five Negroes--one of them a Wilson city commissioner--was denied admittance to the grandstand of city-owned baseball park here last Thursday night because of their race.

38a-P.1

Dr. G. K. Butterfield, now serving his second term as a member of the city commission, arrived at the park prior to the game between Wilson and Kinston with four other men. All had season tickets except the Rev. T. A. Watkins, a Wilson minister.

Carroll Kemp, part-time ticket salesman, said Watkins asked to buy a ticket to the grandstand and "I told him I could not sell him a grandstand ticket." He said Watkins asked him why and that he told him that "I was not allowed to sell him a grandstand ticket."

Kemp said he referred Watkins to Gate 3, an entrance to a bleacher section which by custom is used by Negroes.

The stadium has no signs to distinguish white and Negro sections, but the grandstand traditionally is reserved to white patrons.

The Negroes left the park after conferring with Paul Campbell, general manager of the Wilson club.

HE DIDN'T SIGN

Sunday Star
Washington, D. C.
Aug. 5-20-56

Voters Still Like Cooley Despite Manifesto Issue

By DAVID KOONCE
Star Staff Correspondent

RALEIGH, N. C.—If the 4th congressional district of North Carolina is at all typical of this region, civil rights is by no means the only issue the Southern voter will consider when he goes to the polls this year.

In this District, Representative Harold D. Cooley, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee and a member of Congress for 22 years, is facing stiff primary opposition based almost solely on his refusal to join 79 other Dixie Congressmen in signing the "Southern Manifesto" attacking the Supreme Court's segregation decision. Victory in the Democratic primary on Saturday is tantamount to election in the fourth district.

W. E. Debnam, Mr. Cooley's opponent, is taking an appeal to the voters of this predominately rural area that is an old and familiar litany to the Southerner. Mr. Debnam charges that Mr. Cooley is being backed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He implies that the veteran Congressman refused to sign the manifesto because he is for integration in the public schools.

Mr. Cooley has explained that, as a lawyer, he could not "in good conscience" put his name on the document. This was the position taken by most of the other 25 House members from the South who refused to sign.

Virulent Issue in Past

The list of Southern politicians who have been felled by the race issue in the past is a long one—Claude Pepper, Frank Graham, Hugo Sims and Sidney McMath, to mention a few recent ones.

But Mr. Cooley's constituents, even those with the reddest necks and the poorest land, apparently are not convinced that their Congressman, one of the most faithful of the many farm champions in Congress, is ready to desert his "Southern heritage."

What appears at this point in the campaign to be the predominant feeling was summed up by the owner of a farm tool business, Roy E. Medlin of Benson: "If there's any farmer that will vote against Harold Cooley, he ought to have his brain looked at."

Mr. Medlin said that concern over Mr. Cooley's failure to sign the manifesto was slight. This opinion also was expressed by W. D. Tyson of Wendell, who, speaking of the State generally, said he believed that only a minority considers civil rights and integration the only big issue this year. "Most folks," he said, "are not blaming the responsible Southern politicians for this integration business. They blame fanatic Northerners."

A Johnston County farmer said that Mr. Cooley has "done more for the farmer than any 20 others up there." He added that "Cooley, Roosevelt and Truman have been the best friends the farmer has had." A farmer from Zebulon, in Raleigh on a shopping visit, said Mr. Cooley had always "taken care of us, and it don't matter how he figures this race business, I'd still vote for him."

Bill Byrd, a tobacco farmer, said he was getting fed up with race talk. "What I'm worried about" he said, "is my (acreage) allotment. I don't see how I'm going to make it this year with no more than I got."

Voter Backs 'Fiasco'

Strong Debnam sentiment in the district ... difficult to find. Much of his support seems to come from those who have not received all that they might have from North Carolina's public school system, which is far ahead of that in most other Southern States. A Debnam supporter, for instance, explained his preference this way: "Cooley has got too yankeefied and citvfied and I wouldn't vote for no man who didn't sign that fiasco."

Rep. Harold D. Cooley
Farmers Like Him

In the earlier days of the campaign. Mr. Debnam made much of the "manifesto" issue, but informed opinion now holds that this appeal, after the first passionate discussions around it, no longer has much impact. Apparently, Mr. Debnam now realizes this, for he has turned to attacking Mr. Cooley on the farm issue, charging that the Congressman has "played politics with the livelihood of farmers and lost."

A few weeks ago, Mr. Cooley himself was worried about the prospects. While his opponent was lashing him to the yardarm back home, he was held in Washington, putting in 12-hour days on the farm bill.

Last week was the first time he had had an opportunity for any strenuous campaigning. But his first few days in the district seemed to be paying off. His campaign workers even reported that they had received apologetic phone calls from persons who, over the checkerboard and on street corner discussions, had criticized Mr. Cooley.

The only trouble spot remaining for him seems to be Raleigh, the only city in the district. It is here that Debnam strength is the greatest.

Had Rural Following

Mr. Debnam, whom one editor labeled "a poor man's Fulton Lewis," was for years a radio news commentator who became a favorite with farmers. His sponsor was a large fertilizer manufacturing company. Many rural folk swore by him. In his campaign he has used this medium that is so familiar to him. His radio campaign talks, on purchased time, are presented in newscast format and many of his listeners do not realize that these are any different from the "Debnam Views the News" programs of the past.

Practically every newspaper in the district is supporting Mr. Cooley.

One editor said the Congressman "looks like a sure winner at this point." But he added that anything could happen on the last day of the campaign. "They (Debnam) might bring out something at the last minute that would not give Cooley time enough to answer."

Two other Representatives in the North Carolina primary next Saturday, Thurmond Chatham and Charles B. Deane, also are facing opponents who made their failure to sign the manifesto a campaign issue. If they—and Mr. Cooley—are returned to Congress their victories may well serve as a warning to Southern candidates who are depending on the race issue this year. It now seems a fact that it is becoming more and more difficult to get elected in the South by doing nothing more than waving a bloody shirt and appealing to race passions.

Five men arrested—

News P. 32
Birm., Ala.
Jun. 2-1-56

Spreading race hate accused after raids

CHARLOTTE, N. C., June 1—(AP)—Five men were under arrest today on charges of spreading race hate literature.

Police said that in searching the homes and business establishments of the men yesterday they found unsigned literature attacking the Anti-Defamation League and the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

They also said they found application blanks for membership in the Ku Klux Klan, a Klan robe and mask, a printing press, dynamite, guns, a roster of members of the States' Rights League, nude photographs, and printing plates of pornographic comic drawings.

THE FIVE, all from Charlotte and suburbs, are charged with distributing and mailing pamphlets attacking Alfred E. Smith, president of the Charlotte branch of the ADL, an arm of the B'nai B'rith Jewish order.

The charges are brought under a state law making it a misdemeanor to mail or transmit threatening written or printed material which is not signed.

Police seized leaflets saying that the Anti-Defamation League is "the American-Jewish gestapo of secret police and an offspring of B'nai B'rith, a so-called brotherhood of Jews."

THE LEAFLETS go on to say that the ADL "intimidated and coerced" the Charlotte city council to pass an ordinance banning "that they called hate literature."

Bond of $1000 each was set for release of the men.

Police said pamphlets also were found deriding the NAACP as "the National Assn. for the Agitation of Colored People."

Attorney Fined For Talking Loud To Woman

Daily Worker
N. Y. C.
Sat. 5-26-56

JACKSON, N. C. — (ANP) — A Negro attorney has given notice that he will appeal the $100 fine and 90 day suspended sentence given him last wek for "talking loud" to a white woman registrar at a polling place at Seaboard.

Atty James R. Walker, Jr., who appeared before Judge Mallard Gay in Recorder's Court last Wednesday was convicted of forcible transpass and disorderly conduct growing out of the incident.

Mrs. W. H. Taylor, register at Seaboard, told the court that Walker caused a disturbance by loud and boisterous talking while she was registering a Negro voter. She testified that Walker demanded that she register that Walker demanded that she registeh two men and two women who accompanied him to the polling place.

Following Mrs. Taylor's testimony, Samuel S. Mitchell, Raleigh Negro attorney who defended Walker, asked Judge Gay to dismiss the charges. He contended he knew he knew of no state law that makes it a crime to talk long and loud.

Favors Segregation

News & Observer Wed. 3-14-56 P. 1

Cooley Explains Manifesto Stand

Raleigh, N.C.

WASHINGTON, March 13 (AP) — Rep. Cooley (D-NC) declared today he refrained from signing the Southern manifesto against racial integration because he considers it "a dangerous document, calculated to aggravate the situation."

Cooley explained in a statement why he did not join 101 other Southern Congress members in the manifesto, called a "Declaration of Constitutional Principles," presented to Congress yesterday.

The declaration denounces the Supreme Court's decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools and pledges the signers to exert all lawful means in opposing the decision.

Another reason he did not sign the document Cooley said, is that he believes it "holds out the false hope that there are legal means through which the Supreme Court decision can and may be reversed."

He added that he is "and always have been definitely and positively in favor of our present system of segregated schools."

Cooley is the head of the North Carolina delegation in Congress.

"I did not sign the manifesto or Declaration of Constitutional Principles," his statement said, "for the very good reason that I believe it to be a dangerous document, calculated to aggravate the situation and inflame the minds and intensify the feelings of many people in many parts of our country."

Cooley continued:

"Some of the rather extreme statements contained in the so-called manifesto or Declaration of Constitutional Principles which was recently circulated in Washington will, in my opinion, greatly hinder rather than help those who are sincerely and earnestly trying to solve the problems presented by the Supreme Court Decision.

". . . Actually, some of the distinguished signers of the so-called manifesto have frankly and correctly indicated that any lasting solutions of the problems which now perplex us must of necessity be found at the local level, meaning, of course, within the sovereignty of the several states. We have the best system of government the mind of mortal man has yet devised. It is, indeed, a government of checks and balances. It is a dual, complext system of sovereignty, a government of three separate and distinct branches at the federal level and in the several states. Each branch functions within the framework of constitutional limitations and every official of each branch of the government is charged with certain fixed and definite responsibilities.

". . . Neither as a member of Congress nor as a lawyer do I know of any way to reverse the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, nor do any of the distinguished authors of the manifesto even suggest or offer a remedy by which the decision of the highest court of the land may be reversed.

"I did not prepare, circulate, or sign the so-called Declaration of Constitutional Principles for another good and valid reason, and that is that it holds out the false hope that there are legal means through which the Supreme Court decision can and may be reversed, and for the further good reason that I did not approve of either the form or substance of the document.

"I fervently hope that in an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding, and with patience and becoming dignity, our people will meet and solve the problems which now disturb the hearts and minds of citizens everywhere.

"I am now and always have been definitely and positively in favor of our present system of segregated schools. I am certain that the thinking people of both races appreciate fully the mutual advantages of our present segregated school system and I believe they will try honestly and sincerely to solve all of the problems presented."

N.C. congressman spurns 'manifesto'

Afro-American P. 19

Baltimore, Md.

WASHINGTON

"I consider it a dangerous document calculated to aggravate the (desegregation) situation."

Wed. 3-14-56

That was one of several reasons given by Rep. Harold Cooley (Dem., N.C.) for his refusal to join 101 other southern congressmen in signing the "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" presented to Congress last week.

* * *

ANOTHER REASON given by Mr. Cooley for his refusal to sign the document, he said, is his belief that "it gives out the false hope that there are legal means through which the Supreme Court decision can and may be reversed."

He added:

"I did not sign the manifesto for the very good reason that I believe it to be a dangerous document calculated to aggravate the situation and inflame the minds and intensify the feelings of many people in many parts of our country.

* *

"SOME OF THE rather extreme statements contained in the so-called Declaration of Constitutional Principles . . . will, in my opinion, greatly hinder rather than help those who are sincerely and earnestly trying to solve the problems presented by the Supreme Court decision.

"Nether as a member of Congress nor as a lawyer do I know of any way to reverse the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court . . . nor do any of the distinguished authors of the manifesto even suggest or offer a remedy by which the decision of the highest court of the land may be reversed.

* * *

"I FERVENTLY hope that in an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding and with patience and becoming dignity our people will meet and solve the problems which now disturb the hearts and minds of citizens everywhere."

Mr. Cooley, head of the North Carolina congressional delegation, added: "I am now and always have been definitely and positively in favor of our present system of segregated schools. . . ."

Two Dixie Solons Oppose Manifesto

Daily world P. 1

Wed. 3-14-56 Atlanta, Ga.

BY WILLIAM KERWIN

WASHINGTON — (INS) — Two Southern Congressmen — one of them an influential House Committee chairman — disavowed Tuesday the manifesto against racial integration in the schools issued by 101 of their Dixie Colleagues.

Reps. Harold D. Cooley (D) N. C., and Thurmond Chatham (D) N. C., both sharply questioned the wisdom of the declaration by the Southerners that they would employ all "lawful methods" to upset the Supreme Court ruling.

Cooley, who heads the powerful House Agriculture Committee, termed the manifesto "a dangerous document" and said it will "greatly hinder" those seeking a solution to problems created by the court order that racial segregation is unconstitutional.

Chatham said he considers the Supreme Court decision the law of the land, and therefore could not oppose it.

Cooley affirmed his advocacy of segregated schools but said that some of "the rather extreme statements" contained in the manifesto will hurt the South's position.

He said: "I did not sign the manifesto or declaration of constitutional principles for the very good reason that I believe it to be a dangerous document, calculated to aggravate the situation and inflame the minds and intensify the feelings of many people in many parts of our country."

The chairman stated also that the manifesto is "calculated to bring all the courts of our country into disrepute."

Daily World

In another development, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson said he is "hopeful" the Senate will vote to kill poll taxes this session, despite furor over public school segregation.

Wed. 3-14-56

The Texas Democrat indicated he would back a move to urge the Senate Judiciary Committee to report out a pending constitutional amendment barring taxes on voting. These levies are prevalent in some Southern states.

Atlanta, Ga.

Meanwhile, Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D) Mo., said he believes that Senate Judiciary Chairman James O. Eastland (D) Miss., will not try to block action on four civil rights bills also pending before the committee.

The fur measures, which include anti-lynching and right to vote legislation, were favorably reported by Henning's constitutional rights subcommittee earlier this month.

Hennings said he has asked for immediate consideration of the bills pieE tc::
bills despite Eastland's support of the Southern's bloc's manifesto.

Sen. Paul Douglas (D) Ill., warned the manifesto will encourage "resistance" to the Supreme Court ruling.

Congressman Cooley Talks Sense

Norfolk, Va.

From (Raleigh) News and Observer

IN a statement explaining his reason for not signing the "manifesto" of 100 Southern members of Congress denouncing the Supreme Court's school segregation decision, Representative Harold D. Cooley talks sense.

Mr. Cooley not only talks sense, but throws some needed light on the effects of the "manifesto."

On the basis of 22 years in Congress and 39 years as a lawyer, Mr. Cooley declares that he knows of no way of reversing the Supreme Court decision. He said that talk of reversing the decision will only stir up false hopes and false beliefs in the South and create antagonism in other sections of the country.

Mr. Cooley makes another very practical point. He sees no point in raising the question at the national level, when the signers of the document claim that the solution must be sought at the local and state level and admit that they are in a hopeless minority in the Congress.

Mr. Cooley's predictions were coming true even while he was making them. Already the "manifesto" has been responsible for more open cleavage in Democratic ranks than has been shown in three years. So far the only beneficiaries of the document have been the Republicans, who are understandably gleeful over Democratic disunity. And the chief victims may be the signers themselves, who have created resentment because they hold most of the important chairmanships in Congress although they constitute a decided minority of the Democrats in Congress.

Negro Group Is Studying Public Park Segregation

News + Observer Sat. 4-7-56

Raleigh, N.C.

The Raleigh Citizens Association, which has been insisting that local schools be integrated immediately, is considering an attack on another segregated front — Raleigh's public parks.

P. 16 -

Chairman G. A. Fisher of the local Negro organization said yesterday that the subject of segregated parks will be on the agenda for a meeting next Tuesday at 6:30 p.m. at the Bloodworth Street YMCA. He said that he did not know what action would be taken, that "we will have to study the city ordinances first."

The city operates two amusement parks—Pullen in west Raleigh for whites, and Chavis in southeast Raleigh for Negroes.

City Manager W. H. Carper said there is no ordinance regarding segregation in parks here. He also said their operation is controlled by the City Charter which does not require operation of such amusement centers as Pullen and Chavis parks.

The city manager also stated that, "no tax money is used for programming, supervision, etc.," at those parks for recreation. If the swimming pools, rides, and other amusement features were not self-supporting, he said, no tax money could be used to operate them.

Tax money can and is used, he said, for maintenance of the parks—such as upkeep of buildings, mowing grass, etc. Tax money also is used, it was stated, to retire $250,000 worth of bonds approved by voters in 1951 for the development of new parks and existing ones here.

Approximately $75,000 of the bond money was allocated for Chavis Park, it was reported, where a grandstand has since been built and the balance of the sum left "available to purchase a site in the eastern part of the city" for another park for Negroes.

Recreation Director James M. Chambers said that Chavis Park actually has better facilities now than those at Pullen Park.

Public parks and recreation facilities supported by tax funds recently were put in the same position as public schools on integration by a recent Supreme Court ruling.

Concession rights at Pullen Park have been awarded by the City Council to the Capital Concession Company on a high bid of $5,002. The company has operated at Pullen Park for several years, but the contract this year contains a cancellation clause in case any integration trouble arises to reduce income or the parks are closed. They are scheduled to start summer operations next month.

RACE ISSUE HELPS DEFEAT 2 IN HOUSE

Times P. 16-C

Cooley Only North Carolina Primary Winner of 3 Who Did Not Sign Manifesto

Mon. 5-28-56

New York, N.Y.

Special to The New York Times.

RALEIGH, N. C., May 27—Representative Harold D. Cooley was the only one of three Representatives in Congress who did not sign the Southern Manifesto to survive in yesterday's Democratic primary in North Carolina. Mr. Cooley, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, has served in Congress twenty-two years.

Representatives Thurmond Chatham and Charles B. Deane, the other non-signers of the manifesto, both were defeated in contests in which the manifesto had been the main issue. That document was signed in March by 101 Southern members of Congress. It pledged them to use all possible lawful means to resist the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in public schools.

However, observers looking for signs of hardening of attitudes on the race issue in North Carolina, could see mixed trends in the moderately heavy primary voting.

F. Ertel Carlyle, Seventh District Representative since 1948, was unseated in a race in which the manifesto was not an issue. He was beaten by former United States Senator Alton A. Lennon.

Representative Chatham of the Fifth District lost to Ralph J. Scott of Danbury, Superior Court solicitor. While the manifesto became the principal issue in this contest it had been generally agreed even before the emergence of that paper that Mr. Chatham was facing trouble.

The contest in the Eighth District, which Representative Deane lost to A. Paul Kitchin, a lawyer from Wadesboro, had been regarded as a true test of the race issue. That was so because Mr. Deane had declined to backtrack on his refusal to sign the manifesto. This became the sole issue used against him.

Nor was the victory of Mr. Cooley an outright test of the race issue. Repeatedly during the campaign he expressed his opposition to integration. He easily defeated W. E. Debnam, a news commentator from Raleigh. Mr. Colley's chairmanship of the Agriculture Committee brought him support from farmers in his predominantly agricultural district.

On the other hand, voting in other contests strongly indicated that North Carolinians favored moderation on the issue. Gov. Luther Hodges piled up a record-breaking vote against three opponents, two of whom had challenged him on the race issue.

With more than 250 voting precincts still unreported, Mr. Hodges had 369,000 votes against a combined total of 62,000 for his opponents. It appeared that the Governor's total would approach 400,000 votes, about 88,000 more than any other candidate had ever received in a state Democratic primary.

The only other contest in which the race question became an issue was the one for Lieutenant Governor. State Senator J. Vivian Whitfield came in last. He had been the only candidate to advocate the closing of the schools if necessary to avoid integration. Luther Barnhardt, Senate President, who had led that contest, did not speak out on the segregation question.

In other races of consequence, Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. was renominated for a six-year term in the United States Senate by a one-sided margin over Marshall Kurfees, Mayor of Winston-Salem. Ralph Gardner of Shelby, son of the late Gov. O. Max Gardner, led in a three-man race for Representative in the Eleventh District. A second primary appeared likely in this campaign for the seat being given up by Representative Woodrow Jones.

Of six Representatives involved in primary contests Messrs. Cooley, Carl T. Durham and Graham A. Barden won, all by good margins. Mr. Durham is vice chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. Mr. Barden is chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee.

38a 1956

OHIO

Kentucky Pupils Attacked In Cincinnati by Negroes

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Sat. 5-19-56

Franklin, Fayette Students Visiting Zoo Robbed, Intimidated by Bands of Youths

By HUGH MORRIS

The Courier-Journal Frankfort Bureau

Frankfort, Ky., May 18.—Two groups of Central Kentucky white school children from Franklin and Fayette counties were attacked, robbed, and intimidated by bands of Negro youths at Cincinnati's Zoological Gardens yesterday.

School officials of the two counties said today they will lodge formal protests about the trouble with the Mayor of Cincinnati, the Chamber of Commerce there, and Cincinnati Zoo officials.

J. F. Heusser, executive director of the zoo, said the Negro youths were pupils from Avondale School, which is near the widely known zoological gardens.

90 Pupils Molested

Molested were some 90 pupils of eight-grade classes at Elkhorn school, near Frankfort, and some of the 350 pupils from the ninth grades at Lafayette Junior High School, near Lexington.

No serious injuries were reported.

Charles Hart, superintendent of Franklin County schools, said one Elkhorn youth reported his glasses were taken from him by a band of Negro boys of high-school age, another was struck severely in the face, and a third came home with a shirt slashed by a razor.

"A number of Elkhorn pupils said they were chased by the colored boys and were intimidated," Hart said. "Another group said they were surrounded by colored boys with knives who took their money from them."

Says One Youth Struck

Luther C. Jones, principal of Lafayette Junior High, said at Lexington some members of his group reported Negro youths forced them to give up their lunches and their money.

One Lexington youth was struck by a Negro youth when he refused a demand for his money, Jones said, and another Lexington youth engaged in a fist fight with another Negro youth. Neither was injured, he added.

The Kentucky school officials said they did not regard the trouble as being race-inspired, but merely the unruly actions of "an unsupervised group of hoodlums."

Principal Jones said teachers chaperoning his pupils reported the students were conducting themselves in an orderly manner when several were attacked by the Negroes.

Say Officials Indifferent

"If there were chaperons for the group causing the disturbance it was not evident and certainly nothing was done to restore order," Jones said his teachers reported.

Teachers in charge of both Lexington and Frankfort groups said that uniformed officials of the zoo were inefficient and seemed indifferent to the disorders.

Pupils from Bridgeport School in Franklin County were visiting in Cincinnati today, but were instructed by Superintendent Hart not to stop at the zoo.

Zoo Director Heusser said, "I heard about it, but I don't know what took place," when asked at Cincinnati today about the troubles.

Received Call

Heusser said he received a call on the zoo intercommunication system yesterday from ticket takers at the automobile gate. They told him there was trouble around one of the buses in the parking area.

"I called the Cincinnati police right away and they came immediately," Heusser said, "but the trouble was all over when they arrived."

Heusser said the attacks occurred in an "isolated area" and that he had not yet been able to find anyone who could give him a report about it.

"Some people told me it was nothing, and others said it was pretty bad," he continued.

'Regret It Happened'

"If I could identify who was attacked by whom it would help. We regret that it happened because it all reflects against the zoo and we have a lot of friends in Kentucky and wouldn't want anything to happen to this friendship."

Heusser said yesterday was a "tough" day at the zoo because of the many children present. He said he was surprised at the number of Negro children in the Avondale School group.

"I don't think I ever saw them so big—and still in school," he added.

Heusser said he would ask the principals of Elkhorn and Lafayette Junior High for reports on the incidents.

The zoo director said the skirmish might have started because one group or the other was belligerent, or because one resented the presence of the other.

The Zoological Garden is operated for the City of Cincinnati by a society, Heusser explained. It has two uniformed guards in the area of the rides and attractions and two other guards on patrol.

Ronald Connelly, principal at Elkhorn School, said his eighth-grade group was chaperoned by Coach Allen Parr, three women teachers, and a bus driver.

Principal Jones said his Lexington pupils were supervised by 12 teachers and nine bus drivers. His faculty outlined the incidents to him in a written report today.

Jones commended his faculty and the bus drivers "for doing all they could to restore normal order."

Ohio high court upholds park that refused Negro

News p. 2
Wed. 4-18-56
Richmond, Ala.

COLUMBUS, Ohio, April 18—(AP)—Ohio's Supreme Court today refused to order Coney Island Amusement Park near Cincinnati to admit a Negro woman.

The 5-2 decision came in a mandamus action by Mrs. Ethel Fletcher who said the park denied her admission on July 2 and 4, 1954.

The court said that the operator of a private place of amusement for entertainment has a right to admit or to bar, under law, anyone he chooses, but is subject to fine and imprisonment for violating anyone's civil liberties.

PUBLISH IT NOT IN THE STREETS OF ASKELON'—IX.

Advertiser
Fri. 4-6-56
P.4-A

[The origin of this one is worth mention. From the three corners of the country we are receiving friendly letters and steers on race strife outside the South. Among these was an unsigned envelope from New York and in it, a clipping from the theatre publication Variety relating a fragment of what follows. A segregated movie house in Ohio seemed interesting, so we wired Canton for an ample story, which see.—Ed.]

Montgomery Ala.

CANTON, Ohio, April 5—A civil rights trial in which a theater patron alleged segregation in a Waynesburg, Ohio, theater ended March 7 in a hung jury.

In the case, the plaintiff, a Negro, John Kelly, 33, sought $5,500 damages from Ralph Bevington, manager and owner of the Mohawk Theater in Waynesburg.

Kelly testified that on Feb. 23, 1955, he seated himself in the right section of the theater and shortly afterward was asked by an usher and Bevington to move to the left section. When he made neither comment nor motion to move, Bevington called a policeman, who offered the alternative of either leaving or moving, Kelly stated.

Kelly asked $500 for shame, disgrace and ridicule he claims resulted from the incident and $5,000 on his contention that he was forcibly deprived of his civil rights.

During the trial it was brought out in testimony that the tickets had a statement on the back of them that the theater reserved the right to seat patrons as it saw fit.

By Helen Carringer

Of The Canton Repository

Bevington said he had operated the theater for 18 years and it was generally accepted that Negroes sat on the left and white patrons on the right, and no difficulties had ever arisen.

Bevington also said he orders his tickets from national suppliers and this statement was never requested by him but appears automatically on the back of all tickets.

Canton's Theater Boycott

SINCE the trial Bevington says 99% of his Negro trade has dropped off. He has raised his admission price from 50 to 75¢ and makes no effort to direct any patron to a seat.

Kelly's was the first of nine similar suits pending in Common Pleas Court. Each was filed, citing much the same causes of action, by Negro men who attended the theater that night.

Barring settlement, Kelly's suit probably will not appear for retrial before fall.

Voluntary Segregation

THE action is not indicative of general segregation in this area. Negroes are not banned from Canton's better hotels and restaurants. It is true they are not frequently seen in such places but the restrictions are self-imposed.

However, annually, the Urban League in Canton holds its banquet and biggest meeting of the year in the ballroom of Canton's leading hotel and white and Negro people sit at the same tables.

The city operated swimming pools follow strictly Ohio state law which absolutely prohibits differentiation because of color. Negroes are seen at all the pools. However, almost all of them prefer to use Jackson Pool—located in an area of the city where many Negroes live.

This pool is the newest, and according to city recreation director, Clifford Schnake, the most modern with the best facilities.

Each year, a queen is elected at each of the city parks. A city queen is selected from the preliminary contest to reign at the city swimming meet at the end of summer. Last year, the queen was a Negro girl.

Pictures Used

THE *CANTON REPOSITORY* (the city's only newspaper) uses the picture of every Negro girl who requests it with an engagement or wedding story. They are given a one-column picture on either or both occasions.

Incidentally, white girls also receive one-column pictures in the newspaper. No two-column cuts have been used for years, regardless of family, wealth or social position.

Naturally there are not as many Negro girls' pictures, since all non-white races account for only 6.1% of Canton's population of 116,912.

In all of Stark County, there are 12,589 Negroes and 270,605 white people.

Part of Red-inspired plan—

Ohio youths organized to push Ike into Dixie's segregation issue

News
Sun. 3-25-56 Birmingham, Ala. P. 1
38a

BY REED SMITH

COLUMBUS, Ohio, March 24—(AP)—A Communist-inspired drive is on to enlist Ohio youth in a campaign for federal intervention in Dixie's racial segregation issue.

Secret directives intercepted by internal security officials called the plan "Operation Constitutional Rights."

Disclosure of the directives came from officials of the internal security division of the Ohio attorney general's office.

The Ohio drive is part of a nationwide move for students and working youth to help pressure the Eisenhower administration into intervention.

VEHICLE FOR the campaign is the Labor Youth League, described by officials as the Communist Party's youth arm. They said the league replaced the wartime American Youth for Democracy group that stemmed from the young Communist league.

"The objective of this operation," the directives said, "is to mobilize every single member of the league together with friends, neighbors and fellow workers, to bring maximum pressure on President Eisenhower and the federal government to assume their responsibility and intervene against the Dixiecrat terror in the South. . . . To uphold the Constitution . . . and bring law and order to the South."

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION of the Labor Youth League is the "New Challenge." Records of the Ohio un-American activities commission show that copies of the paper were passed out at Cleveland's John Adams High School in 1952 in the first reported attempt of that nature to recruit pupils.

The league's current Ohio drive is two-pronged. Objective are:

Help obtain 25,000 messages to President Eisenhower within six weeks urging segregation intervention.

GET MORE READERS of New Challenge by offering 4000 half-year subscriptions for 50 cents between mid-April and July.

Officials said the LYL's Ohio operation is centered in Cleveland with branches in other cities over the state.

Exodus from South

Herald P. 11-a
Thurs. 9-13-56
Miami, Fla.

North Is Confronted By Negro Headache

TOLEDO, Ohio—(AP)— Aiding the poorly educated Negroes streaming out of the South will be the central problem of many health and welfare agencies in the North and West for the next 20 years, says a Chicago sociologist and population authority.

Already, said Dr. Philip M. Hauser, chairman of the University of Chicago's sociology department, "Northern and Western cities are paying a high price for the poor preparation which the Negro received in the South for urban living.

"They will continue, along with the Negro, to pay an ever higher price in the coming decades if they do not facilitate and accelerate this adjustment by every possible means."

Dr. Hauser, addressing the Ohio Welfare Conference here, said the most important function of the South will continue to be preparing its Negro residents for the complex living they will find in the industrial cities of the North and West.

But, he said, the South has poor facilities to do that. In 1950 the average southern rural Negro had only 4.8 years of schooling. Of the Negroes who leave the South, 94 per cent go to urban areas.

Dr. Hauser predicted that by 1975 Negroes may make up between a fifth and a third of the population of many big industrial areas in the North and West.

Their adjustment in the big cities, he said, will be similar to that of the many waves of newcomers in the past.

He said the new "immigrant" groups always land in the slum areas, "the ports of entry," and at first are rejected by the older residents. But eventually they become accepted and gain "the ability to look down their noses at some newer immigrant group," he said.

Jim Crow Sign Down In Rail Depot

Black Dispatch Oklahoma City, Okla. 1-7-56

Snack Bar Refuses To Permit Negro Woman to Drink Coffee

Jim crow signs went down at the Union station Monday, in compliance with the orders of the Interstate Commerce commission, and Negroes started taking their seats in the station on a "first-come-first served" basis.

Services at the snack bar, however, followed the old jim crow pattern. A lady passenger, coming in Tuesday morning, on the way east, who wanted a cup of coffee, was denied permission to drink same at the counter by the attendant.

The waiter served the lady in a paper cup and asked her to drink same after she had gone into the Negro waiting room. The passenger demurred, but left the banned snack bar with her cup of coffee.

Indications at the city bus terminal were that the jim crow waiting room signs would remain.

"No, we have not taken down our signs and have no immediate intention of doing so," declared an official who answered the phone Monday when Mrs. Caroline Burks, a member of the executive committee of the Oklahoma City branch, NAACP, called to find out what progress had been made in keeping with the orders of the Interstate Commerce commission, ending jim crow in bus travel and services.

"The man changed his attitude when I told him who I was," Miss Burks said, "and intimated he was giving the matter some consideration, but had not up to that time complied with the order. I told him it was now the law, and that I was expecting him to abide by it."

Miss Burks is a white member of the NAACP board, and was active in breaking up jim crow at the concerts of the Interdenominational choir, an adjunct of the YWCA in Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma City Officials Banish Segregation in All City Parks, Pools

Call Fri. 2-10-56 P. 1

Kansas City, Mo.

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla. —City Manager William Gill Jr. and Superintendent of Parks R. R. Murphy announced last Friday that racial segregation in city-owned parks, wading and swimming pools has been banished here.

They made it clear that no official announcement will be made; that the city is simply complying with the recent Supreme Court order outlawing segregation on the basis of race in tax-supported places.

Commenting upon the city's banishment of segregation, Jimmy Stewart, president of the Oklahoma City branch of NAACP, said: "While some members of the branch might want an official proclamation issued, everyone knows that integration is the law and it might be in poor taste to ask a city official to proclaim that he would uphold the law."

The city officials further stated that "they hope no problems would arise from the integration measure but should that occur, they will be dealt with. All of the city's parks, playgrounds, wading pools and swimming pools will continue to operate, since they were built to service their communities."

"However any citizen may frequent and participate in the activities of any city facility for recreation."

It was also made clear that facilities in any of the city's buildings are for the use of citizens without regard to color. That all signs designating the racial use of a facility have been removed; this includes eating at the Snack Bars.

In the State Capitol, however, signs, "Colored," and "White" still hang over doors to rest rooms and wash rooms.

Negroes Resent Charges Made

Eagle Thurs. 1-26-56

Dr. Williamston Says Statement is Untrue

IDABEL, Okla. — Dr. H. W. Williamston, president of the Oklahoma Conference of Branches, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with offices here, denied charges last week that Negroes in McCurtain county were more against integration than whites in that section.

According to Dr. Williamston, the statement regarding the sentiment of McCurtain county Negroes with reference to integration was made by Lawrence Dillard to the State Board of Education, said "the statement by Mr. Dillard does not reflect the sentiment nor the spirit of McCurtain county Negroes."

Dr. Williamston continued, "We have peacefully gone along with the authorities, feeling that they would not attempt to circumvent the supreme Law of the Land as interpreted by our highest court.

"We fully realize that no part of our modern life is more important than education. Therefore, the Negro people wish to be looked upon as law-abiding citizens, accepting every responsibility rightly placed before us."

Dr. Williamston told The Oklahoma Eagle this week that Negroes in the McCurtain county area are "very indignant over the statement."

Parks Opened To Negroes In Oklahoma

Herald Mon. 2-6-56

Miami, Fla.

OKLAHOMA CITY —(AP)— Racial segregation in municipal parks, including swimming and wading pools, has been ended in Oklahoma City without fanfare.

City officials issued no formal announcement on the action, saying they would handle problems as they arose when the big rush to the parks starts in the spring.

Jimmie Stewart, president of the Oklahoma City chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said "one of our people wanted a proclamation issued, but everyone finally decided that integration was the law and that it might be in poor taste to ask a city official to proclam he would uphold the law."

Oklahoma City Ends Bans

Times 1-26-56

OKLAHOMA CITY, Feb. 3 (AP) —Racial segregation in municipal parks, including swimming and wading pools, has been ended in Oklahoma City.

City officials issued no formal announcement. They said today that they would handle problems as they arose when the big rush to the parks began in the spring.

Senate Inquiry Urged

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3 (UP)— A delegation from nine Southern states urged the Senate Constitutional Rights subcommittee today to investigate "infringements upon Federal rights of our citizens" in Mississippi.

Edgar A. Love, a Negro Methodist Bishop from Baltimore, headed the twenty-man delegation. He gave Senator William Langer, Republican of North Dakota, a subcommittee member, a petition signed by 2,500 persons from all states.

Senator Richard L. Neuberger, Democrat of Oregon, charged, meanwhile, that some Southern states had "defied" the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in schools.

Negro Leadership Critically Examined

Black Dispatch Oklahoma City, Okla. 2-16-56

We recall how we marveled sixty years ago when a man, who said he was a Coptic priest, lectured out in the Choctaw neighborhood, near what is at the present time Nicoma Park. It was one of the most unusual experiences of young childhood. This man told some wonderful stories of Ethiopia and the section of the earth where Christianity originated.

But Oklahoma has gone cosmopolitan, and especially the Negroes of this section. The King of Kings not only visited Oklahoma last year, visiting the A. & M. college at Stillwater, but perhaps almost 100 Oklahomans visited the Holy Land, London and Paris last year while in attendance at the Baptist World Alliance. The principal of Douglass high school attended a world conference of teachers in Turkey, and an Oklahoma City boy, born on First street some forty years ago, writes he is studying this summer in Rome.

Times 2-16-56

Airplanes have accentuated the marvel of modern travel.

Before us lies a letter, postmarked from London, from Dr. G. Lamar Harrison. Dr. Harrison says he started writing this letter in Paris and completed it in London. His swift passage reminds us of the night we made a speech in Wichita, and was in bed in Oklahoma City before the meeting was closed in Wichita, and we are reminded also the day when we were flying just above the clouds in Alabama just after leaving Atlanta, actually drinking lemonade.

These Oklahomans should be worth something on the lecture platform when they return. Dr. Harrison tells in his letters of the wonderful inaugural ceremonies which accompanied the induction into office of President Tubman in Liberia. He tells of the native chiefs, dressed in their tribal splendor, who arrived in Monrovia for the festivities from the far-off hinterlands.

Dr. Harrison and his wife, along with Mr. and Mrs. Jake Simmons of Muskogee, flew from Monrovia to Casablanca, making three stops in North Africa, and then on to Rome before arriving in Paris. They had a little time to look in on old Madrid.

The world was a terribly big place when we were a lad and listened to the marvelous tales told by that old man, who may, or may not, have been a Coptic priest, but as science converts a round-the-world trip to about a week's travel we should recognize some of the challenges that this contracted universe slaps in the face of Negroes. As we travel, we should attempt to see whether or not the militancy and leadership of Negroes in America is standing abreast of leadership of the dark world in alien lands. It should be recalled that Americans who went to Bandung last year instantly discovered they were entirely out of step with representatives who came from Asia and Africa. One unfortunate statement exposed American Negro leadership hopelessly conservative.

Most Negro journals and all white publications have been overlooking Africa and her teeming millions, just as they did India before she secured her freedom. But Africa today is a seething mass of unrest from the Mediterranean to Capetown. Both East and West Africa are crying for freedom and self-determination. The American Negro who travels in Africa today should examine what is going on there from the political angle, and determine whether or not the American black man is fighting for the same type and quality of human dignity as the native African.

We know that the standard of living of the American black man is higher than that of any other black group on the globe, but are we to use our "soft" living status to help or hinder our brethren in colonial areas? Is the Negro in America who is still contented with a half loaf of citizenship, and our current "Tuscaloosas" a fit object lesson for those fighting black men and women who are dying by the thousands for self-determination?

Under our form of democracy minority groups have an opportunity always to fight through constitutional process in the courts. Is Negro leadership measuring up to the highest standards in this respect? We recall two years ago, when this writer circulated a petition for a grand jury, the action was frowned upon by many of what we called Oklahoma county Negro leadership. Some even expressed doubt of the Negro's right to demand grand jury action, when all this writer was doing was exercising the right of petition, which is fundamental in the American system.

We recall on another occasion, when we stood up in a meeting in Jackson, Mississippi, several years ago and demanded that the meeting go into executive session so that we could exclude three white men who had entered and had taken seats. We were voted down by the delegates and the whites officially permitted to stay, although every delegate present knew that the presence of any white men in the meeting completely subverted the purpose of the meeting.

In New Orleans a few weeks previous, we had made a motion that the presidents of all Negro land grant colleges meet with the newspaper men, "let their hair down," and tell us what was wrong with the Negro colleges, in that they did not produce graduates useful and effective in the Negro business structure. In the judgment of this writer, the presence in that meeting of three white men would make Negro college presidents reluctant to say what the lags were, and how they were brought about in Negro colleges. Everybody there knew we were right, but they almost to a man voted to subvert the real purpose of the meeting.

While we talked, a man who for two generations had autocratically dictated policies for Negro teachers in Texas, got up and ran out of the meeting. The question we wanted to ask is "Why is this man an absolute dictator of Negro affairs in Texas, but nothing but a rabbit in Jackson, Mississippi, when an Oklahoma Negro arises and insists that three white men be excused from the meeting?" We took the same position in St. John Baptist church several years ago, attempting to exclude a Times reporter while we discussed a city situation, and everyone voted our proposal down.

Time out of number we have gone to the city hall with delegations of Negroes pledged to a certain objective and purpose, only when we arrived to find a break in the ranks of the blacks when some one of the Negro delegation got up and began to stumble along to say, "Well, I did not see this in the light that Councilman So-and-So has explained it. That gives me an entirely different view. I guess I'll have to change my position."

Following such a break in the Negroes' rank, others hurriedly followed, and when we left the city hall, or the governor's office the entire purpose of the committee had been destroyed.

What American Negroes who travel these days should study with great care, is whether or not we who reside in America are as independent and resolute in our thinking as those blacks in foreign climes. Do we have the firmness and constancy that immobilizes our following? If you are a leader in your community, ask yourself this question, "Do I have the courage to use every constitutional process in fighting for the rights of my group?" That is the measuring yardstick you should use in examining and evaluating your leadership.

Do you oppose going to the city hall or the governor's office with a black man simply because the whites do not like that particular black man? Is the reason why you do not want to go with him simply because you do not want to be joined with a black man who is too persistent in seeking his objectives? We hope those who are visiting Africa and Asia these days will take time out to examine black, brown and yellow leadership from this angle. The English are not too wild and enthusiastic about Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, but millions of West African natives swarm daily about this fearless black leader. Perhaps American Negroes have their thinking clothes on backward. If the 16 million Negroes in the United States would throw all of their support, undivided, behind Roy Wilkins, President Eisenhower would be inviting Wilkins occasionally to dinner and to state affairs. Let's use our travel funds these days to find out what makes dark leadership effective in foreign lands.

Eagle Thurs. 6-21-56 Tulsa, Okla. P.1

38a

"OKLAHOMA" FOR WHITES ONLY— Oklahoma's more than 145,500 Negroes will sing "Oh, What a Beautiful Morning" as they at last reach full first class citizenship status in their state. Because of race Negroes will not be permitted to see the colorful Rogers and Hammerstein musical "Oklahoma," now showing at the Rialto Theater downtown Tulsa. The management explained that provisions had not been made to accomodate Negroes. The film opened here June 8, with thousands joining in the festivities. From all these events, however, Negroes were excluded. "Oklahoma" is now in its third week at the Rialto. It is expected to run 60 or 90 days. The musical, in the new Todd-AO process, is being shown exclusively at the Rialto—the only theater in the state equipped to the 70 mm. color film.

'Arrangements' Not Made For 145,500 Citizens

Eagle Thurs. 6-21-56 Tulsa, Okla. P.1

Negro Oklahomans Declare Discrimination Is Groundless

By E. L. Madison, Jr.
Of The Eagle Staff

38a

Although his fathers before him helped settle this state, although he now represents more than one tenth of the state's population, the Negro citizen of Oklahoma today is told that he cannot see the Southwestern premiere showing of the movie version of "Oklahoma."

The reason for this social injustice, according to Jack Hull, manager of the Tulsa Downtown Theaters, is simply that "arrangements have not been made for the attendance of Negroes." Hull made this statement to The Oklahoma Eagle and to other interested North Tulsans who contacted him concerning seeing the movie which opened June 8, at the Rialto Theater. 13 West Third Street.

His response to one North Tulsan's inquiry was short and to the point. "There will be no seats for Negroes," Hull said.

The theater manager, a Mr. Haberlin, said last week that the Rialto had not set up a policy for patronizing Negroes.

No Praise from Negroes

Governor Raymond Gary praised Tulsa for getting the Rodgers and Hammerstein Todd-AO production before Oklahoma City. However, the 145,503 citizens who make up Oklahoma's Negro population can find little praises for being singled out as different or not fit to see a nationally acclaimed film bearing the name of their state.

The fact that attendance at a theater is considered a matter of private concern is not important to the Negro. Being left out of a statewide event hits a hard blow. It hurts his pride.

It makes him feel different when there is no difference that could harm his white brother in any way. The only differences, those being color of skin and texture of hair, are little grounds for discrimination—not in 1956, 94 years after the Emancipation Proclamation.

Oklahoma has advanced in great strides since the onward march of desegregation and integration began. It is hoped that even greater forward steps will be made in that direction, to include integration in recreational areas.

The Rialto manager said that "Oklahoma" may run in Tulsa for possible 60 or 90 days. But it may be months or years before Negro citizens can see the film. Should an Oklahoma citizen have to go outside the state to see "Oklahoma."

Eagle P.6

Forget About Color

There are many doors not yet opened to the citizen of color. It is our earnest prayer that the day will come when our white brothers will realize through Christian love that color does not make the man.

Maybe movies are not important. But the fact remains that moving pictures provide a form of entertainment that is as American as the hot dog or the Sunday comic section. Negroes are Americans. In this case, they are Oklahomans too.

Lack Of Rights To All Challenged By Senator

Daily World P. 1

Tues 3-20-56

PHILADELPHIA — Giving equal rights to all American citizens without regard to race, color or religion will have a great bearing on this country's victory or defeat in its conflict with Communist imperialism around the world, U. S. Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. (D.-Mo.) told the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick here at the society's annual dinner.

Senator Hennings said the two national problems of Communist aggression abroad and the maintenance of constitutional rights at home are so complicated and serious that solving them will test the ablest thinking of the American people.

"We are faced overseas by a great imperialist power which is hostile to us and is challenging us to combat in many parts of the world, Hennings said. "I refer to the Communist Empire of Russia." He said that a trip to Russia last year had brought him home impressed by the great advances Russia had made in technology, industry and public education since the revolution which overthrew the Czars.

"To be sure it has another desotism today," Hennings said. "But let us not under-estimate the power of that despotism, nor the appeal which its religion of Communism has in many parts of the world where people of various colors have been living under colonial rule on the verge of hunger. To combat that revolutionary faith of the Russians effectively," Hennings said, "we must never forget that we ourselves are children of the American revolution. The principles of the American revolutionists who dared to create a government to be the servant of a people rather than its master will win in the yong run. I do not believe God almighty ever intended mankind to live forever under earthly despots." Daily World

Sneator Hennings bracketed "the problem of realizing the objectives of our own great American revolution" with defense against Russian imperialism around the world. "Our domestic problem," he said, "is one of seeing to it that all our citizens, without regard to race, color, religion or ancestry shall live under the equal protection of our constitution and our laws. It is how we may see to it that all of our citizens may enjoy equally the blessings of our constitutional freedom. And how we solve this problem at home will have a great bearing on whether or not we win or lose in our great conflict with that hostile Communist Empire abroad." P. 4

Senator Hennings said he believed that the best answer to manifestoes against the equality of all citizens under Federal law would be action by Congress to strengthen its protection. In this connection he said he hoped for adoption of four bills which as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights he has forwarded, with Subcommittee approval, to the Judiciary Committee. The four bills are: (1) A bill to protect the voting rights of all citizens in Federal elections and primaries; (2) a bill to establish new civil rights enforcement machinery in the Attorney General's office; (3) one to extend protection against bodily attack to all members of the armed forces; and (4) a new anti-lynching bill.

3 Churches Join Fight On Neighborhood Bias

Inquirer P. 1

Philadelphia Pa.

Jan 7-8-56

Three religious denominations have joined forces to preserve, through good will and tolerance, the Germantown-Pelham area which they serve.

The cornerstone of the joint effort is democratic acceptance and welcome for new families of all creeds and races who establish their homes in the neighborhood.

OBJECT IS HARMONY

Working to create harmony among the residents is the Church Community Council, composed of committees representing the Church of the Epiphany, the Germantown Jewish Center and the Unitarian Church of Germantown.

Twelve representatives of the three churches, headed by Howard Stoertz, have laid down a program by which new families are made welcome and rapidly integrated into the life of the community.

What the Church Community Council has discovered in the comparatively brief time of its existence is that tensions quickly disappear and newcomers learn to be good neighbors with pride in the appearance of their homes and their neighborhoods.

FIGHT AGAINST FEAR

Among the old residents, the Council spreads the gospel of friendship and understanding and seeks to destroy panic and fear that may come with an influx of new neighbors.

Running away because of the newcomers is strongly discouraged as being detrimental to the entire community and the old residents are cautioned, too, that panic sales of their homes only depreciate market values and rob them of their own investments in their properties.

To maintain community leadership and foster neighborhood acquaintance, the Church Council has adopted this program:

Education and information within their congregations and neighborhoods to build acquaintance and understanding.

Encouraging present residents to stay in the area.

Promoting a sell-your-neighborhood campaign to encourage prospective buyers of high standards, regardless of religion or race, to buy the homes that are for sale.

Maintaining and improving the quality of schools, community facilities and physical and spiritual values of the community.

Inviting other churches and like-minded individuals to join in this common effort.

One of the first steps taken by the council, Stoertz said, was to obtain a petition signed by residents of Lincoln dr., condemning practices of some real estate dealers.

The petition was sent to the Germantown Realty Board, the Philadelphia Board of Realtors and to all real estate agents doing business in the Pelham area of Germantown.

The petition objected to the following practices:

Showing or selling houses to members of only one racial group.

Urging owners to sell because new people have moved into a block.

Soliciting sales of owners who have shown no desire to sell.

Posting an excessive number of "for sale" signs in the same block at the same time.

Advertising the neighborhood as "mixed."

"As is apparent," Stoertz said, "this area is experiencing a change, but thanks to the efforts of our own and several similar organizations, the change has thus far been gradual, with a singular lack of tensions.

"We accept a racially mixed neighborhood," he continued, "believing it is in the best American and religious tradition, but we are also very anxious to maintain the high standards of the area and to prevent panic selling. This we believe would result in another 'segregated' district.

PANIC SELLING ABSENT

"There has been little evidence of panic selling thus far, but the practices of some of our short-sighted real estate operators will tend to produce this if it is not checked," he said.

Working with Stoertz, are also Allan G. Mitchell, George Schermer and the Rev. Max F. Daskam, of the Unitarian Church; Rabbi Elias Charry, Leon H. Magil, Louis E. Marrits and Russell Moses of the Jewish Center and the Rev. J. Wesley Twelves, Mrs. T. Harold Fox, William C. Leyshon and Mrs. Roland Whitehurst, of the Church of the Epiphany.

Pastor Resigns As Flock Turns Down Integration Bid

Black Chronicle Oklahoma City Okla.

Feb 11-18-56

PHILADELPHIA.— (ANP)—A Baptist minister resigned his pastorate here last week after his congregation turned down his request to admit Negroes to membership.

The Rev. David E. Gregory, pastor of the New Berean Baptist church, read a letter of resignation at last Sunday's regular service, after losing out in what was described by a pro-segregationist member as a "family quarrel."

However, statements by the 40-year-old Rev. Gregory regarding the controversy indicate it was fare more than a congregational riff. He indicated that a battle had been waged to defeat his request. He said the issue of integration was put to members in a questionnaire and that they approved it, 56 to 53. But he admitted that those opposed to it said they would leave the church if Negroes joined. This was taken to mean that the threatened walkout influenced the congregation in defeating the move.

One segregationist, Thomas W. Cox of Suburban Upper Darby, acting chairman of the board of deacons and a member of the church for 48 years, declared:

Minister Exploited Him, Negro Claims

Star 26-a
Wed. 11-16-56
Washington D.C.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 16 (AP).—A Negro farm worker from Orangeburg, S. C., in a suit filed yesterday, accuses a minister of exploiting his life in the South for publicity purposes and then failing to pay him the money he says they had agreed upon.

Willie Sharper came to Philadelphia from South Carolina last January with his wife and five children. The suit, filed in Common Pleas Court, alleges that William Lee Bentley, Negro pastor of the Emanuel Institutional Baptist Church, made a deal with Mr. Sharper calling for the latter and his family to appear at church gatherings and other affairs to tell their experiences in the South, including some with the Ku Klux Klan.

The object of the appearances, Mr. Sharper said in his suit, was to publicize Mr. Bentley and raise funds. Mr. Sharper said the agreement was that all money raised would be used by Mr Bentley to pay the Sharpers' living expenses.

Mr. Sharper said he and his family made several appearances and that Mr. Bentley owes him more than $1,500 collected.

When whites and Negroes worship together

Chicago Defender
Sat. 2-4-56

Though the worship of God is still conducted on a predominantly Jim Crow basis in some parts of the country, many churches have confessed the sinfulness of segregation.

February Reader's Digest reports the encouraging experiences of churches where white congregations opened their doors to Negroes . . . describes the obstacles that still lie in the path of interracial worship.

Get February Reader's Digest at your newsstand now: 45 articles of lasting interest, including the best from leading magazines and current books, condensed to save your time.

Speakers Absent For Miss. Meet

Defender P.1 Sat. 5-5-56

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) — The Regional Council of Negro leadership opened its annual sessions here Friday, but its two main speakers, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell and Rev. Martin Luther King, were not among those present.

Chicago Ill.

There was some disagreement about why the two were absent, but it is known that Gov. J. P. Coleman sent telegrams to them asking them not to come to Mississippi.

"It would be a shame," said Coleman, "to have professional agitators like Powell and King come into our state and fan the fires anew."

The identical telegrams to Powell and King said:

"The press reports that you are scheduled to address a public meeting in Jackson, Miss., on Friday of this week. Mississippi has no intention now or hereafter of interfering with the constitutional rights of freedom of assembly and freedom of speech, yet I feel it my duty as governor to inform you that conditions in our state are now more tranquil than at any time in recent months, and in view of your record, your appearance here will be a great disservice to our Negro people. I trust you will reconsider and indefinitely postpone your visit."

Coleman added that the people of Mississippi "are not invading other states with reference to this question and I hope the sound-thinking Negroes of Mississippi will not lend their approval to the presence of overnight scalawags and carpetbaggers in our midst."

Powell shot back: "I am a professional clergyman and if he believes that the practice of the principles of Jesus Christ and obedience to the Constitution are agitation, then he is correct."

King said his decision not to appear had nothing to do with Coleman's request, but was caused by the fact that he had made previous commitments.

Powell stated that he had had no intentions of attending the meet-

hould take a stronger stand on
ace relations.

M. Howard, president of the council.

The New York Congressman said, however, that he most definitely plans to visit the state any time hereafter that his schedule will allow.

And, in a telegram to Coleman, Powell got in a parting shot:

"When I do decide to come to Mississippi, I will most certainly advise you so that your office can extend to me the courtesies always extended to Representatives of the United States."

JOHN M. CUMMINGS

Battle for Delegates Has No Holds Barred

Inquirer P. PA-d
Tues. 8-14-56 Philadelphia Pa.

CHICAGO, Aug. 13

BATTLE lines which were rather loosely drawn until Saturday when former President Truman spoke his little piece for Gov. Averell Harriman, were approaching fiddle-string tautness today as the Democratic National Convention opened for business.

MRS. ROOSEVELT

Delegates and party leaders, many of whom viewed the convention as something of a lark, during which Adlai Stevenson would be nominated for President, now realize they are in for a few days of bitter factional in-fighting. History tells us that when Democrats fall to battling among themselves no holds are barred and mayhem is regarded as a mild method of administering punishment.

By no means the least interesting phase of the struggle is the role in which Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt has been cast.

Indeed, it would not be an understatement to say that what we have here in Chicago is a fight featuring Mrs. Roosevelt, widow of the New Deal President, and Harricum Truman, whose claim to fame rests on his sponsorship of the Fair Deal.

In the absence of a voice from the grave, Mrs. Roosevelt has taken it on herself to prove that her candidate, Stevenson, is eminently qualified to speak as a New Dealer. Because of this determination on her part, she has stepped to the front as the actual spokesman of the Stevenson forces.

Harriman, of course, has been contending right along that because of the experience he gained as an aide to both Roosevelt and Truman he has fallen heir to all they represented, good, bad and indifferent, in national and international policy. And in this he has blessing of Mr. Truman.

Truman's denunciation of Stevenson's policy of "moderation" has been answered by Mrs. Roosevelt. Moderation, says she, is not a bad word; in fact it's a wise word. Her late husband, she would have you believe, was a moderate in all things, including, it may be assumed, his effort to pack the Supreme Court, an enterprise which led to its rejection at the hands of Democrats and Republicans alike.

* * *

TRUMAN insists Stevenson lacks the drive of a real fighter. Mrs. Roosevelt says he is the kind of fighter the country needs. At least, he fights in her style, and that's what she likes about him.

She admits that at one stage of the campaign last spring Stevenson's "intellectual coldness" had her worried. In the California primaries, however, he descended from the higher altitude of intellectuality to mingle with the common folk and speak their language. The result was a victory for Stevenson over Senator Kefauver, the beginning of the end for the man of the coonskin cap.

Truman's friends report his innate chivalry causes him to hesitate to come to grips with the one-time mistress of the White House. Nevertheless, he finds some consolation in the old principle that if you get into politics you must be able to take it as well as dish it out.

Meanwhile the Stevenson-Harriman or Roosevelt-Truman contest has caused many delegates to think in terms of a deadlock and a possible dark horse entry. Under blankets in the stable are such potential runners as Senator Lyndon Johnson, of Texas, Senate majority leader, who insists he's a serious candidate," and Senator Stuart Symington, of Truman's Missouri, who said, on arriving here yesterday, he is ready for anything. Of course, the happiest bloke around the town is "Happy" Chandler, Governor of Kentucky, who says his prospects are good and who currently is deriving his happiness from the unhappiness of others.

And again, it would be well to keep in mind that the Mrs. Roosevelt-Truman fight is no mere sparring match. They are not "fiddling around" as the prize fight reporters say. An ancient grudge between the House of Roosevelt and the House of Truman is now in full view of the populace.

Mrs. FDR Maps 3-Point Plan For Integration

Defender P. 12
Chicago Ill

COLUMBUS, Ohio — A three-point program to speed racial integration was outlined here last week by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt who also pointed out that Adlai E. Stevenson was the man who could put it into effect.

The former first lady of the nation proposed:

Bul. 11-27-56

1. Desegregation in housing as a preliminary step to the integration of schools; 2. protection of every citizen's right to vote, and 3. elimination of Senate Rule 22 which permits filibustering of vital bills.

Because Mrs. Roosevelt recognizes the racial bias that exists in the North as well as the South, she explained that her plan for desegregation of housing was meant for the North as well as the South, particularly the larger cities.

Mrs. Roosevelt Urges North To Integrate Housing

Courier P-1
Sun. 11-25-56

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Warning that there is "no real possibility for school integration in the South if the North doesn't do its part" Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt urged the North last week to integrate its housing.

The former first lady of the land proposed that Northern states provide integrated housing to show the South and Asiatic nations leadership in democracy.

"Until there is integrated housing in the North, there is no real possibility that children will be naturally integrated in the schools," Mrs. Roosevelt said.

She added: "If we in the North do not do our part, it will be far easier for Southern people to go on with the program of opposing desegregation that they have already begun in some states."

Mrs. Roosevelt Urges Women To Attack Segregation Bars

Wonld Birmingham, Ala. P. 8

Sat, 11-24-56

WASHINGTON — (ANP)—The 300 women attending the four-day conference of the National Council of Negro Women meeting here last week heard some of the nation's leading citizens expound the necessity of better race relations in this country.

Foremost among them were Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt who underscored the importance of desegregation in America as it affects the present international situation.

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, criticized the churches for their failure to take the lead in the desegregation movement. Mrs. Agnes E. Myer, wife of the board chairman of The Washington Post Co., urged the Federal Government to take the lead in solving racial problems.

Dr. Frank Graham, special U. N. mediator, discussed the global concept of human and civil rights. Mason Sears, U. S. Representative of the Trusteeship of U. N. urged a closer relationship between America and Africa.

Mrs. Roosevelt declared that America would never be able to succeed in the fight against Communism unless "we are able to solve the problems which confront us here at home."

She urged the women to attack the barriers in their own communities which hinder progress toward desegregation.

Dr. Johnson challenged women—both mothers and teachers—with the responsibility of helping implement the Supreme Court decision.

Women could have profound influence in America and the world, he said, if they became aware of their potential strength and face up to the problem of human relations.

He further stated that the desegregation decision "ought to have been inspired and exemplified in the churches."

The conference was climaxed with a banquet at the Willard hotel Saturday evening which was addressed by Mrs Myer.

This well known lecturer and writer took issue with President Eisenhower's contention that desegregation of schools is a state and local matter. The Supreme Court decision made it a Federal responsibility, she emphasized. This calls for Federal leadership and it must come from the President.

Mrs. Myer pointed out that the growing disrespect for law because of the high court ruling should be a concern of the President.

"He should be interested in implementing means by which a renewed respect for law can come into being.

She suggested that this could be done by appointing a Federal commission to study the social reasons underlying the problems of desegregation. It should also study the general tension, unrest and intolerance that endanger the national stability.

This commission would consist of leaders of both races and be staffed by experts who could bring the approach of scientific research to the job of collecting available information and summarizing it in language everyone can understand.

"Our democracy has a bad conscience because we preached equality and haven't practiced it," continued the speaker.

She contended that preaching brotherly love hasn't worked because the gap between the races has been too wide to span by talk.

"President Eisenhower is always preaching the importance of a sound dollar," but she asked, "what good is a sound dollar unless we have sound citizenship?"

Mrs. Roosevelt Expresses Feeling That Negroes Will Get Equal Status

Worcd P.1 Atlanta, Ga.

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, writing in her syndicated column last week, answered some questions from a Fresno, Calif., man who wanted to know, among other things, whether Negroes will ever reach the status of first-class citizenship.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

"Of course I believe that the American Negro will reach status of first-class citizenship," Mrs. Roosevelt replied. "Many of them already achieved it and more of them will do so as education is available and their economic situation improves."

The Californian also said:

"How can an individual, stigmatized as an inferior being, something less that a normal human, as a second-string citizen and an American 'untouchable,' prevent himself from feeling these attitudes deeply and being scarred indelibly?

"Do you think the South has made progress in overcoming this problem?

"What can you and we do as individuals besides putting our own prejudices aside?

Mrs. Roosevelt, in replying, said:

RACE, COLOR

"(1) I think it is difficult not to be hurt, but if you can preserve your pride in your race and yourself by making yourself as valuable a citizen as posible, you will help minimize the harm.

"(2) I do think the south has this feeling of inferiority on other human beings because of race, color or religion actually do more harm to themselves than to their victims.

"(2) I do thing the south has made great progress in solving its own racial problems. Undoubtedly the Negroes would like to see changes come faster, and some of us would be glad to see that, too, but southerners have a responsibility for their own development. The South is made up of not just white people, but both white and Negro, and I think those states are coming to realize that sooner or later all must live on an equal basis.

"(3) You and I, as individuals, can do a great deal more than setting aside our own prejudices. We can try to become oblivious to any bar between us and any other human being. We can fight for equality of opportunity to obtain a job, to education, to housing and health opportunities and we can make sure that our friends are chosen because of the people they are, and for no other reason."

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parties. Two members of the President's cabinet expressed satisfaction with the present rate of

Mrs. Roosevelt Summerfield

progress in integrating the schools. Mrs. Roosevelt sharply disagreed. Arthur S. Summerfield, postmaster general, told questioners on the CBS-TV program "Face the Nation" that the President had used "the proper discretion, patience and understanding" in his handling of the matter. Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr., appearing on the independently produced TV program "Reporter's Roundup," said progress had been "remarkable and fine."

HITS LEADERSHIP

Mrs. Roosevelt, on NBC's "Meet the Press," said she was not satisfied with the administration's record of leadership and urged that the country should "move extremely quickly" to desegregate in the North, while allowing for a slower pace in the South.

The widow of the late Democratic President conceded that in the South "it can't happen overnight. . . . It will have to be slower than in the North." She said the first step that should be taken in the South "is to guarantee to every citizen his right to vote, then the other things will follow."

"THING OF PAST"

Asked to comment on Republican demands that Democratic presidential candidate Adlai E. Stevenson "divorce himself" from remarks on the Alger Hiss case made last week by former President Truman, Mrs. Roosevelt said she considered that "a thing of the past. . . . Of rather moderate importance." Truman said he did not believe that Hiss was a traitor, or gave secrets to the Russians.

"I see no particular reason for him (Stevenson) to say anything about it," Mrs. Roosevelt said.

She said she thought the Hiss matter was "settled and done with" when the courts found the former state department aide guilty of perjury. She said the Republicans were "just dragging up something which has no particular importance."

DEFEND IKE

Both Summerfield and Brownell defended the administration against recent charges by Stevenson that it had condoned "corruption." Summerfield said "nothing could be farther from the truth." Brownell said the record of the administration "has been in marked contrast to the scandal and corruption that existed in the Truman administration."

Both men were asked about the resignation of Harold E. Talbott, former secretary of the Air Force, who quit his job suddenly after a congressional committee disclosed that he had solicited business from the Pentagon for a firm in which he had an interest.

CLEAN RECORD

Brownell said that "putting things in perspective . . . What we want to do on a program of this sort is to take the over-all picture . . . There has never been in my time an administraiton that is as clean and decent."

Summerfield said that Talbott made "a mistake in judgment, but certainly committed no act that could be called corrupt."

Mrs. Roosevelt, given credit as one of the most powerful factors

Ike Should Have Set Up Race Talk, Mrs. F.D.R. Says

Constitution Mon. 9-17-56 P. 2

Atlanta, Ga.

By ALLEN DRURY

(Copyright 1956 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON, Sept. 16—Members of the Eisenhower cabinet defended the administration's record on desegregation today, but Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt said she thought the President should have called a conference of Negro and white leaders to help ease racial tensions.

The explosive issue was a major topic of weekend political discussion for spokesmen of both

in winning the Democratic nomination for Stevenson in Chicago, said she thought his election would mean "a transition to a man who has a well-thought-out policy" on foreign affairs.

She said Eisenhower "gained his knowledge of foreign affairs as a general in the European theater, carrying out policies made by other people . . . It is not the same thing as having to think out policies for yourself."

Asked if she would charge, as more Democrats have, that the President is "dominated by big business," Mrs. Roosevelt replied quickly:

"Oh, no. The President is a good man, and he would want always to do the right thing as he saw it. He has a great admiration for successful businessmen because he has never been a successful businessman, and you tend to admire what you don't understand."

She observed also that "to be actually in control of your party, you must be a well-trained politician. Being a well-trained general does not necessarily make you a well-trained politician."

Mrs. FDR Raps Bias In North

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 1-29-56

NEW YORK — (INS) — Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt said last week that Southern states should be given time to achieve school integration but urged that Northern cities, such as New York, Chicago and Detroit, take immediate steps to end segregation.

The widow of the late president, appearing on NBC's televised program, "Meet The Press", also asserted that President Eisenhower has failed to exercise leadership to bring about the end of racial discrimination in the schools.

NORTH SHOULD LEAD

Mrs. Roosevelt said that Northern cities with heavy Negro populations should lead the way by ending any segregation that still persists.

Of the South, she commented: "Here, we cannot move as quickly. . .it can't happen overnight. On the other hand, we can't stand still."

Questioned about politics, Mrs. Roosevelt bluntly said that she cannot find any "personal respect" for Vice President Richard M. Nixon because of the 1950 senatorial campaign he ran against former Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas in California.

NIXON KNEW BETTER

She contended Nixon had accused Mrs. Douglas of being a Communist when he knew better from his personal acquaintance with the Democratic congresswoman.

Mrs. Roosevelt remarked "Anyone who wanted to be elected that much I can't admire his character."

Concerning Mr. Eisenhower, she commented: "The President is a good man and would always want to do the right thing but he does have great admiration for a successful businessman which he has never been."

She also claimed that the President "gained his knowledge as a general carrying out the policies which others made and that is not the same thing as thinking out policies for oneself."

She was asked about former President Harry S. Truman's remark that convicted perjurer Alger Hiss was not a Soviet spy and that the case was a Republican 'Red Herring".

NOT AN ISSUE

Republicans, including GOP National Chairman Leonard W. Hall, have demanded that Democratic presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson disavow Truman's statement.

Mrs. Roosevelt contended that the Hiss question is "an unimportant issue" in the 1956 campaign and a matter that has been "settled and done with." She said she is willing to stand by the court's decision until evidence of Hiss' innocence is presented.

Dealing with the Suez crisis, she expressed belief that the U. S. was faulty of appeasement by failing to protest over a year ago when the Egyptian government barred sraeli ships from using the canal.

MRS. ROOSEVELT TALKS

Times P. 19-C

Says Stevenson's Remarks on Draft Were Not Clear

Mon. 9-17-56

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt said last night that Mr. Stevenson had "failed to explain to the majority of people unless one is already in the know" what he meant in forecasting an end to the military draft "within the foreseeable future."

New York

The widow of the former President made the observation to reporters at the National Broadcasting Company television studio, 30 Rockefeller Center.

It came after she had offered her own explanation of the Democratic Presidential nominee's views on the "Meet the Press" program. She had been asked whether she agreed with the hope he voiced to the American Legion in Los Angeles Sept. 5 that the draft eventually could be ended.

"I think, of course," she said, "few people really understood what was meant by that. Most of us who are studying what is going to be the future of our defense know that with new weapons it is going to require an amount of skill in handling [in] which it would be most wasteful to take young people and train them for two years and then turn them out.

"It would be ridiculous nonsense. Why waste them? And that's not the type of Army we're going to need in the future. We're going to need perhaps quite a large army of technicians who might not be in the Army, but who would be keeping things up to what they should be. But we will need a mobile, fine trained, extremely skilled fighting force. And that was what would lay back of the thought that we might not need a large draft."

'Desegregate Harlem'

On white-Negro relations, Mrs. Roosevelt said the North must "desegregate Harlem" and parts of Chicago and Detroit.

"The first step that has to come in the South is protection of every citizen in his right to vote," she said.

The Eisenhower Administration, she asserted, should have summoned a conference of leaders of both races after the Supreme Court school desegregation ruling.

Mrs. Roosevelt said she opposed Vice President Richard M. Nixon because he falsely called former Representative Helen Gahagn Douglas a Communist in defeating her for the Senate in California in 1950.

"I always felt anyone who wanted an election so much that they would use those means did not have the kind of character that I really admired in public life," she said.

Mrs. Roosevelt Expresses Feeling That Negroes Will Get Equal Status

Chicago Defender

New York, Oct. 2 — Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, writing in her syndicated column last week, answered some questions from a Fresno, Calif., man who wanted to know, among other things, whether Negroes will ever reach the status of first-class citizenship.

Jackson

ECONOMIC SITUATION

"Of course I believe that the American Negro will reach status of first-class citizenship," Mrs. Roosevelt replied. "Many of them already achieved it and more of them will do so as education is available and their economic situation improves."

Sat. 10-6-56

The Californian also said,

"How can an individual, stigmatized as an inferior being, something less than a normal human, as a second-string citizen and an American "untouchable," prevent himself from feeling these attitudes deeply and being scarred indelibly?

Advocate

"Do you think the South has made progress in overcoming this problem?"

Sat. 10-6-56

"What can you and we do as individuals beside putting our own prejudices aside?

Mrs. Roosevelt, in replying, said:

RACE, COLOR

1. "I think it is difficult not to be hurt, but if you can preserve your pride in your race and yourself by making yourself as valuable a citizen as possible, you will help minimize the harm.

2. "I do think the south has this feeling of inferiority on other human beings because of race, color or religion actually do more harm to themselves than to their victims. I do thing the South has made great progress in solving its own racial problems. Undoubtedly the Negroes would like to see changes come faster, and some of us would be glad to see that too, but southerners have a responsibility for their own development. The South is made up of not just white people, but both white and Negro, and I think those states are coming to realize that sooner or later all must live on an equal basis.

3. "You and I, as individuals, can do a great deal more than setting aside our own prejudices. We can try to become oblivious to any human being. We can fight for

MRS. ROOSEVELT DENOUNCES PRO-SEGREGATION GROUP

Daily World Sun. 1-15-56

(NEW YORK, N. Y.—(ANP)—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has denounced the officials from 12 southern states who attended the Memphis meeting of the Federation for Constitutional government.

Writing in her syndicated newspaper column last week, Mrs. Roosevelt charged that the pro-segregation organization "affects the principles an dthe whole form of government by which people live in this country."

The FCG was organized two weeks ago to fight racial integration and what its leaders term "other efforts to destroy the Constitution."

Present at the meeting were Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.), Georgia's Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook and numerous other congressmen, governors and ex-governors from the south.

"This secret organization certainly seems to be contrary to the basic beliefs of the majority of the American people," Mrs. Roosevelt wrote.

She said that although the southern officials have sworn to "preserve" the Constitution, they have opened war on the Supremee Court which was established to protect the constitutional rights of American citizens.

"You cannot flout the decisions of the highest court of the land and obey the Constitution of the U. S." Mrs. Roosevelt ssaid She added:

"While a law is in force it should be lived up to. You have a right to try to change it, and if you if you can persuade the majority that it should be changed then it will be changed.

"But you must abide by the law until it is changed or you will be flouting the fun damental things that make this a democracy and a law-abiding nation."

Mrs. Roosevelt Tops Poll Again as 'Most Admired'

Herald Tribune N.Y. Sat. 1-14-56

9th Time in 10 Years; Mrs. Luce And Mrs. Eisenhower Are Next

By George Gallup
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., Jan. 13.—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt again tops the list as the woman most admired by the American people today.

This is the ninth time in ten years that the late President's wife has been No. 1 in the institute's annual survey to determine which woman, living today in any part of the world, is held in highest esteem by the United States public.

In second place this year is the United States Ambassador to Italy, Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce. Third most frequently mentioned is Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower.

Margaret in Top Ten

A newcomer to the top ten this year is Princess Margaret of England whose romance with Group Captain Peter Townsend received world-wide mention in the press.

The poll on the most admired man, as reported at the end of December, showed President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Churchill of England No. 1 and 2, respectively, in the list of the top ten.

Institute interviewers, in today's survey, asked a cross-section of the American public the question that they have asked annually since 1946:

"What woman that you have heard or read about, living today in any part of the world, do you admire the most?"

Others on List

The ten most frequently mentioned women, ranked by order of mention:

1. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
2. Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce
3. Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower
4. Miss Helen Keller
5. Queen Elizabeth
6. Madame Chiang Kai-shek.
7. Princess Margaret
8. Mme. Vijaya Pandit
9. Sen. Margaret Chase Smith
10. Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby

The one year since 1946 that Mrs. Roosevelt did not head the list was in 1951 when she ran second to Sister Kenny, internationally famous nurse who pioneered a treatment for polio. Sister Kenny died in her native Australia in 1952.

Mrs. Roosevelt Denounces New Pro-Segregation Unit

Weekly Sat. 1-21-56

New Orleans La.

New York (ANP).—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has denounced the officials from 12 southern states who attended the Memphis meeting of the Federation for Constitutional Government.

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"But you must abide by the law until it is changed or you will be flouting the fundamental things that make this a democracy and a law-abiding nation."

dom far more important than any oil values of the Near East, Mrs. Roosevelt believes.

Describing improvements in Israel she saw in a visit last spring, compared to one she made three years ago, the wife of the late president envisioned the Jewish nation as "a base for freedom from which the concept of democracy could spread over the Near East."

"Israel has crossed centuries in a few years," Mrs. Roosevelt said, praising the program of progress which she believes is essential if backward nations are to be linked closely with the rest of the world in an atomic peace.

Mrs. Roosevelt urged Jewish leaders to think of their work for Israel not as a humanitarian program in the interests of their own people but as "a piece of work valuable to the whole free world."

"You are not just helping your relatives," she told a Jewish women's audience of about 500, "You are spearheading the struggle between the free world and communism. Israel is one of the most important outposts we can preserve."

Mrs. Roosevelt received the group's first "Woman of Valor"

Mrs. F.D.R. Hails Israel As 'Outpost of Democracy'

Herald P. 6-A Sun. 2-5-56

By DIXIE GILLILAND
Herald Staff Writer

Outbreak of hostilities between the Arab nations and Israel could mean a setback to world peace the free world has not considered, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt told Greater Miami Bonds for Israel compaigners here Saturday.

Mrs. Roosevelt, who received a first "Woman of Valor" award at Sabbath luncheon of the national women's division of the bond organization at the Seville Hotel, termed Israel "the one little spot in the Near East where people have a conception of democracy."

Miami Fla.

If the Arab nations, aided by the Soviet Union, move to take over Israel, the free world would lose a foothold of free-

pin as recognition of outstanding leadership in the cause of world freedom. The new award will be made in the future to women who sell $100,000 or more in State of Israel bonds.

The luncheon was part of a first-day program of the 1956 Inangural Conference for Israel Bonds in progress at the Seville. Some 800 Jewish leaders from the United States and Canada are expected to take part in the conference which continues through Sunday.

The meeting sparks a drive for 75 million dollars in Israel bonds. The total is expected to be reached by the close of sessions with a luncheon Sunday.

Opening meeting of the conference Saturday morning heard a letter from Adlai E. Stevenson, 1952 Democratic presidential candidate, call for "a long term and more constructive program" in the Near East to counter Soviet shipment of arms to Egypt.

Speakers at an 8:30 a.m. breakfast Sunday will be Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz, vice-president of the bond organization, and Morris W. Berinstein, national campaign chairman. Speaking at the closing luncheon will be David Horowitz, governor of the Central Bank of Israel, and Feimberg.

MRS. FDR SAYS:

Integration Is Successful In Newark Housing Project

Herald P. 5-C Miami, Fla. Thurs. 2-9-56

By ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

My five days back home since my trip to the West Coast were busy ones, but work and pleasure were pleasantly mixed. I want to tell you of the few hours I spent in Newark, N. J.

MRS. FDR

Some representatives of United Nations delegations had been asked through our mayors hospitaity committee to visit Newark to see work done thre by the local AAUN chapter, and at the same time to visit a new housing project where integration has been carried out with great success.

In the latter, colored people, Puerto Ricans and white people were living side by side and working out their problems.

Representatives from Israel, Liberia and India started out with me a little after 11 A.M. First we were shown the square in Newark which has been renamed United Nations square. The new public library stands on one side of it and the mayor's representative told me that they plan to make this square a cultural center.

We met in the library and were welcomed by city officials. I was glad that our visitors saw what a delightful place an American public library can be, with open fire on the hearth, comfortable chairs and bookshelves.

Here, also, they have exhibits about the United Nations and are cooperating with our local chapter in giving out information

We proceeded to the Referend R. Hayes homes. This housing project is fortunate in having a settlement house incorporated into the development. Fuld house offers the tenants and their neighbors a day nursery, group recreation for children and adults, a day camp, community organizations and a family counseling service. This is a great addition to the largest public housing project in New Jersey.

We were treated to a very delightful lunch and, judging from the short speeches made by our foreign delegates, all of them enjoyed their experience. I certainly found it a very pleasant and inspiring day.

Inquirer P. 3 Wed. 1-18-56 Philadelphia, Pa.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt gets a special Franklin Medal from Mayor Richardson Dilworth at a luncheon in rotunda of Franklin Institute. It was awarded for her contributions to international understanding.

Herald Sun. 2-5-56 P. 6-A Miami, Fla.

MRS. FDR RECEIVES WOMAN OF VALOR AWARD
. . . from national bond chairman Mrs. Michael Stavitsky

Mrs. Roosevelt Resigns From Board of NAACP

Call & Post Kansas City, Mo. Thu. 2-4-56

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Top officials of the NAACP are expected to meet here within a week to consider the resignation of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt from the organization's board of directors.

Mrs. Roosevelt, in a recent letter to NAACP Board Chairman Channing H. Tobias, announced that she was quitting the civil rights group because she was too busy with other matters to attend the monthly meetings.

However, a widely circulated rumor says the real reason for her quitting is anger over a speech made by Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, who two weeks ago told a Chicago audience that it might become necessary for Negroes to quit the Democratic party and vote Republican in 1956.

Henry Lee Moon, public relations director of the association, said Mrs. Roosevelt and Wilkins were scheduled to meet and discuss reconsideration of her resignation.

Once before — during the 1940's — Mrs. Roosevelt offered her resignation, but withdrew it after a conference with the late Walter White and other leaders of the NAACP.

Within the last year, she reportedly has become quite critical of the association's handling of civil rights matters and pending legislation before the Congress.

Her eldest son, Rep. James Roosevelt (R.-Calif.), has publicly criticized Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, for his method of prompting action on civil rights legislation.

Mrs Roosevelt Resigns From NAACP Board

Informer Houston Tex. Sat. 5-12-56

NEW YORK — Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt has sent in her resignation from the Board of Directors of the NAACP stating that she was too busy with other matters to attend the monthly board meetings, and was very tired.

Rumors, however, are that Mrs Roosevelt and NAACP heads are at odds over policy. It is rumored that she is resigning in anger with Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, over his Chicago speech which suggested it might become necessary for Negroes to leave the Democratic Party for the Republican Party.

Mrs Roosevelt offered her resignation once before, but was talked out of resigning by the late Walter White who was the executive secretary of the NAACP at the time, and by other top officials of the organization.

It is also reported that, lately Mrs Roosevelt has become critical of the NAACP's handling of civil rights matters.

Representative James Roosevelt, her eldest son, who has been pushing civil rights legislation has reportedly feuded with Clarence Mitchell, NAACP W. Bureau Director.

Mrs. Roosevelt likes Stevenson on civil rights

Tribune 6-8
Los Angeles Calif.
Fri. 6-1-56

Adlai Stevenson is best for the nation and best for those concerned with civil rights, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt told Stevenson supporters at a rally at the Elks Auditorium Monday night.

MRS. ROOSEVELT

The meeting climaxed activity by a Negro community Stevenson For President committee, headed by Assemblyman Augustus F. Hawkins who predicted, "that Stevenson will poll an overwhelming majority of votes of Negroes in the June 5 primary."

Mrs. Roosevelt rested her case on Stevenson's record during his term as governor of Illinois and what she called his forthright stand on the issues of the day."

"That means to me that you accept what is the law of the land."

When ex - President Truman endorsed the candidacy of Gov. Averell Harriman, Mrs. Roosevelt said, he probably had in mind that stalemate might arise "and his state has a favorite son."

She was referring to Sen. Stuart Symington of Missouri.

Eleanor Roosevelt Says

World-Telegram & Sun
Sat. 6-2-56

First Use of A-Bomb Defended

BY ELEANOR ROOSEVELT.

I was surprised to see an article from the Pilot, an official publication of the Catholic Archdiocese of Boston reprinted in large quantities and sent out by the American Friends Service Committee of Cambridge, Mass., entitled, "I Confess."

Eleanor Roosevelt

The article was reprinted with the permission of the editor of the Pilot, America's oldest Catholic weekly newspaper, and, therefore, editorial boards of both the newspaper and the Friends Service Committee seem to have approved it.

It was written some time ago marking the anniversary, Aug. 6, of the day 10 years before when we dropped the first atomic bomb on the city of Hiroshima, Japan.

The purpose of the article is to say that the American people and their leaders who were responsible for dropping the bomb in Hiroshima, and on Nagasaki three days later, should have confessed their "guilt" long ago.

It goes on to say that the people of Asia feel that much of the aid we have given them since that time came from a feeling of guilt, but that until we confessed this guilt, nothing would be of any avail.

* * *

I would like to review the circumstances which led up to this first use of the atomic bomb.

Our military people were almost ready for the last stage of the war, which was the actual attack on Japan. They had counted the costs such an attack would have involved—at least a million lives of American soldiers in addition to complete destruction of as much of Japan as would have been defended. This would have meant cities, towns, villages, men, women and children, for modern war is no longer a war between soldiers, it is a war between peoples.

Because of the plea of one in the historically beautiful cities in Japan, Kyoto and Narathese. These, of course, would have had to be destroyed.

All of these facts were presented to the President. In addition, he was told that one bomb would not be sufficient. Two, in quick succession, were our only hope of bringing about complete and rapid surrender. The reason for this was that we had people who had seen the defenses in Japan and they reported that these were so strong it was not believed possible for any army to penetrate to the interior.

* * *

So the only possible chance was to deal the Japanese such tremendous blows that they would realize that if they wanted to save themselves from complete destruction, they must surrender at once.

I think everyone in this country should have a horror of the conditions which brought about the need for using the atomic bomb. They should have grief and pity for the people affected and do all in their power to help the innocent who suffer.

But if you had to make this decision, I do not think any decision could have been made other than the one that was made. Leaflets were dropped over Hiroshima before the attack, warning the people to leave the city, and the same thing was done at Nagasaki. But it is human nature to stay where you are and not believe the worst until it happens.

I would not confess guilt for the American people or their leaders, only pity and a deep desire to aid those who suffered through no fault or their own and certainly through no fault of the Amercan people and their leaders.

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 8-25-56

Mrs. FDR Explains Adlai's 'Moderation'

CHICAGO (NNPA) — Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt Sunday sought to boost the Candidacy for Adlai E. Stevenson for the Democratic presidential nomination by explaining his stand for gradualism in carrying out the Supreme Court decision against segregated public schools.

At her press conference in the Boulevard Room of the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Mrs. Roosevelt defended Mr. Stevenson against charges that he stood for both moderation and gradualism in the field of civil rights.

People seemed to have tagged the word "moderation" as a bad word, the widow of the lage President Franklin D. Roosevelt said.

She said she understood the feeling of some colored leaders who think that moderation means doing nothing — that "you will stand still and not move forward."

* * *

BUT SHE DEFINED moderation as a "wise word." "I would be very sorry if, in our public life, we did not have moderation," she said, "because we would find ourselves in a great deal of trouble very quickly in many ways.

"What moderation really means," she said, "is that you face all the realities of a situation, you study your situation, you analyze it.

"Very few people take the trouble to do that, but if you are going to really be wise, you will do that with the problems of the day, and then you decide, when you know what you have got to do."

A reporter later asked Mrs. Roosevelt to comment upon the criticism of Mr. Stevenson by colored people that he favors gradual compliance with the desegregation decision.

She replied:

* * *

WELL, GRADUALISM has become, for the colored people what a red flag is to a bull almost, and it is a little bit like moderation.

"I think what has troubled many of the colored leaders even more than their fear that this might be a gradual approach is that whenever southern leaders seem satisfied, they were afraid that meant that there would be some understanding which they didn't know about, which meant that things would not move.

"Now, I think if they knew Mr. Stevenson at all, they would know, and they must now know, that he believes you have to uphold the law of the land and I think that colored leaders are wise enough to know that you cannot do things which are unwise.

"You can't move so fast that you try to change mores faster than people can accept it. That doesn't mean you do nothing, but it means that you do the things that need to be done, according to priority.

* * *

"I HAVE explained many times to groups all over this country that we in the North, before we can comply — now, this goes for Chicago, as well as New York, Detroit and other big cities — we in the North have a step to take before we can comply with the Supreme Court order of desegregation in the schools and it is not going to be easy, but we have only one step, and that is, we have to desegregate housing.

"You can say that you will desegregate schools by transporting children several miles in buses every day. It won't stick because it isn't the natural thing to do and mothers don't like to have their children transported way away from home.

"But what has to be done is that we have to desegregate housing and, if the North doesn't do that and doesn't give example to the South, the first step that the South has to take is to give its citizens the right to vote without fear.

"THAT IS A Federal right and the Federal Government can do something about that and then all the other steps follow.

"But the colored leaders know just as well as I know it and just as well as any thinking person in this country knows it.

"I want to move forward. I want to move forward with wisdom and as fast as we possibly can because it is no longer a domestic issue. It affect our leadership in the world.

"But for the colored people to think that because they have tagged a word, and it has been used once in a way that made them suspicious, that they cannot trust the person who would have to carry out the law of the land, I think is a sign that the colored leaders are not thinking very carefully through to the end of what they really want for the country.

* * *

"THEY ARE part of the country. They will get what they want and prosper as wisdom of leadership is shown for the whole country and not for any particular group alone."

Mrs. Rosevelt said she would be satisfied with a civil rights plank in the Democratic platform that did not specifically endorse the Supreme Court decision.

"I do not think it is necessary to say a specific thing when you have said quite clearly that you accept the law of the land," she said.

Committee goes ahead—

Mrs. Roosevelt calls for rights plank suitable to South and North

CHICAGO, Aug. 13 —(AP)— Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was disclosed today to have added her voice to those urging Democratic convention plank acceptable to both North and South.

The widow of the former president, backing Adlai E. Stevenson for the party's presidential nomination, made an unscheduled half-hour visit last night before the 16-member drafting group now hammering out a preliminary draft of the 1956 platform.

It was not a public session, but newsmen outside heard delegates applaud her talk.

ONE OF THEM said later she had expresed "hope there would be no civil rights plank that would be unacceptable to any delegates."

That presumably would mean the statement of party aims would not include any reference to the Supreme Court decision banning racial segregation in public schools.

Stevenson has said the platform should contain an "unequivocal approval" of the decision, although also saying it seems strange the platform should be expected to endorse what is the law of the land.

Mrs. Roosevelt declined to say what she had told the platform drafting subcommittee. Asked the reason for the applause, she told reporters: "I don't think it's anybody's business but the committee's."

Rep. John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, chairman of the resolution committee and of the drafting group, said only she had made a general reference to civil rights. His group has not yet tackled the wording of that plank.

McCORMACK SAID Former President Truman had arranged for Mrs. Roosevelt to appear before the group after its formal hearings had ended. Truman is backing New York Gov. Averell Hirriman for the presidential nomination.

McCormack kept the drafting group working past midnight and called them into session again today with word they would skip the initial convention sessions.

Two former Democratic administration officials now trying to unseat Republican senators gave the platform group advice on a new farm plank last night.

THEY WERE Claude Wickard, former secretary of agriculture who is opposing Sen. Homer Capehart (R., Ind.), and R. M. Evans, former administrator of New Deal farm programs from 1938 to 1942 who is trying to defeat Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R., Iowa).

Both said the Democrats should promise farmers 100 per cent of parity by a series of federal aids, including price supports at not less than 90 per cent. Parity is a price said to be fair to farmers in relation to their costs.

McCormack said he is considering making public major planks as his drafting group agrees upon them and before the 108-member resolutions committee passes upon them.

In past conventions the platform has not been made public until all of it has been completed and approved by the full committee.

Harmony on Civil Rights Seen Mrs. Roosevelt Aim

Visit to Platform Writers Believed Effort to Avert Battle Over Issue

By J. M. O'LEARY

STAR CONVENTION BUREAU, Chicago, Aug. 13.—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was reported today to be using her influence to try to avert a fight in the Democratic convention over the explosive civil rights issue.

The widow of the former President made a surprise visit last night to the room in the Blackstone Hotel in which a 16-member subcommittee was drafting the platform.

She declined to tell reporters what she discussed with the platform drafters, but from another source it was reported she told them the important thing is the solidarity of the Democratic Party.

But, while Mrs. Roosevelt was closeted with the drafting subcommittee, the advocates of a strong civil rights plank were busy in other parts of Chicago, serving notice that they will not be content with a compromise which fails to indorse the Supreme Court's school integration decision. The Southerners have insisted they cannot go along with a plank which makes any direct mention of that decision.

Reather in Leading Role

Walter P. Reuther, head of the UAW, was taking a leading role in urging the liberals to insist, not only on an indorsement of the Supreme Court's decision but steps to implement it.

Mr. Reuther was one of several advocates of a strong plank who addressed a mass meeting in the Morrison Hotel, arranged by the leadership conference on civil rights. Others who spoke were Senator Lehman of New York and Representative Diggs of Michigan.

Mr. Diggs declared that if the platform committee report does not contain a plank indorsing the Supreme Court ruling in the school cases, he will get the 10 signatures necessary to file a minority report.

Mr. Diggs is a member of the platform committee, and the filing of such a report would force a showdown on the floor of the convention Wednesday night. Southern leaders have said that if a minority report is filed by the liberals, they will file a second minority report, calling for a declaration in favor of local control of local institutions.

CIO Meeting Held

Mr. Reuther also called a meeting last night of CIO members from various State delegations and urged them to insist on a strong civil rights plank.

When the platform writers get to foreign policy, it is expected they will include a promise to send Israel defensive arms. Representative Celler of New York a member of the committee, said he hopes there will be such a plank.

Party leaders who are striving to avoid a floor fight are believed to be searching for words that would express a belief in the principle of equality of educational opportunity for all children, without referring to the Supreme Court by name.

But the drafting subcommittee itself has put aside this troublesome and difficult task until it has whipped into shape all of the other planks, on a score of foreign and domestic issues.

The committee was locked in the drafting room until after midnight, and reconvened at 10 o'clock this morning. It may be tomorrow before they reach the civil rights issue.

When they adjourned early this morning they had finished planks dealing with social security, other welfare programs, and the problems of small business.

Working on Farm Plank

They were working today on the farm plank, and still had the important subject of foreign policy to take up.

The Democrats believe they have a good chance this year of corralling many of the farmers and small business men who went for Eisenhower four years ago, and are reported to have shaped aluring plans for these two groups.

The farm plank is expected to recommend a series of programs which, taken together, would seek to give the farmer 100 per cent of parity. This would start with a promise to return to price supports at 90 per cent, coupled with direct Government purchase of crops and other aids designed to reach the level of full parity.

After Mrs. Roosevelt had left the platform committee meeting, the chairman, Representative McCormick of Massachusetts, told reporters that she had discussed civil rights "only in a general way." He said she also had told the committee of her trips overseas in the past few years.

But there were definite indications from other sources that she was working for a peaceful solution of the civil rights controversy in the interest of party harmony.

Phone Call From Truman

Mr. McCormack said he received a telephone call early in the evening from former President Truman, who told him Mrs. Roosevelt was in the hotel, and suggested she be invited to appear.

Mrs. Roosevelt was in the committee room for 30 minutes, and twice during that time reporters in the hallway outside heard applause.

Meanwhile, Gov. Williams of Michigan, who has taken an active part in behalf of civil rights, was cautious in discussing the subject on his arrival here yesterday. He said he wanted to see the plank the committee has in mind before commenting on what he thinks the convention should do.

At her press conference yesterday afternoon, Mrs. Roosevelt was asked about reports that she would be content with a plank that did not specifically mention indorsement of the Supreme Court school decision.

"I am quite satisfied," she replied. "I do not think it is necessary to say a specific thing when you have said quite clearly that you accept the law of the land. That means to me that you accept what is the law of the land."

A Salute

Defender Sat. 3-24-56 P. 8

World's Best Loved Lady, Mrs. FDR Has Praise For Autherine And Bovcotters

Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, certainly the world's best known woman, and one of the best loved, saluted Autherine Lucy and the Montgomery Improvement Association which is sponsoring the boycott of the Jim Crow city bus line.

In her syndicated column, the former first lady, commended Miss Lucy for her "dignity" and the Montgomery boycotters for adopting Gandhi's technique of non-violence.

Here, in her own words, is what she had to say last week:

I think everyone must be impressed by the dignity and calmness with which the boycott of the bus companies in Montgomery, Ala., has been carried on by the Negroes. Gandhi's theory of non-violence seems to have been learned very well.

I would also like to speak in praise of those white people in the South who have long fought for the rights of all their fellow citizens.

They are probably being made to suffer more than anyone in the North can imagine at the present time.

I am interested to find that there is even a group of University of Alabama students who want to know how they can restore sanity to their fellow students.

They do not regard with fear the admission to the undergraduate body of one young woman, and they deplore the methods used to keep her out.

I FEEL THAT Autherine Lucy has behaved with a great deal of dignity. She has apparently not enjoyed the publicity which the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People has thrust upon her; but she has acted with quiet dignity both in Washington and in New York, and her attitude gives one confidence that if she can be given a chance in the university she will act with wisdom and discretion.

I would like to see not one student but 10 admitted. Also, if there are others at the present time that the university is considering, it would be well to bring their consideration to a rapid close and accept these students, as well as to rescind the foolish refusal to permit this rather gentle and mild young woman from returning to the university.

THE SUPREME COURT RECOGNIZED that there must be local adjustment in certain states in desegregation of the schools. Good faith in moving forward was made subject to the courts, and the country must wait to see how this pregresses.

But there is nothing which prevents the administration in Washington from moving at once in the area of protection for all citizens who desire to vote.

In many states, this can be done now only by paying a poll tax. That in itself may make voting difficult in some cases and really requires two campaigns: (1) To get people to pay their tax, and (2) actually to get them to the polls.

No matter how many promises the NAACP wishes to extract from candidates at the present time, nothing can be achieved of real value for the coming 10 months except by the Republican Party and the Republican administration, since they are now in power.

Eleanor Roosevelt Says

38a

Anti-Desegregation Manifesto Seems Like a Shocking Document

World-Telegram & Sun Sat. 3-17-56

New York, N.Y.

I was interested to see that the liberals in Congress reacted with some shock to the manifesto against desegregation by Southern Senators and Representatives. I understand that the document was toned down considerably. But even as it stands it seems to me a shocking document. It also points up a letter that came to me the other day and which I quote—

Eleanor Roosevelt

"It frightens me terribly to think that my sons, aged 10 and 12 years, will soon learn that our Constitution is their safeguard because they are white but does not protect the young Negro boy across town because he is of another race.

"How am I to explain this discrepancy to them when among my closest friends are two Negro couples, an Hawaiian family, Italians, Mexicans and Jewish folk besides Catholics, Protestants, etc.?

What to Answer?

"What am I to answer when they now accept all people as equals and later find out they are different and are not accepted all over this country?

"How can they go into military service willingly with the knowledge that sometime they might be called upon to fight for the principles they were taught to revere, if they find out, and find out they must, that freedom is a some time thing?

"I am afraid they will grow bitter and resentful and wonder if it pays to be a good citizen."

This is one woman's reaction. It might well represent the reaction of great numbers of people in this country, for we are a country made up of many races. And of necessity in many parts of the country we do have friends of many races.

Great Difficulties.

Increasingly as the world grows smaller through rapid communication and transportation, we acquire friends of many colors.

None of us in the North who recognize how far from perfect racial integration is in our area has any right to minimize the great difficulties faced by the Southern states, where one particular race is predominant and a color barrier was set up by the original pattern of slavery.

The problem is very, very difficult and will require the position which the President has taken—a slow, steady enforcement of the law.

Our Constitution is interpreted by the Supreme Court. And the law as defined by the Supreme Court and enacted at every level of government is made by men.

Public Conscience.

Yet we always have felt in this country that, once men are placed in positions of responsibility as judges, they act to the best of their ability with integrity and fairness, reflecting the state of public conscience as nearly as possible.

At the present time I think the public conscience is reflected by the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution. The great majority of the states look upon segregation as discrimination.

And those few states that have a special problem in this respect will in a variety of ways slowly have to solve their problem and accept the will of the majority.

MRS. ROOSEVELT

TURNS TABLES—Trying her hand as a "reporter" is Autherine Lucy, who's been target of hundreds of reporters during recent weeks. Miss Lucy got first hand look at newsman's life during her visit to Chicago Defender office in Chicago. She was in Windy City to rest and visit relatives.

Mrs. Roosevelt speaks Mon. for Stevenson

Inlaue p. 5
3rd. 5-25-56
Los Angeles Calif.

Former "First Lady", Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, will tell why she is for Adlai Stevenson at a meeting at the Elks hall, 4016 S. Central, Monday at 7:30 p.m.

The meeting, climaxing Stevenson's drive for votes in the June 5 primary, will be held under the auspices of a Citizens Committee, headed by Assemblyman Augustus F. Hawkins. Stevenson will be present to hear Mrs. Roosevelt back his candidacy. Councilman Ed Roybal is co-chairman of the committee.

Also on hand will be Congressman Jimmy Roosevelt who will introduce his mother and add his own endorsement.

There will be no admission charged for the affair. "We hope the voters will seize this opportunity to hear a full discussion of the issues in the campaign," Hawkins said. He promised that Stevenson will make a major address with particular emphasis on civil rights issues.

Hawkins said a survey of the Oregon vote reveals that Stevenson captured the votes of Negroes in that state.

The Stevenson committee this week issued a survey of Stevenson's record as governor of Illinois, which showed that the candidate had acted against segregated schools in 13 Illinois counties when he was elected in 1948. By the end of his term, all school segregation had been terminated in the state and teachers, as well as school children, had been thoroughly integrated, his supporters said.

Shortly after his election, Stevenson also ordered "no racial segregation" in the national guard, "nor shall there be any discrimination is accepting enlistments" in the armed forces, he said.

"Racial tags were eliminated from public records, and concessionaires in state public parks were ordered to end all discrimination or lose their contracts with the state," it was alleged by Hawkins.

Drive for state fair employment laws was beaten in the Illinois Senate although Stevenson's supported it, Hawkins said.

Stevenson called out the State Militia when a race riot developed in Cicero in protest against a Negro family moving into that city.

Stevenson recently scored President Eisenhower for "inactivity" and said that in the event of his election he would throw the weight of the Presidency behind the Supreme Court's civil rights decisions.

"The civil rights of all citizens must be protected," Stevenson said last week. "Discrimination in any form on account of race, religion or nationality is repugnant to our ideals of liberty and justice."

THE PRIVATE CAR pool is one of the principal reasons for the success of the bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala. In the photo, car pool riders prepare to enter auto while driver holds car door. Private autos are used to go to and from work and for other matters that require travel.

Post Herald
Washington, D.C.
Sat. 5-26-56
p. 21

United Press

Civil Rights Speakers

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt chats with Mrs. H. C. Foster, the former Autherine Lucy, on the speaker's stand during a civil rights rally in New York's Madison Square Garden. Mrs. Foster told the cheering crowd she expects to resume her battle to attend classes at University of Alabama.

Magazine Twists Old Race Angle

From The Mobile Press

Saturday Evening Post started out to tell the story in its June 16 issue about Citronelle's oil strike, but the writer, following a familiar pattern, buried the central theme in a strenuous effort to disclose racial discrimination in lease dealings.

The story is titled "The Day It Rained Money," and is copiously illustrated. One picture shows a Negro man standing in front of his shack with a shotgun in hand. He is quoted in the caption as saying: "I'm not going to let any title busters get my land."

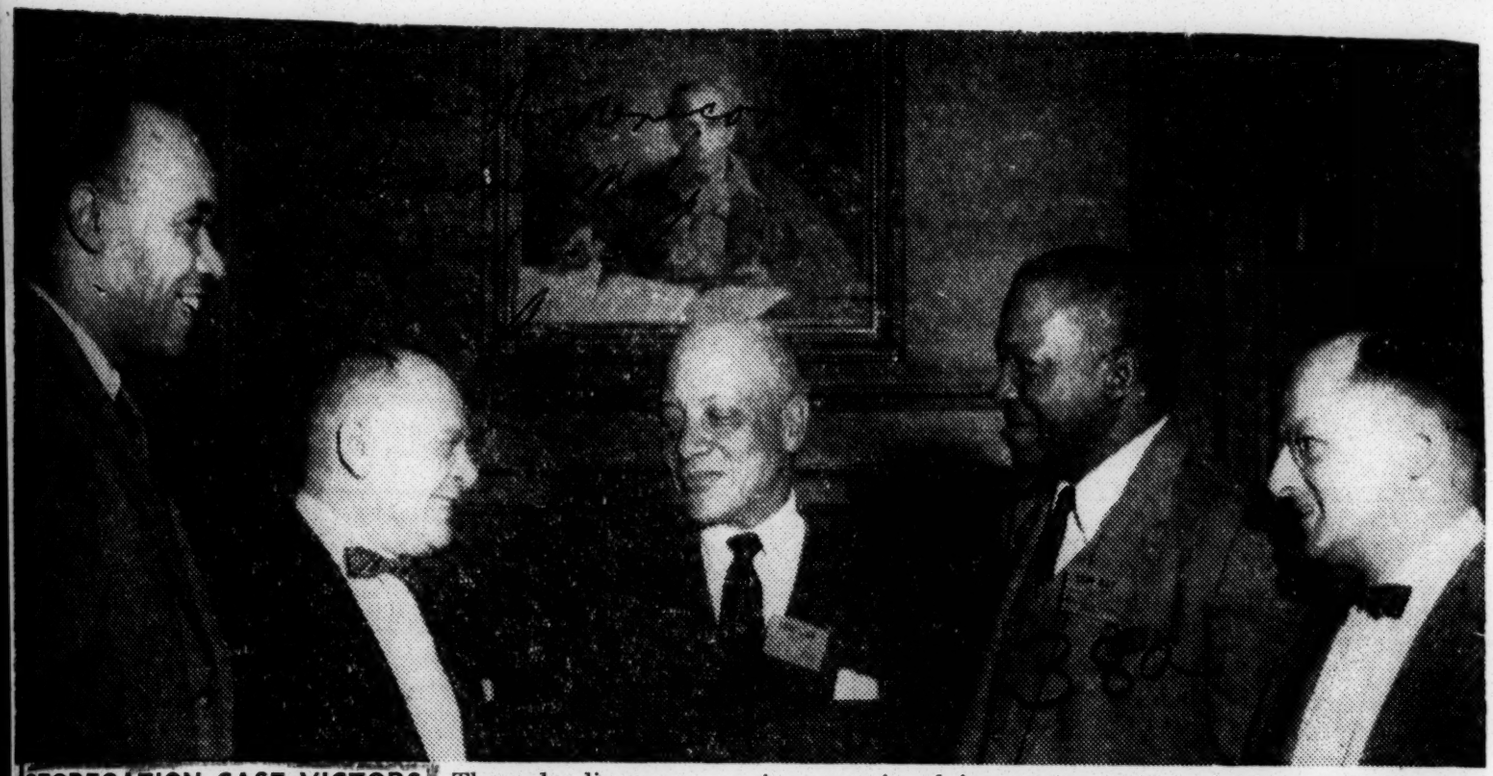
The casual reader would conclude from this that Citronelle had a virtual race riot—not an oil strike.

The pictures carry symbols familiar in print, but fast-fading from the Southern scene—a Negro riding in a mule-drawn wagon and the ramshackled cabin. These, of course, were calculated to attract South-hating readers.

Everyone will admit that when oil was found at Citronelle there was a flurry of excitement and some rather sharp conflicts over land and mineral rights. Even the Post's writer — Harold Martin — admitted that many of these clashes were between white people.

But obviously, the Post's editor, in planning for the story, assumed there would be the natural keen competition for the land and leases. Apparently they saw in the situation a wonderful opportunity to further smear the South with the charge of racial discrimination. Thus they sent a writer to the scene.

The now ancient formula used in the story and art layout is worn threadbare. The magazine had the elements of an interesting and significant story about one of the nation's finest communities. But these elements were lost when the old race twist was applied to the story.



SEGREGATION CASE VICTORS—These leading participants in court cases dealing with segregation in the nation's capital were cited recently during the first Law Day at Howard University in Washington. From left to right, they are Gardner Bishop, president of Consolidated Parents Inc.; Harry Merican, counsel in cases involving restaurants and places of amusement; Dr. James Nabrit and Dean George M. Johnson, both of Howard U., participants in school segregation cases; and Phineas Indritz, who was also active in the school cases.

Southern School Integration by 1964 Seen by Negro Lawyer

Post + Times Herald

(This is the fifth in a series on the desegregation issue in the South written by Jim Bishop, noted reporter and author of "The Day Lincoln Was Shot." The articles are illustrated by the famed artist, Burris Jenkins Jr.)

Thurs. 3-29-56 P. 18

By Jim Bishop

ATLANTA—It isn't easy to see inside a Southern Negro's heart. He doesn't want you to look.

I wanted to look into one heart. To do this, I had to find a Negro who was unafraid. A cab spun between the downtown skyscrapers of Atlanta across Peachtree st. and up Butler st., to a small structure marked Walden Building. On the second floor, in suite 200, is a stout elderly man who shows gold caps when he smiles.

Jim Bishop

Washington, D.C.

This is Austin T. Walden, Negro lawyer, Negro politician, a member of the National Legal Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This is a man who stands in well with Negroes and with Whites. As a ranking member of NAACP, he is also the voice of the organization which fought for desegregation up to the Supreme Court, and won it.

HE CHEWS gum. He smiles all the time and the bridge of his nose is bent back so that he looks faintly like the old-time prize fighter, Joe Gans. He is 70, and he has been practicing law 44 years. He attended school in Fort Riley, Ga., and in Atlanta and at the University of Michigan. He is a shrewd man and he blinks his eyes rapidly when he is thinking hard, which is most of the time. Sometimes, when he needs a little longer to think, he buzzes for Mrs. Lovelace, his secretary, and he talks about a letter which has to go out.

"Integration will be complete in six to eight years," he says in a voice that is soft and sweet as wet sugar. "I wouldn't say that all of my people are ready for integration now, but the children of both races will be in a common school by 1962 or 1964." His jaws pause over the gum. "I mean Mississippi too.

"We've got a lot of work ahead. Our children must be taught to be twice as mannerly as white children to make this thing work. In the early tryout period, the need for infinite patience is going to be on our side."

The morning sun came through the blinds and threw yellow strips across his milk chocolate skin. "So far, we have made no progress here. Negro parents in maybe six cities have petitioned for admission of children to white schools. All that has happened is that committees have been appointed by boards of education to investigate the matter."

THE EYES BLINK. "It's stalling. Sure it's stalling, but the way you make progress in the South is by moving slowly. Sometimes the other side makes mistakes and these mistakes help us. For instance, when the Federal Court says we must have integration in our schools, we cannot go back to that court until we have exhausted all administrative means of integrating. This takes a long time. But down in Valdosta, they made a mistake.

"There the Board of Education appointed a committee to investigate integration, and the committee began to do a serious job—an honest job. At once, the State of Georgia sued out a restraining order to prevent Valdosta from doing any such thing. We of the NAACP were glad to hear this because now we will try to make ourselves parti-defendants in this action and, in that way, we will leapfrog all the time-wasting maneuvers. We will get back to Federal Court quicker than we had a right to expect."

What about the charges of communism against the NAACP? This brings on the smile. On the desk, the thumbs rub in circles rapidly.

"NAACP IS 47 YEARS OLD," Walden says. "It is opposed to communism because Negroes are a little bit more religious than most other folks and they are opposed to anyone who is opposed to God. Oh, we may have had a few Communists in the ranks. I don't know. Maybe. But if so, they couldn't get far with the members."

The Attorney General of the State of Georgia, Eugene Cook, says that the real goal of NAACP is racial intermarriage. What about it?

"It's absurd. Nothing is farther from the aims of NAACP. I will admit that we are opposed to laws which forbid marriage between the races, but the reason for that is because such laws give the stronger race an opportunity to prey on the women of the weaker race.

"A long time ago, 30 years, I guess, I was defending a case in court and the prosecutor felt that he was losing and so he stood up in court and walked over to the jury box and wagged his finger at me. 'I do believe,' he said, 'that he believes in intermarriage.' This was supposed to inflame the white jury against my client. So, when he got finished, I stood up and I said: 'Marriage, gentlemen, is a two-way proposition. I could not marry a white woman unless she wanted to marry me and I don't know any so disposed. One more thing: If I can't marry a woman unless she wants to marry me, then neither can you.'"

THE JURY SLAPPED its thighs laughing. Austin Walden's client was acquitted. The moral would appear to be that, in the matter of interracial marriage, the white women will be the controlling factor and, as long as they remain on their own side of the color fence, no one need worry about the ambitions of the Negro male. The key is held by Southern white womanhood.

Even Walden, as a highly placed member of NAACP, does not claim that the organization represents a majority of the Negroes of the South. The total membership of NAACP is down from a high of above a half million to about 400,000. Of these, about 20,000 are white people. In sum, NAACP represents almost 4 percent of the Negroes of the South, a small and articulate group.

Atlanta has a few Negro policemen, and Walden wanted to show how well integration works on the law-enforcement level. He got into his hydramatic automobile, and drove Burris Jenkins and me to police headquarters. There, we waited outside an office for a few minutes, and met Chief Herbert T. Jenkins, one of the handsomest men in the South.

THE CHIEF said that there are now 10 Negroes on the force. Six Negro women are in uniform. "We had people in this department who were determined to see that Negro policemen failed," the chief said. "I was just as determined to see that they would not. So I took personal charge of them myself. They have worked out well and I never get tired of saying it. Two of them showed exceptional merit and I promoted them to detectives without tests."

The one Negro on duty at the time was Claude E. Mundy, 36, a good-looking man with a pencil-streak mustache who has had two years of college and has five children by two wives. He is the jailer on the third floor of A[illegible]ta prison. Sometimes he pa[illegible]ts on foot. When he is off duty, he sits with his shoes off and watches "Dragnet." That's his favorite on TV.

His pay is $318 a month and he works on the side as an automobile mechanic. He's been on the force only five years, but he's already bucking for a pension. "When I get that pension," he says, looking off beyond the three Negro prisoners who stand behind him holding only to bars and listening, "I think I'll open a little filling station or something. A little garage maybe."

WALDEN nods approvingly. Mundy has made the right answers. When you ask the cop about desegregation, the far-off look leaves his eyes and he looks to Walden for help. The policeman has no opinion about desegregation, even though it is now the law of the land and he has sworn to uphold the law.

We go back downstairs and the chief walks by, on his way out. He says a word of farewell, and Austin Walden smiles obsequiously and bows his woolly head and giggles a faint reply. He is now a Negro in the white man's company.

Have we peeked into a Negro heart? Maybe. But if so, it was an awfully fast peek.

Friday—Charleston, S. C.

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Post + Times Herald
Thurs. 3-29-56
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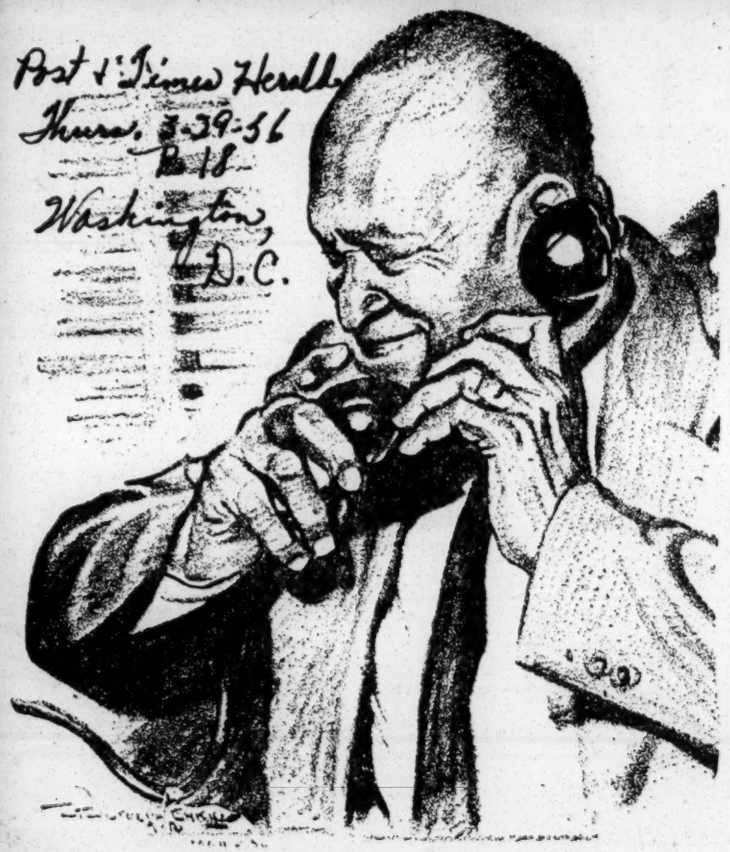
Washington, D.C.



Austin T. Walden, Atlanta attorney, is unafraid for he stands in well with both Negroes and whites.

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Washington, D.C.

Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins says: "I was determined to see that Negroes on the force did not fail."

Thunder Over Dixie

Inquirer

Champion of Justice For Negroes Opposed To Integration in Schools

Mon. 3-19-56 P. 1

Philadelphia, Pa.

Desegregation is the South's greatest crisis since the end of slavery.

The true story of what is happening in Dixie is now told for the first time by Jim Bishop, author of the best-selling historical chronicle, "The Day Lincoln Was Shot." This is the second article in an exclusive series.

By JIM BISHOP

LEXINGTON, Miss.

THE TOWN is quiet. Very quiet. Standing under an awning, you can hear the hiss of rain and watch it char the big bare oaks. It makes little starry splashes on the white dome of Holmes County Courthouse. It spanks a horse who lowers his head and pulls a farm wagon around the perimeter of the square and down a short hill toward Route 17. It picks up the mud in front of the old one-story shops and boils down the gutter as cocoa.

Negroes, lounging in doorways, watch you slam the door of your car and they know that you do not belong here and they know that anyone who does not belong here is not welcome in this little place of knotted hatred. Their jaws slack and their eyes swing like sights on a moving target as you walk up the hill. They do not talk. They watch. You have a feeling that you are on a movie set called "High Noon."

You walk up toward a building marked "Est. 1837" and you turn in a double door and, without looking back, you can feel the distorted faces behind the rainy windows across the street.

A short, intelligent looking man stares at you and you turn right and go into a small office. This is the Lexington Advertiser and Durant News, circ. 2600 once a week.

* * *

BEHIND the desk sits what is left of a fearless press. The editor has brown wavy hair, china blue eyes which can ream a pine board at 20 paces, a big, full-figured woman who has hit hard in the fight of racial justice, and who has been hit hard in turn. This is Hazel Brannen Smith who, at 41, is beginning to wonder if it isn't better to stop weeping in public every time a Negro is beaten or shot, and in that way protect her stake in the community: two newspapers, a Cadillac at the curb, a picture-window home in the hills, two Irish setters who love everybody and are color blind.

"Oh, no," Mrs. Smith says, holding up both hands. "I'm not talking any more. I'm done finished talking." She points to the short man in the doorway. "My husband was superintendent of the hospital. They fired him. They boycotted my papers. The advertising fell down to nothing. We had to go west until things quieted down here." She speaks a sweet Mississippi drawl. "You know what, mister? I don't even know if we can stay here."

You know what? She will not sell those two little papers. They are the only newspapers in Holmes County and they give Mrs. Smith a loud voice in civic affairs. This country is the deepest of the Deep South and the people grind their teeth when they read some of her editorials, but they read them or read nothing.

* * *

HOLMES county statistics make you hold the long breath: whites, 9600; Negroes, 26,000. The white Citizens Council looks at these numbers in fright, and some brand Hazel Smith a "Negrophile." The Citizens Council is wrong. Mrs. Smith will fight for anyone who has been wronged. The color doesn't matter. The church doesn't matter. The politics are of no consequence. Mrs. Smith has principles, and a congenital inability to keep her typewriter shut.

If her interests are centered on the uplifting of the Negro, she shows it in strange ways. She is opposed to school desegregation. Colored children, she says bluntly, should have their own schools. "Put them together in one school," she says with a mark-my-words index finger, "and it is going to be bad for the Negro children and the white children.

Inquirer

"Can't you understand that the Negro children are not ready for this? Can't you understand it? They hate school. They have no culture at home, no encouragement. A colored boy in the seventh grade is struggling with work that a white boy in the fourth grade has mastered. Forget color for a moment. Is it right for two-thirds of a class to hold back one-third? Well, that's what is going to happen. It's just so plain. In this country you'll have two-thirds Negroes in the class and one-third whites."

Mon. 3-19-56

SHE CARESSES the typewriter with lacquered fingers. "I'm finished talking. Go talk to the Negro fathers and mothers. Ask them if they want their children to go to white schools. Just ask. And if you find any, come back and tell me."

P. 9

You say thanks and you walk out. "Come back at five, hear?" she says. "We'll go up to my place. Got to find something in a dry state like Mississippi:"

The Welcome Inn is a little fly-specked beanery. It faces the courthouse and it is for whites only. You shake the rain from your hat and the faces in the Welcome Inn freeze in varying stages of mobility. Conversation dies as though someone had lifted the needle from the record. You sit at a little white table and you have a hamburger or a bowl of chili or some cold ham. You order a cup of tea and you look up. Back in the kitchen, a Negro girl in a too-tight sweater stares at you from a square window. The men customers—four of them—select toothpicks on their way out. The word is getting around that a Northerner is in town.

The statistics in the notebook tell you nothing about tension. Except that Americans are tough on minority peoples. Not long ago, the plains teemed with Indians. Now there are 343,000 of them and 168,000,000 of us. The slums used to kill off the city Negroes with a silent pistol — tuberculosis. Now they are getting better housing and the antibiotics keep them alive as well as the white men. So the Negro numbers 16,250,000 in 1956. He's now 9 percent of our population.

There are more Negroes in the South than in the North. About two to one. To take a look at the extremes, there are 1,000,000 Negroes in Alabama and fewer than 500 in Vermont. In South Carolina, there are 900,000 this year and, in North Dakota, 275. In Texas the count is about 1,000,000 and, in Montana, 1000. Here in Mississippi there are 1,100,000 Negroes and 1,300,000 whites.

* * *

THE PROBLEM has many faces. Of the 10,500,000 Negroes in the South, 3,360,000 are boys and girls of school age. The Supreme Court of the United States says that these children—a little less than the total population of Chicago—must be integrated with white children in white schools within a reasonable time. What is a reasonable time? The problem required 200 years of slavery and abuse to flower. How long to cure it? Five years? More than that, because the white South is dragging its feet. Ten? Maybe. But the guess down here is 15 for full integration.

The first example of desegregation that this reporter knows of occurred in 1859 or thereabouts. It was practiced by the master of the Custis Mansion at Arlington, Va. There, Gen. Robert E. Lee set a ground floor room aside for "tutoring." In that room, his children learned their reading, writing and arithmetic, and so too did the children of the slaves.

Now the great-grandsons of the white masters are caught in a dark riptide, and the great-grandsons of the slaves have learned to add and they find that they number 25 percent of the population. Twenty-five percent of anything represents a strong balance of power. The white man gets on his knees and says: "Whatever you do, keep them from voting." In many states, the Negro does not vote because of intimidation. It's becoming harder to intimidate him. When he gets the vote (which is bound to follow desegregation in the 100-year climb toward full freedom) the white politician will truckle to the voting strength of the Negro. And, when that happens, it may be the white man who will begin to leave the South.

At 5 P. M. the rain had stopped and I sat before the snap and sparkle and hickory smell of the Smith fireplace. The Irish setters, both wet, were careful to sit only on the scatter rugs, not on the cold stone floor. Mrs. Smith found something warm. Hazel Smith sat with crossed legs, swinging one, telling of how much trouble she got into for reporting that a sheriff had shot a Negro boy in the back. She talked a little about Yazoo City, over a dozen hills to the southwest, where 53 Negro families signed a petition to have their children admitted to white schools. When last heard from, only two of those families still resided in Yazoo City. There are some people here who insist that pressure of one kind or another has forced 400,000 Negroes to leave Mississippi in the last 15 years.

* * *

IN HOLMES county, no one takes a stand for desegregation. There is a synagogue which ministers to the spiritual needs of 35 or 40 Jewish families. There is a tiny Catholic Church and a priest comes in from Vicksburg every Sunday for mass. No one takes a stand, and one is left with the feeling that God made all people equal, but some a little more equal than others.

Silence is also a weapon in this state. When Negroes feel that they have been treated unjustly, they quit talking. If they work for white men, they do what the white man tells them, but they say nothing.

Whole villages and towns of Negroes become mute. This ticks on, day ofter way, until white men can no longer stand it and they scream: "For God's sake, man! What's eating you!"

What, then is an injustice? Last year a white man was found guilty of attacking a Negro girl. At almost the same time, a Negro was found guilty of attacking a white woman. The Negro was sentenced to die; the white man drew two years.

It was time to leave the home of Hazel Smith. The fireplace was getting cold and the ice was getting warm. We were talking about the figures given to me by Jackson M. Tubb, State Superintendent of Public Education. Some were surprising. Mississippi controls 2630 school buildings. Of these, 872 are for white students, 1858 are for Negroes. In all, 442,691 students are enrolled in these schools; 182,210 attend white elementary schools; 179,937 go to Negro schools. Approximately one of each three white children goes on to high school; one of each six Negroes attends high school. The State budget is $49,000,000.00. Federal aid is only $943,203.12.

* * *

THE NIGHT was clear. I went back to the Welcome Inn to jot some notes. The tea was lukewarm. An elderly woman asked if I would like some cookies. I shook my head. The front door slammed. I looked up. A fat sheriff came in. He walked to the counter and he was looking at me all the way. He wore a shirt and he carried a loose gun. He sat down at the counter and turned his back to it and faced me. His hands gripped his knees. I tried not to watch. The door slammed again. I looked up. A thinner officer came in. He carried a blackjack in his back pocket. He sat next to the first man, turned his back to the counter, and leaned his elbows on it. He said nothing to the first man. They sat and looked at me.

I took my time finishing the tea. I dropped a quarter on the white marble table and folded my notes. I walked out and closed the door quietly. The car was angle-parked a block away. The square was deserted. Between the bare branches of the trees, the stars winked wisely.

At the curb, I looked back. The thin officer was 100 feet behind me with a flashlight. He was looking in store windows. When I backed out, he turned to watch. It was a 60-mile run back to Jackson.

Continued Tomorrow

38a 1956

SERIES OF ARTICLES BY- JIM BISHOP

Some Alabama Whites Say 'Someday, Maybe But Not Now, Not Yet'

Fourth of a Series

By JIM BISHOP

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.

THE old Nash staggered through the road holes in Tuxedo Junction and the yellow headlights bucked the walls of the Negro shanties.

"You want to see a Negro district," the cop said. "This is one."

In the cold starry night, the unpainted houses leaned against each other like frightened ghosts.

I've seen stronger looking doghouses.

A thin man slouched beside the cop on the front seat — Edward Strickland. He covers his baldness with good gray hats. A few years ago he exposed the viciousness of Alabama politics in a book called Phenix City, but he is first of all a reporter. A good reporter. He has been covering the Negro district of Birmingham for 14 years.

The policeman was another Eddie—Edward L. Quinn, a big crew cut who works the Negro district out of the detective bureau. In conversation, he sounds as solicitous as a bridegroom. But the words are hard and the sympathies have been blunted by years of cop callousness.

Who knows a city better than a policeman and a reporter? Who? The mayor? A preacher? A bellhop or a sociologist? Not on your life. A reporter and a policeman have to know the city down to its sox, and neither one is paid for finding anything good about it.

* * *

THE car bounced through Titusville and on up the steep little hill where the rich Negroes live in their modern ranch homes with the matching Cadillacs in the driveway and are waited on by Negro servants from down in Tuxedo Junction. It's a realistic world, this one.

Children play in front of the houses of prostitution only in daylight hours. After dark, they are indoors, eating or studying or sleeping—three and four to a bed in drafty rooms separated from other rooms by a faded cotton curtain. By sight and sound, they learn much more at home than they do at school.

We stopped in at Big Mike's place. This is a coffee house for Whites Only. All public places are marked "White Only" or "Colored Only" and, in some towns, a white man can be fined $25 for ordering something in a restaurant for Negroes. The Negro never makes the opposite mistake unless he is badly drunk and belligerent.

Birmingham is the newest of the Southern cities—82 years old. It was born out of a mountain of iron ore and it spreads out in neat squares across two valleys. Now 360,000 people call it home, and 210,000 of them are dark of skin. There are rich whites and rich Negroes and poor whites and poor Negroes. As befits a big Southern city, Birmingham has its White Citizens Council, whose purpose is to frighten the Negro into remaining exactly where he is.

But, in Birmingham, of all the Southern cities, the Citizens Council has not been sufficient to give the white man peace of mind. He needs something stronger. So, last month, for the first time in years, Ku-Klux Klan pamphlets were dropped on all white front porches. The literature was the same as in 1865 — anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, anti-Negro.

Birmingham is in a mood to read.

* * *

DETECTIVE QUINN stirred his black coffee slowly and said that the trouble was that the North does not understand Negroes, and the South does. "In Birmingham," he said, "the Negro commits eight out of each 10 crimes. He requires the services of more than half the police department. He lives different. He thinks different.

"Take the Smithfield project," says Quinn. "That's exactly the same as the white housing projects, brick for brick, room for room. Take a look at any of the white ones, and then look at the Negro one. They throw garbage on the front lawn."

Quinn is a tough cop. He is also a Southerner. Strickland is a tough reporter. He is also a Southerner. The white man's code of supremecy comes easily to them. Quinn, for example, has a contempt so deeply ingrained that he does not know it exists. Once when we talked of Negro disorderly houses, he drawled: "Ah don't have to point them out to you folks. They are all disorderly houses and you can take a picture if you please and what can anybody say?" There are millions of men like Quinn in the South.

Strick hung his hat and sat.

"Wait a minute," he said. "Admit that the schools haven't given the Negro the educational, the cultural advantages he should have. The fact is that the law now says we have to give him these advantages quickly. OK. We'll admit we were wrong. But we still can't obey the law at once.

"The truth of the matter is that the Southern Negro is a sensual child. He wants only what pleases his several senses. There is a black belt in Alabama—it runs from Meridian, Miss., all the way to a spot 20 miles south of West Point, Ga.—and there the Negroes run from five to one to seven to one over the white man. You're white. How would you like to have a house down there? Try it awhile and then tell us about the law."

"It's just this, said Quinn. "We're not going to have integration in this generation. Sometime maybe. But not now. And, if you think I'm anti-Negro, go out to Scratch Ankle and ask the people about me. They know me as good as I know them. Ask them."

Strick chuckled. "Some of those Negroes want to run him for Public Safety Commissioner."

OFFICER QUINN is a Bible student. His best girl is his 5-year-old daughter, Kathy, a pale, pretty blonde who knows so much about Jesus that a big part of Birmingham thinks the youngster should be on the $64,000 Question.

"You know what the Negro wants?" the cop said.

"I'll tell you," said Strick. "I'll tell you what the Negro really wants. He wants good wages and fair treatment, that's what he wants. That's the extent of it. He doesn't want to go to your house and nothing embarrasses him more than to see you in his."

Quinn marveled at such succinct wisdom.

"I think I know the Negro as well as anybody and I don't know one yet who wants to be bothered with a white school. You never see our Parker High School? It's Negro. I don't know about now, but it used to be called the biggest in the country."

* * *

WE paid for the coffee and left a little tip and walked out into the night. To the south, we could see Red Mountain in the moonlight. It is full of dolomite and iron ore and coal and the three get along well in the same mountain and each maintains its integrity until all three get into the smelting furnaces across town. Then they come out shiny bars of steel.

Something is wrong. Terribly wrong. All the white evidence shows that the Negro is content, but all the daily news shows that he feels miserable. Some months ago Loza Parks sat in the front part of a Montgomery bus. Trouble started Negroes began to walk to work Since then, the ensuing boycott has almost wrecked the bus company. Some time ago, a girl named Autherine Lucy drove up to the University of Alabama in a limousine, stepped out in the height of fashion, and was shown to the head of the line of registering white students. There was a riot.

The Negro is content, they say. Then why is the State of Alabama planning to set up three separate school systems: white, Negro and mixed? And why is it (to look at the other side of the coin for a moment) that the Negro, if he wants to live with the whites, turns down the chance when it is offered?

For years, they say, the rich white families of Birmingham have offered good upstairs rooms to their maids and butlers, good furniture and a radio, the saving of 34 cents a day bus fare and many dollars in rent—and yet not one maid or butler in fifty will live with the white families, each one announcing in a whisper, with eyes downcast, that if madame doesn't mind we would prefer to go on living in the shacks of Tuxedo Junction.

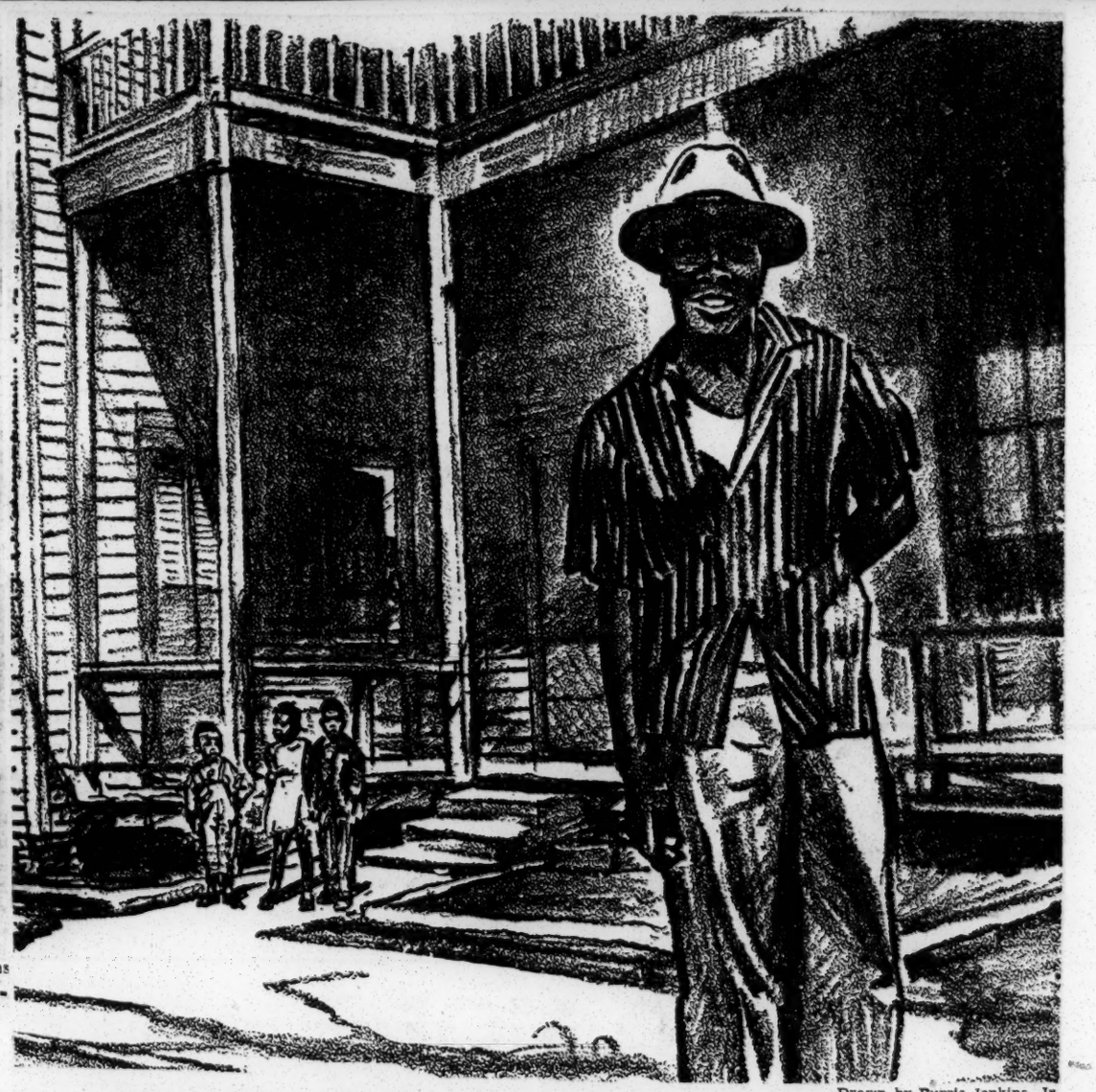
Why? The Southern Negro, living in a white house, feels that he is in a plush strait jacket.

This is a problem with many faces. And it will not be solved tomorrow or next year. It is going to require a lot of time and a lot of patience.

Continued Tomorrow

Sketch by Burris Jenkins

"A fat sheriff came in . . . sat down back to the counter and faced me . . . another sat down next to the first . . . they looked at me. . . ."



Drawn by Burris Jenkins, Jr.

In the ironically named Tuxedo Junction section of Birmingham, Ala., live the Negroes who work as servants to other, richer Negroes in town.